SPANISH VOYAGES
TO THE
NORTHWEST COAST OF AMERICA

HENRY R. WAGNER

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SPANISH VOYAGES
TO THE NORTHWEST COAST OF AMERICA
IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

BY
HENRY R. WAGNER

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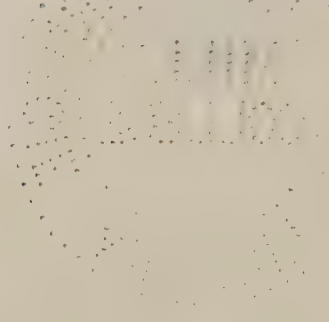

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PREFACE

This work is the outcome of a plan formed seven years ago to publish all the information obtainable regarding the voyages of the Spaniards to the Northwest Coast of America down to 1769. At first it was the intention to print the accounts of these voyages in the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society as the material could be obtained, and in pursuance of this plan three papers appeared in that periodical: the voyage of Pedro de Unamuno, in July, 1923; that of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño, in April, 1924; and those of Francisco de Ulloa and Francisco de Bolaños, in December, 1924. To continue this haphazard method did not seem advisable, and after consultation with the Committee on Publication of the *Quarterly*, it was decided to present the others in chronological order. The publication was resumed in this way in December, 1927, and continued until March, 1929. In rearranging for the book the various chapters and placing the voyages in chronological order, the Introductions to them have been largely rewritten in order to supply the missing links. Chapters I and VIII, which were originally translated by Miss Irene A. Wright, have been revised without, however, changing her text in any material respect; in Chapter IX the *Declaracion* which had been used originally in the footnotes has now replaced as the main text the narrative signed by Cermeño. The voyage of Hernando de Alarcon has been omitted as not being strictly pertinent to the subject, a general Introduction has been provided (first published in December, 1927), and some other changes have been made, the object being to present a consecutive account of the various voyages to the Northwest Coast of America made by Spaniards or under their auspices from that of Francisco de Ulloa to that of Sebastian Vizcaino. With the end of making the book as complete as possible, such facsimiles of the original accounts are included as their nature or length permit. Ulloa's manuscript is in parts almost undecipherable, while that of Ascension is entirely too long to be reproduced in a work of this character.

For the purpose of identification of the places named in the narrative, the latest charts of the United States Navy have been used and the *Mexico and Central American Pilot* (West Coast), 6th Edition, Washington, 1920. Some use has also been made of the maps of Lower California recently issued by the American Geographical Society. I had intended to add a geographical index in which all the discoveries on the Northwest Coast noted in the work would be included, somewhat in the form of an old-fashioned gazeteer, but it seems more advisable to defer the publication of this to some future time, as the bulk of this work has assumed alarming proportions.

During the period covered by the investigations and the preparation of the material now presented, much assistance has been rendered by many persons.

I desire especially to extend my thanks to Miss Irene A. Wright of Seville, who not only translated the accounts of the expeditions of Ulloa and Unamuno but has also furnished me with much of the material used in the notes. To Miss Alice Eastwood of the Academy of Sciences of San Francisco and to Mr. Charles L. Camp of Berkeley I am indebted for much information in regard to questions of natural history which have arisen at different times, and to Mr. W. W. Holling of Berkeley for elucidating technical nautical expressions. Mr. A. S. Aiton of the University of Michigan kindly placed at my disposition some of the material which he had collected for his book on Antonio de Mendoza, and the trustees of the Newberry Library in Chicago graciously gave their permission to use Fr. Antonio de la Ascension's manuscript in the Ayer Collection and to reproduce the map from their atlas. The Pierpont Morgan Library in New York also kindly gave me the privilege of reproducing the map from their Agnese atlas. Miss Dorothy Huggins, Mr. Camp and Mr. Carl I. Wheat of the California Historical Society have repeatedly given useful advice and revised the manuscript at different times. Mrs. Margaret H. Lathe of Berkeley has compiled the Index.

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INTRODUCTION

The Pacific Ocean or South Sea, as it was generally known for a long time, was discovered by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa in 1513. In accordance with the custom ruling in his day, he took possession of it for the Crown of Spain. As this sea was the scene of operations of the enterprises to be described in the following pages, a brief survey of the views current in the sixteenth century regarding it and its connections with the Atlantic is necessary.

The famed riches of Cathay and Great India were the prize all were then striving to reach. An active and constant search was kept up for some passage through a land to the west of Ireland which John Cabot had discovered and which barred his way to them. Magellan asserted that he knew another way and made his claim good by discovering the strait which now bears his name. By sailing across the Pacific he demonstrated that an open sea existed between the Moluccas and the New World, at least what was known of it when he left Spain. This was only a little of the west coast near Panama. The Pacific north of this was still to be discovered. How far did America extend to the west? Was it joined to Asia, or did a vast expanse of ocean or a narrow strait separate it from that country? The cosmographers speculated about these matters and recorded their guesses in their maps or in their writings. Those who considered it to be a vast peninsula of Asia based their arguments on Marco Polo's account of China which he described as extending far to the east, while those who thought it to be a true continent arrived at this conclusion by a course of abstract reasoning. The supposed connection with China had great vogue in the first half of the century, but opinion in Spain generally favored the continental theory. Alonso de Santa Cruz, the greatest Spanish cosmographer of the age, clearly held this view. If he did not display it on his maps it must have been because the practice then in force in the *Casa de Contratacion* in Seville, the geographic board of the day, was to put nothing but actual discoveries on the general map.

What was north of America was another matter of dispute. Some thought that around the Pole there was land connected either with Europe or Asia; some, open sea, a part of the Pacific; and others, four vast islands. Certainly a passage existed in the neighborhood of 65° of north latitude which, although blocked by ice, led somewhere or at least seemed to do so. This was commonly known as the Strait of Bacallaos or Northwest Passage. Sebastian Münster adopted the island theory and in 1540 laid down on his map a long passage leading to the Pacific between two of these and America on the south. The notion of a great northern ocean with short passages connecting it with both the Atlantic and Pacific was a somewhat later development. On the earliest maps we see America in the higher latitudes displayed as a narrow

continent, but as time went on and the Spaniards pushed their discoveries up the west coast its width was gradually increased until on the maps of Gerard Mercator and Abraham Ortelius we see this grossly exaggerated. Clearly there were secrets to be discovered in the northern part of the South Sea.

When Hernando Cortés and his party of gold seekers landed on the coast of Mexico in March, 1519, he must have suspected that the South Sea was not far distant. The stirring events of the next two years, however, gave him no opportunity to institute a search for it, and it was not until after the conquest of the city in August, 1521, that he felt safe enough to separate his force and send out small bodies of men. Some of these reached the shores of the South Sea at the mouth of the Rio Balsas and in the vicinity of Tehuantepec by the spring of the following year. What lay in that ocean was unknown, as we have just seen, and Cortés now set himself to find out. In June, 1522, he sent his secretary, Juan de Rivera, to Spain, and charged him with the duty of negotiating with the Emperor for a contract in his behalf to explore it. In a letter which he sent by Rivera, dated May 15, he referred especially to his discovery of the South Sea, and said that he was already building ships to navigate it.[1] Rivera did not reach Spain until November 7, and then found that on October 15 Cortés had been appointed captain-general of the country which he had discovered.[2] Just what steps he took to push this special interest of his patron is not apparent, further than that in July, 1523, he filed a petition which had evidently been forwarded to him from Mexico some time about March or April of that year, as it reveals the fact that when Cortés prepared it he knew of the cedula of October 15 of the preceding year.[3] He must also therefore have received the news of the arrival in Spain of Magellan's *Victoria* September 16, 1522. This gives us some clue to the views expressed by him in this petition about the geographical relation of New Spain to the Far East.

He began by stating that when he wrote two and one-half years before he had no information that there was any sea to the west, but had said that he would make every effort to find out if there was one.[4] Since that time he had discovered that sea and had found the distance across the country to be about 200 leagues. He had sent men to conquer and settle the provinces bordering on it and to discover its secrets, and was now building some brigantines to run along the coast searching for ports, and some ships to discover islands which would certainly be found in that sea within either a little or a great distance. He knew that the spice country, that is, the Moluccas, was near the Equator, and for that reason thought it would be very easy to reach from New Spain.[5] He therefore asked for a contract for six years commencing to run in 1522,[6] the year in which he had discovered the South Sea. During these years he would explore the coast of that sea for a distance of 400 leagues, or more if necessary, and would labor to find out what was there, what kind of people there were on it, what trade they had, and which locality could be

most conveniently settled in the shortest time. In return for these services he wished to be made governor for life of what he might discover, and after him his heirs and successors forever.

He asked for the tenth part for himself and his heirs of whatever gold, silver, pearls, or precious stones and other metals or other dutiable objects might be found. If he should discover three islands and settle them at his expense, making them available for Spanish trade, the King should grant one which he might select to him or his heirs, with the lordship and jurisdiction over it, but that if he should discover mainland only, then out of three towns thereon one should be his with the same rights as he would have over the island. He also requested some other privileges, some assistance in the way of arms and ship carpenters, and the right to bring horses and cattle from the West India Islands in His Majesty's ships without paying freight.

Nothing about his cosmographical ideas can be gathered from the document; nothing indicates what he expected to find when he followed the coast to the north for 400 leagues. On the whole, it might be considered that he had no expectation at that time of finding anything in particular. When, however, we come to investigate the contemporary documents which have survived, we shall find that the expeditions of Cortés had the very definite object of searching for gold and silver. The pursuit of the precious metals may be truthfully said to have been about the only business of the adventurers who flocked to the New World. It so happened that one of the earliest of the discoveries of Columbus, Santo Domingo, had been found to contain gold. The washings were not very rich, to be sure, but rich enough to pay with forced labor at command. As the discovery of the mainland progressed, gold ornaments were found here and there, indicating that gold mines were not far away, and when Cortés embarked on his famous expedition to Mexico, he was accompanied by a band of individuals recruited in the main with no other object in view than gold.

There was gold in Mexico and some little silver, but it did not take long for the conquerors to appropriate the ornaments into which those metals had been made, no very great quantity, after all, although at first to them and their greedy eyes, unaccustomed to the sight of great sums of money, the amount seemed very large. No sooner had the conquest been effected than Cortés sent men out in every direction scouring the country in search of the gold mines from which the natives had obtained their supply. Some few were found, that is, gold washings in rivers and creeks, notably in the Balsas and its tributaries, and in some streams of Oaxaca. It can be no mere coincidence that Cortés' own best *repartimientos* lay in the latter province and along the Balsas. By forced labor of a large number of Indians some gold was extracted from such streams and other insignificant ones in different parts of the country, but, on the whole, the output was small and disappointing. A few mines of silver were soon discovered, but it was some time before silver mining became an important industry. In the meantime, the Spaniards in Mexico were ready to embark on

any enterprise which promised gold as a reward, and any story which seemed to hold forth the possibility of finding treasure met with ready acceptance.

Before the end of 1523 some of Cortés' captains had advanced along the west coast as far to the north as Colima, and a town bearing that name had been founded. Another, Zacatula, close to the mouth of the Balsas, had also been regularly established. Here Cortés maintained his shipbuilding operations for some time, but the difficulties of this enterprise at that time proved almost insuperable; there was nothing on the spot out of which to build ships except timber; everything else had to be brought from Mexico, and most of that, in turn, from Spain by way of Vera Cruz. June 26, 1523, the Emperor, under the impression that a strait existed somewhere to the north or northwest of Panama, sent an order to Cortés to hunt for it.[7]

By the time, however, that this reached Mexico, Cortés had doubtless ascertained by the explorations of Alvarado, who was descending the coast from the north, and by the report of Gil Gonzalez Davila, who had ascended it from the south,[8] that no such strait existed in that quarter. He therefore turned his attention for the moment to the possibility of there being one to the north, and announced in his letter of October 15, 1524,[9] his determined intention to find it. In order to make certain that it should not be missed, he proposed to send parties up both sides of America. Cortés' remarks about the existence of this strait are ambiguous. He apparently had no great expectation of finding it, although near the end of his remarks on the subject he expressed himself as rather confident that it would be found by his expedition up the east coast. This appears to have succeeded in reaching some point far to the north, but his shipbuilding enterprises on the west coast suffered a serious setback by the burning of the warehouse in which he had accumulated most of the equipment for the vessels. When these were finally ready in the spring of 1527, he was obliged to send them to the Moluccas under the command of Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron in compliance with an order of June 20, 1526, from the Emperor.[10] On renewing his efforts to explore the coast to the north, nothing more was heard of any strait; he had other and more tangible objects in view much more likely to redound to his own benefit.

In his letter of December 15, 1525, Rodrigo de Albornoz wrote from Mexico that the Indians at Zacatula told a story about people having arrived there in large canoes from some islands. The story is most improbable, as neither the Indians on that coast nor on any islands near it possessed large canoes. Albornoz connected this with another Indian story about pearls. Pearls were found along the coast at a few places, even south of Zacatula, and in 1523 one of Cortés' captains had brought back some from Colima and said that he had heard of the "Island of Women."[11] Within a year Cortés sent another party to the north, no doubt to search for this island. From this story it is not unlikely that the Amazon legend, current both in ancient and medieval times, was localized in a place to the north called Ciguatan, or in some island near it. The legend had lately become

popularized in Spanish literature through the *Sergas de Esplandian,* a romance of chivalry generally said to have been first published in Seville in 1510. According to the story, pearls and precious stones were abundant on an island named "California," where the Amazons lived, and the Amazons themselves had weapons made of gold, no common metal being found.

Rivera's efforts to obtain a contract for his patron were not productive of results,[12] and it was only after Cortés himself had gone to Spain and urged his pretensions in person that he finally succeeded, October 27, 1529, in getting the sanction of the Crown to his undertaking and the grant of certain rights and privileges which he had previously requested.[13] Armed with this and the title of Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca, he returned from Spain in 1530 to find that the five ships in Tehuantepec, which he had constructed to send to the Moluccas to the relief of Saavedra, had rotted and the equipment had been stolen or destroyed. He at once began the construction of two in Tehuantepec. He bought two others which were on the stocks near Acapulco from Juan Rodriguez de Villafuerte in November, 1531. Villafuerte finished them as provided in the agreement,[14] and in May, 1532, they set sail from Acapulco.

By this time Cortés had a very active competitor in the north. Nuño de Guzman, who was just as energetic a searcher for gold as Cortés. He had already advanced far into what is now known as Sinaloa on his search for the "Province of Women" and had founded a town at or near the site of the present Culiacan. As far as can be ascertained from the contemporary documents, Guzman had no right whatever to enter this country. The southern part of Jalisco near the coast, Colima, and the province of Avalos had all been discovered by captains of Cortés, acting under his orders, and most of it was divided into *repartimientos* which he had allotted to his followers. Guzman, however, had been president of the Audiencia, a position which he used to further his own designs and to thwart those of Cortés. They were now bitter enemies, and Cortés' first object was to take possession of the country beyond Guzman's discoveries. This is plainly indicated by the instructions which he issued to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who commanded the expedition. Hurtado was ordered to sail along the coast, keeping a lookout for islands, until he reached the limits of Guzman's territory, easily recognizable by the sierra which came down from the interior and ended at the sea. Having passed this, he was to take possession and follow the coast for another 100 or 150 leagues only, and then return.[15] Hurtado, in compliance with these orders, sailed up the gulf, passed Culiacan, and finally reached a river in 27° which is supposed to have been the Fuerte. He went perhaps still farther north, but nothing more is positively known of him beyond the fact that a year later one of Guzman's captains who was on an expedition to the north found some relics of the party and came back with the story that they had all been killed by the Indians.[16]

Meanwhile, Cortés, who had heard nothing from Hurtado, went in person to Tehuantepec to hasten the work in his shipyard. While there, he must have

heard about the vast booty which Francisco Pizarro and his band of adventurers in Peru had obtained from the Incas in November, 1532. The first effect of this on the Spaniards was to start a rush of adventurers to Peru, only to be followed immediately by a renewed rush in all other directions where there seemed to be any possibility of discovering communities having hoards of gold or silver. What effect the news had upon the plans of Cortés can only be surmised, but the energy he displayed for the next few years in his explorations indicates that if any new stimulus had been needed to urge him on, this had now been supplied. His ships which he had expected in January, 1533,[17] to be ready in March did not get away until the end of October, when he dispatched them in person. One, the *San Lázaro,* commanded by Hernando de Grijalva, became separated from the other and returned to Acapulco after having discovered the Isla de Santo Tomás and touched at the Colima coast. The other, the *Concepcion,* was commanded by Diego Becerra, who had a Basque pilot named Ortuño Ximenez de Bertandoña. During a mutiny headed by the pilot, Becerra was killed and the officials wounded. There and the three Franciscan friars who accompanied the expedition were landed on the Colima coast,[18] and Ximenez then sailed away to reach what is supposed to have been the Bahia de la Paz in California, where he and most of the crew were killed by the Indians.[19] The few survivors navigated the ship back to the mainland, where they were all seized by Guzman, except one who, escaping his vigilance, reached Cortés with the news — "good news" Cortés called it, since it appears from a letter written by Guzman that these men spread reports of having found gold and pearls in some island.

This supposed island was either the Peninsula of California, for some years thought to be an island, due to its location at some distance from the mainland, or some island near it. About the only conclusive evidence that it was California is the fact that when Cortés went to that country in 1535 he evidently knew where he was going, probably having with him some of the men who had been with Ximenez. Pearls were certainly abundant on the east side of the peninsula from Cabo Pulmo north, and the mention of them by the survivors of the massacre would indicate that Ximenez actually had reached that part of the coast. The gold part of Guzman's story can be dismissed as being simply one of those usual additions without foundation made in those days when people could see gold and silver everywhere. Certainly something was found sufficiently enticing to induce Cortés to prepare and lead an expedition fully equipped with materials for making a settlement.

May 1, 1535, he sighted the coast of California, and May 3 landed and took possession, naming the country "Santa Cruz" in commemoration of the discovery of the Holy Cross on that day. He laid out his settlement on what is now known as Pichilingue Harbor, opposite the Isla de San Juan Nepucémeno, in Bahia de la Paz. No detailed or consecutive account of the enterprise exists, but from numerous incidental allusions to it, it seems that some explorations were

made inland.[20] The party remained at the camp for a long time; a number of the Spaniards died of hunger, not to speak of many friendly Indians and servants. No gold or silver was discovered, although some indications of minerals may have been observed, nor is there anything to show that any substantial quantity of pearls was found. Some men sent back after food in the fall of 1535 under Juan de Jaso and Jorje Ceron were examined by Guzman in Compostela December 10. One of these testified that during an expedition from Santa Cruz they obtained from the Indians some forty burnt pearls.[21] No food could be obtained and Cortés had to go to the mainland after it. Hearing from Mexico that a viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, had reached there in October, and anxious about his own status under the new conditions, he himself returned in 1536, leaving Francisco de Ulloa in charge of the camp. He attempted to send some supplies to Ulloa and claimed later that he would have maintained his settlement if Mendoza had not obliged him to send instructions to Ulloa to break it up and bring the party back to Mexico.[22]

At this juncture, Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions, the sole survivors of those of Pánfilo de Narvaez' expedition, who had been left in Texas, reached Mexico City July 24, 1536, after a year's travel across northern Mexico. Somewhere during their wandering they had heard of some towns of large, well inhabited houses to the north, from which their Indian friends obtained some stones that Cabeza de Vaca called emeralds. He also talked about pearls and great wealth on the shores of the South Sea. Altogether he conveyed the impression in his printed story that farther north there were people who had reached some rather advanced stage of civilization.[23] It is even possible that he told other more definite stories about what they had heard or seen in the north, as the Knight of Elvas in his account of the expedition of Hernando de Soto stated that when Cabeza de Vaca came to Spain in 1537 he had an interview with the Emperor and evidently told him something different from what was contained in his written relation, because some of the leading nobles at court, or who had friends there, immediately turned their property into cash and joined Soto's expedition. There is some evidence that Cortés had heard the same story or a similar one about the same time, perhaps a little earlier. Although his statements made in 1539 and later[24] about the source of his knowledge of the "Seven Cities" are extremely ambiguous, yet it seems possible that some of his men who had been on the upper Sinaloa coast in the summer of 1535, and possibly later, had obtained from the Indians some knowledge of these towns in the north. Just how far south this knowledge extended cannot be known, nor is it possible to discover just how far north Cortés' men had been. The name farthest north on this coast shown on the map which he filed with the *acta* of taking possession of Santa Cruz is San Pablo. This is applied to a river, and just south of it is another, the San Pedro. These are perhaps intended to represent the two mouths of the Sinaloa. North of these the coast is shown for some distance, but without any names.

Just when or how the old medieval legend of the "Seven Cities" came to be applied in Mexico to something in the far north is not known.[25] Pedro de Castañeda, in his account of the Coronado expedition, wrote that in 1530 Guzman had an Indian named Tejo who said he had been in the north with his father, a trader, and had seen seven large towns which had streets of workers in silver.[26] It is not unlikely that Guzman found this Indian in Panuco and that he first sent out an expedition from there to search for the "Seven Cities," as about 1550 one Juan Pantoja declared that after the pacification of Panuco he had gone eighty leagues inland in quest of them.[27] Guzman himself, instead of following the direction the Indian said he had gone, that is, northward across the plateau country, went over to the west coast and started north from there. There is a positive statement in one of the accounts of Guzman's explorations that Diego de Guzman had gone north in 1533 to discover the "Seven Cities," because Guzman already had news of them and of a river four or five leagues wide which flowed into the South Sea.[28] The evidence is not altogether above suspicion, as the account was written after the "Seven Cities" had been discovered. If true, however, and the author was not referring to Tejo and his story, it would provide some confirmation of the claim of Cortés as indicating that the Indians in northern Sinaloa had some knowledge of the "Seven Cities."

No doubt as soon as Cabeza de Vaca's narrative became known, everyone jumped to the conclusion that these large towns from which the emeralds came must be the "Seven Cities." All the expeditions to the north in the ensuing six years may be justly considered as having been brought about by his story. Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy, was perhaps skeptical, as he endeavored to get Andrés Dorantes, one of Cabeza de Vaca's companions, to take the back track in search of the people with houses. Failing in this, he selected for the mission Marcos de Niza, a French Franciscan friar, about whose early history nothing is known beyond the fact that he had been in Peru with Alvarado. He had come to Mexico from Guatemala in the early part of 1537 at the request of the bishop, Juan de Zumarraga, who had a high opinion of him, which he no doubt communicated to Mendoza.[29] Niza set out from Culiacan March 7, 1539, and having traveled a long distance to the north, came back to Compostela about July 1, and to Mexico City some time in August, where he told some marvelous tales about what he had seen.[30] They made such an impression on Mendoza that he had him write down his account and ratify it in official form September 2, so that he could send it to the Emperor. Niza had not only seen the City of Cibola, but had heard of the six others; he wrote about emeralds and vessels of gold and silver, the only metals the inhabitants knew, much more abundant there than in Peru, and talked about them to his brother friars. According to one of these he said the inhabitants were cultured and wore silk clothing, and the walls of their temples were covered with precious stones.[31] Beyond, he said, he had heard that there were camels and elephants, thus evincing his belief that he had reached the outskirts of the famous kingdom of the great Khan.

After Niza's return, Mendoza hastened the preparations of an expedition which he placed under the command of a young protegé of his, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado. He had no difficulty in securing all the volunteers necessary, as in the excitement produced by the recent reports everyone wished to join and get his share of the gold and silver. It seems possible, however, that Mendoza was still not any too certain about Niza's story, as he immediately sent out another man, Melchor Diaz, from Culiacan with a small force to find out if what he could see would agree with Niza's story. Without waiting for his report, however, Mendoza assembled his force at Compostela in Jalisco, and Coronado set out from that place February 3, 1540. A short time afterward Diaz met the army with a very depressing report, which was sent on to the Viceroy, who was in Colima preparing an expedition by sea of two ships which, besides keeping in communication with Coronado, were to carry the heavy baggage the gentlemen of the army had been obliged to leave behind at Culiacan. He appointed to the command, Hernando de Alarcon, who could not leave Acapulco until May 9, and in consequence never caught up with Coronado, although he stopped and took on the baggage at Culiacan and added to his fleet another ship he found there loaded with food for Coronado. He ultimately reached the head of the gulf and ascended the Colorado River in a small boat to a point probably just above the present site of Yuma, returning to Acapulco about the middle of November with a great fund of stories about the Indians on the river, but without having been of any service whatever to Coronado, who, of course, was far distant in the interior.

Coronado himself soon reached Cibola, only to find to his great disgust that most of Niza's stories were untrue. The Indians had no gold, silver or emeralds, but only some cotton clothes and buffalo hides. He continued to the valley of the Rio Grande and ultimately took a journey across the buffalo plains in the summer of 1541 in search of Quivira, a name which he had heard from some Indians on the Rio Grande. This place was reported to be also very rich, but when Coronado finally reached the spot, or near the spot where it is supposed it was — somewhere in south central Kansas — he found no more signs of wealth than he had in Cibola, in fact, the Indians there were even less civilized. After the return, winter quarters were made on the Rio Grande, and in the spring of 1542 the expedition set out on the return to Mexico, reaching Culiacan just before June 24. While in the north, Coronado sent out several parties, one of which discovered what was probably the Colorado River. From the point of view of the adventurers of those days, nothing of any value had been found; the expedition was a total failure and all the money embarked in it by Mendoza and his friends was lost.[32]

In the meantime, before the Coronado expedition was organized, and even before Niza returned, Cortés sent out his expedition to follow the coast in spite of the obstacles the officials in New Spain placed in his way. The west coast was, however, a long way from Mexico City, and as Cortés had plenty of friends

in that part of the country, he managed to dispatch, July 8, a fleet of three vessels under the command of Francisco de Ulloa. A few days before Ulloa departed Niza had made his appearance at Compostela and sent on to the Viceroy some kind of report.[33] He himself apparently reached Mexico early in August. On the 25th of that month Mendoza issued a proclamation prohibiting anyone from leaving the country without his license.[34] September 4, Cortés appeared before the Audiencia and presented a petition asking for a license to send a ship with supplies and thirty or forty men to the aid of Ulloa.[35] The Audiencia refused to grant it and Cortés then removed the proceedings to Spain, instituting a suit before the Council of the Indies, March 1, 1540. June 25 the Council decreed that an order be sent to Mendoza and the Audiencia not to interfere with his operations in the South Sea.[36] This is the last we hear of his enterprises in that quarter; the *Santa Agueda* had returned with a report from Ulloa which could hardly have inspired anyone to further efforts.

Cortés himself went to Spain about the end of December, 1539,[37] and spent the remainder of his life there occupied with his many suits before the Council and in fruitless appeals to the Emperor for more favorable consideration of his services. He died in his bed near Seville, December 2, 1547, at the age of sixty-three. With him passed away the mighty race of *conquistadores;* Alvarado, Almagro, Soto and Pizarro had already met untimely ends.

CHAPTER I

VOYAGE OF FRANCISCO DE ULLOA

Ulloa was the first navigator of whom we have any knowledge to reach the northwest coast of America, using that term in its broadest sense as representing the coast from Cabo San Lucas, indefinitely to the north.[1] The map of Santa Cruz which Cortés filed with his *acta* of possession of that country indicates that some ship belonging to him had previously discovered that cape and even sailed in the Pacific a hundred miles or so to the north of it. Indeed Cortés once claimed to have discovered the cape himself. No other record exists, however, of such explorations; there is only a vague hint to a similar effect in Ulloa's account of his voyage. The instructions which Cortés issued to him are unfortunately lacking and we are therefore forced to assume what the objects of the expedition were from incidental remarks of Ulloa and statements made afterwards by Cortés. When Cortés returned from Santa Cruz he took with him some Indians to be taught Spanish so that they could act as interpreters. Ulloa had one of these with him and made persistent efforts to get hold of Indians to question regarding the country. It is to be regretted that he found none who could be understood as we then would certainly have obtained much information about the objects of the expedition from the questions put to them. According to Cortés the hope or expectation of discovering the "Seven Cities," or at least securing from the natives information regarding them, was the principal one.

When Ulloa set sail it is probable that all the real knowledge Cortés possessed regarding the country to the north was that which he had obtained directly or indirectly from Cabeza de Vaca and his companions. If they had no more to say than what Cabeza de Vaca wrote in his account of the journey he certainly had very little, as even at this day it is practically impossible to ascertain from this how they reached the Rio Yaqui. That river had been discovered by Diego de Guzman, one of Nuño de Guzman's lieutenants in 1533, but it would appear that Cortés was not aware of that fact until sometime afterwards. From the stress which he afterwards laid on the voyage of Hurtado de Mendoza, who he said, had reached a point as far north as 27° on the coast of Sonora sometime in 1532, he evidently made this the basis of his claim to have made the northernmost discovery on that coast. It is not likely that he even reached that far north when he went over to the coast from Santa Cruz in search of food. His map shows the Rio San Pedro y San Pablo, evidently the Sinaloa, and a short stretch of coast to the north of it. He afterwards claimed that when the Indians he took back with him from Santa Cruz had learned Spanish they told him about the "Seven Cities" and gave him the same information regarding them which Niza brought back. He even alleged that he had pre-

viously passed that information on to Niza whom he had expected to send out with some expedition to the north. Niza denied this *in toto*[2] and the improbability of the story has not failed to attract the attention of all the defenders of that visionary Franciscan. It seems almost impossible to believe from the knowledge subsequently acquired of the Indians at the southern end of the Peninsula of California, that they could have possessed any information whatever of the communities in central New Mexico or eastern Arizona. That those on the Rio Yaqui and perhaps farther south in Sonora had some knowledge of these towns seems certain and if Cortés' Indians had come from that part of the country we might give greater credit to his assertions. As it is, the only certainty is that he was acquainted with Cabeza de Vaca's story.

From our present knowledge of the geography of the country the sending of an expedition up the Pacific to hunt for the "Seven Cities" or even information about them seems foolish, but at that time the lower end of the Peninsula of California was believed to be an island and as the coast of the mainland extended in a northerly direction there was good reason for believing that by following it some reliable news might be obtained of Cabeza de Vaca's walled towns.[3] A full realization of the distance of these from the Pacific was not obtained until much later.

Ulloa had under his command three ships, the *Santa Agueda* of perhaps 120 tons, the *Trinidad* of 35 and the *Santo Tomás* of 20.[4] Three Franciscan friars accompanied the expedition, Fray Antonio de Meno, Fray Raimundo (perhaps Anyelibus)[5] and Fray Pedro de Ariche. Meno returned on the *Santa Agueda* and Fray Raimundo was to have been sent by Mendoza on the second Alarcon expedition and therefore must also have returned. None of the early chronicles of the Franciscan Order mention any of the names, nor is any record of them to be found in the numerous *relaciones de servicios* of this period examined. To the *actas* of possession are appended the signatures of various of the important members of the party. Five of these presented *informaciones de servicios* some time between 1547 and 1550: Francisco Preciado (the author of the account in Ramusio); Francisco de Terrazas the younger; Juan de Montaño; Gonzalo Hidalgo de Montemayor, and Martin de Espinosa.[6] All except Preciado had previously accompanied Cortés on his expedition to Santa Cruz. The pilots were Juan Castellon and Pedro de Bermes.

In the storm which the little fleet encountered August 27, the *Santo Tomás* began to make water and soon disappeared. She was under the command of a pilot named Manuel Alfonso who apparently only had a crew of three or four men. At either Santiago or Acapulco the pilot landed a negro to advise Cortés of what had occurred, but he was seized by Rodrigo Maldonado who, Cortés, afterwards claimed, had been placed in the port for that purpose.[7] Cortés even asserted that Maldonado had tortured the negro in the effort to extract some information from him about Ulloa's movements, and when unable to accomplish this followed the vessel on the coast with some men waiting for her

to come to land.[8] The *Santo Tomás* finally turned up off the bar of Tehuantepec sometime in November and anchored, waiting to enter the port. One of the severe northers so common there struck her and she was obliged to cut her cable and run before it, leaving her boat behind. Unable to anchor along the coast the pilot took the ship to Guatulco where two officers came on board and took him prisoner. They also carried away his sails, the tiller and the oars, leaving the small vessel in a dangerous plight.[9] These were afterwards returned by Mendoza's order on the complaint of Cortés.[10]

Having gone up the Gulf of California as far as they could the other two ships following the coast of the peninsula south, rounded Cabo San Lucas and reached the Isla de Cedros in January, 1540. Ulloa, even after the greatest efforts, found it impossible to proceed any farther than some point on the mainland just to the north of that island. April 5 he sent back the *Santa Agueda* with an account of his voyage up to that date and sailed north again with the *Trinidad*. Preciado, who returned on the *Santa Agueda,* wrote a short account of the return voyage, especially remarking the great number of whales near Cabo San Lucas and the kelp at the Isla de Cedros. Of those on board he only mentioned the captain, Juan Castellon, and Fray Antonio de Meno, or Melo as he called him. The *Santa Agueda* reached Santiago de Buena Esperanza April 18 and departed for Acapulco four or five days later. Up to May 17, when Preciado finished his account, he had heard no more news of her.

Did Ulloa himself return? The evidence that he did is both positive and circumstantial. Bernal Diaz del Castillo stated definitely that he returned to the Puerto de Xalisco and was afterwards stabbed by one of his men.[11] Cortés himself in his memorial written after the Argel campaign alleged that Ulloa had returned because Mendoza had prevented him from sending relief to him,[12] and again in 1543 in an answer to an interrogatory in Madrid about the daughter of Antonio Cordero, one of his pilots who had been accidentally killed during the expedition to Santa Cruz, he affirmed that Ulloa had carried her off and referred to him for further information, a proof that he at that time thought that Ulloa was still alive.[13] At the end of Richard Hakluyt's translation of Preciado's account is a statement not found in the Italian text that Ulloa discovered Cabo del Engaño in 30½° and then returned on account of a shortage of provisions. As no mention of the cape occurs in the narrative, it would naturally be assumed that Hakluyt had information that Ulloa had discovered it after having left Isla de Cedros April 5. The statement is not very convincing, however, as, although Hakluyt may have learned this from some Spanish friend or now lost document, it is more probable that it was simply one of his numerous interpolations based on the known fact that someone had discovered and named Cabo del Engaño about that time.

The circumstantial evidence is much more abundant and perhaps even more convincing. The first recorded *acta* of possession by Cabrillo was made north of Punta Antonio, the modern name for what was probably Cabo del Engaño,

thus furnishing us with some evidence that he, who certainly had some map showing Ulloa's discoveries, thought that Ulloa had gone nearly that far north. A further bit of strong circumstantial evidence exists in the fact that among the *relaciones de servicios* made before 1550 in Mexico, not one of the hundreds so far examined mentions the fact that Ulloa was lost, not even those of the five who stated specifically that they had accompanied him. One of these at least, Francisco de Terrazas, should have gone on with him as he was the *veedor*. In the short account of the expedition written after the return of Alarcon in November, 1540, it is not said that Ulloa was lost.[14]

Finally, the cartographical documents perhaps furnish the strongest evidence. On all the early maps showing the results of this expedition, two names occur not found in either the Ulloa or Preciado accounts: Cabo del Engaño and Los Cazones. In neither of these accounts is there any mention of any cape which might deserve the name of "false," and if Los Cazones was simply a nickname for the islands which Ulloa named "San Esteban," that is, Cedros and Natividad, that nickname must have occurred in some other account.[15] As far as can be made out, the two vessels never reached farther north than 30°, that is, half a degree or less north of the Isla de Cedros, and far removed from the Cabo del Engaño which appears on the maps of Sebastian Cabot and Battista Agnese.[16] If the Cazones were not the Islas de San Esteban they must have been either the San Benitos or islands still farther north, none of which were discovered before the *Santa Agueda* departed from Cedros. Besides the maps just mentioned, there is another by Diego de Homem, dated 1568, which displays Ulloa's names, as well as others north of Cedros not shown on the above mentioned maps. This affords proof that there had been some expedition on that part of the coast. As the *San Pedro,* the only other vessel to pass along this coast between the time of Ulloa's voyage and 1568, did not stop there, it seems probable that we have in Homem's map some traces of the return voyage of Ulloa. On this hypothesis he would have started south in early July naming places in the following order: San Juan (Gualberto), July 12; Los Apóstoles (the separation of), July 15; Magdalena, July 22, and Santa Ana, July 26. It might appear then that he had reached as far north as 32° or 33°.[17]

As opposed to this cumulative evidence we have a positive statement from Herrera that he never returned. It is not impossible, however, that Herrera, who drew his information from Preciado, may have misinterpreted, as many others have done, the remark of Preciado at the end of his account that he had not heard any more of the *Santa Agueda,* and thought that this referred to Ulloa.

The Narrative of Ulloa

In the great city of Tenochtitlan,[18] Mexico, in this New Spain, on the twenty-ninth day of the month of May in the year of Our Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand five hundred and forty, before the very noble Señor Juan de Burgos, *alcalde ordinario* for their Majesties of this said City of Mexico and in the presence of me, Alonso Diaz de Gibraleon, notary for their Majesties, and registered notary public of this said City of Mexico, appeared in person Francisco Sanchez de Toledo, on behalf of the Señor Marqués del Valle, and presented a written petition, as follows:

Very noble sir: I, Francisco Sanchez de Toledo, major-domo for the very illustrious Señor Marqués del Valle, and on behalf of the said Marqués, appear before your honor and declare that I have need to make certain authorized transcripts of certain documents which Captain Francisco de Ulloa is forwarding to my said principal, concerning the new land and the discovery on which my said principal sent him; and because I desire to send these to the said Marqués and fear lest they may be torn or lost or wet or burned, I therefore petition and entreat your honor to have them copied in clear legal form, and to authorize and legalize each copy as fully as may be, delivering same to me to present wherever my principal's interests may require.

The said written petition having been so presented in the said manner, the said *alcalde* received into his hands a written relation and seven acts of possession, and saw that they were not torn or cancelled or in any respect suspicious, and said that he ordered, and did order me the said . . . [About five lines torn off] . . . ordered me, because the inspector has it so, and drawn by my hand, from which your lordship will not learn much more than from this one, except the course and how the coast runs and its inlets and outlets; wherefore I refer your lordship to this map, which I forward with this narrative.[19] It was made by this pilot who is going with me.[20] He and the other one have disagreed on the latitudes. The narrative is in accordance with the latitude determined by him because I consider him to be a man who knows what he's about, especially in the matter of latitude. Furthermore, he keeps his astrolabe and instruments carefully corrected and in good order, which is not the case with Juan de Castellon's. For this reason I have been guided by them.[21]

With this narrative will be found seven acts of possession taken for your lordship of lands through which we passed.

Record and narrative of the voyage and discovery which, in the name of Our Lord, was made after this, your lordship's fleet, had left the Puerto de Acapulco, July 8, 1539; as far as this, Isla de Cedros,[22] where I now am, on April 5, 1540.

First, with the ships (which God preserve), one called the *Santa Agueda,* another the *Trinidad,* and the other the *Santo Tomás,* we left the Puerto de Acapulco on July 8 with fair weather, although some heavy showers fell and there was much wind, so much that we were somewhat hard pressed as we sailed along the coast. On reaching the locality of Punta de Motin on Wednesday, the 16th of the said month, as we sailed there there was a little wi . . . . [About eight lines gone].

. . . . the capstan, well Our Lord was pleased to permit us to recover without any loss all the sails and cordage and everything else that went overboard.

Next day at dawn we put ourselves into the best condition we could to continue our voyage, but it was not so good but that the breaking of these masts proved a considerable handicap during our voyage, especially since there befell us some seven or eight days of calms and little wind. We arrived at the Puerto de Santiago de Buena Esperanza[23] on Sunday, 7th [27th] of the said month.

We were twenty-six days in this port, repairing the damage the *Santa Agueda* had suffered, awaiting the supplies they were to give us, and taking on water and wood and other things necessary to our voyage.

After we had done as above stated in this port, and the supplies had come, we left on Saturday, August 23, and as we were putting out at ten o'clock at night, the wind turned contrary in such manner that we were compelled to return to our anchorage. At dawn the wind blew favorably again so that we again weighed, and as we sailed with fair weather, fifteen leagues beyond the Islas de Xalisco, on a Wednesday, 27th of this month of August, we were caught in a storm which lasted more than twenty-four hours. It occasioned us some difficulty, especially the *Santo Tomás.* Wracked by the wind and waves, she began to make water, and so badly that those aboard could not keep it down, according to what they told me, shouting to me that they were sinking and could not keep afloat. God grant that this may not be true, and that they are there, safe![24]

I answered them, encouraging them the best I could and urging them to exert themselves, to fear not and to work that night as best they could, that I would follow them and repair the ship when the storm was over, since at that moment our fortune permitted nothing more. And, if the storm separated us that night, I bade them meet in the Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz,† where your lordship was, for they knew that it was a known harbor, safe for the whole fleet to enter and leave without any difficulty or danger, as was no other we could make on that coast. When I had told them this, they stood away on the

course I had laid down and I remained behind waiting for the *Santa Agueda,* which was coming up last, in order to speak her and order her what to do, if we were to follow the other vessel.

I could not speak her, because Castellon (who was steering her) invariably endeavored to keep away, so that I could not speak him; for which reason and others which I will report to your lordship I did not dare to leave this ship this night to follow the other, but, on the contrary, I stood by her all that night, watching her, that she might not play me some trick of the sort which are played, for there was wind and opportunity for it. When the next day dawned I spoke him and gave him orders to follow the course and the route taken by the other ship, which he was able to do without difficulty, for the weather was now fair and the wind suitable for doing so. We stood away and without stopping sailed as far as it seemed to us the other ship could have gone, which was until we arrived in the vicinity of El Guayaval.[25]

Seeing that we had not found the ship, nor did she appear on all that coast, we drew near the Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz,†[26] to see if she had gone, or was going there, as I had told them on August 29. We arrived off Santiago[27] and Isla de las Perlas[28] on the 31st of the said month. We went about these islands with calms and fair weather and contrary winds for eight days, unable to make the port. We made it on Sunday, September 7, and we could have made it the Saturday before, except that the pilot Castellon made a mistake in entering and grounded the *Santa Agueda* in the shallows at the entrance.[29] We were all that day and the next getting her off and bringing her into the said port. Our Lord granted that she should come off without any detriment or damage.

We were in this Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz† two days, taking on water and wood and other things, and timber which we needed, all of which we did without difficulty or contradiction from the natives, and even without seeing a man of them, except three or four whom we saw at the entrance, on the height of the hill which is by the little inlet your lordship will recall. We saw a smoke or two inland at a good distance from us.[30] We found the headquarters and camp which your lordship had there all destroyed and without a sign of a house or anything else of what we had left, except some pieces of pottery and demijohns lying about. Everything was burned, as the posts of the houses showed, which we found underground. We found certain campsites at a distance from this camp, abandoned many days before, it seemed, and somewhat inland on the river.[31]

Seeing that the ship of which we had come in search was not in the port, nor had arrived there in the two days we were there, nor in the eight we were before the entrance to this port, and that during this time there had been some weather favorable to her coming, we weighed on September 10[32] and stood away for the Rios de San Pedro y Pablo, to see if we could find her in either of them or along the coast. We arrived off the said rivers at noon, the 12th of

the said month.[33] Finding that the ship was not in these rivers we continued on our way northward along the coast, running in and out, as the contour of the coast required.

Eight leagues beyond these rivers we found a very large river with two mouths, which poured a very great quantity of white water into the sea, in such amount that it was distinguishable four or five leagues out to sea.[34] According to the men who tried it, it did not taste as salty as sea water. Here they made us a smoke signal, but we paid no attention to it, for it seemed to us that it was very near the Rios de San Pedro y San Pablo; it was already known what sort their inhabitants were, and we did not wish to lose the wind, which was fair and favorable to the prosecution of our voyage. This river is in latitude 27° 15′.[35] We named it "Rio de Nuestra Señora," for we found it on her day.[36] We continued on the same courses, and sixteen leagues beyond this river found an open bay which the land formed. We desired to enter this to see it and what there was inside, but we could not come up within two leagues of the land for the sea was so shallow that there was not more than a fathom or a fathom and a half [of water]. Seeing that we could not bring the ships nearer, I sent a boat with certain seamen and landsmen to inspect it, and they saw it was a bay, as above stated. It had within it three large estuaries, full of mangroves, which led into the land. One entered toward the east, another toward the northeast, and the other toward the north-northeast. We named it "Los Esteros de la Cruz†, because it is near a high hill which we had so named the day before. It will be recognized by these estuaries and by its latitude of 28°.[37]

This day we saw ten or twelve Indians on the shore. Because of the distance we could not see what sort they were, but they seemed to us to be naked people. At night they made us two or three fire signals on the coast. This same night, before midnight, we weighed, continuing the same course.[38]

Twenty-five leagues beyond these estuaries we came upon the mouth of a river or lake or inlet, and it, too, poured white water into the sea. I think it is a river rather than anything else, because there were some big dry trees across the mouth, which are probably those it brings down when it runs high. We wished to enter it but found no channel. It seemed to us to carry a good volume of water. It is in latitude full 29°. They made us a smoke signal. We named this river "San Francisco," for we saw it on his day, or the evening before.[39]

We went forward along the coast on our course, and eighteen leagues beyond this river we found a port which is the best seen to this day, according to all the seamen in this fleet and even according to the landsmen. We went into this port to inspect it and see what there was in it. When inside we saw another estuary which ran inland more than two leagues toward the north. The entrance is very deep and clean and clear. Once inside, this harbor is enclosed on all sides and so sheltered from the sea that the sea cannot be seen

from within it, except from near the entrance. It has five or six fathoms of water everywhere, and a very clean sandy bottom, all of the same depth and cleanliness. This principal harbor has within it many other ports and indentations, as large as itself, as deep and as clean. They are such and so excellent that as many ships as it may be desired to anchor can lie here safely with any cable, no matter how slender. Because of these secondary ports we called this harbor "El Puerto de los Puertos," and the bay in which it is "La Bahia de la Posesion," for here was taken the first possession for your lordship on this voyage.

This harbor has two entrance channels, formed by an island at the mouth of it, both of them very clear, deep and clean. One enters north-south and the other east-west. It can be identified by the bay in which it lies, which is indeed large and pronounced, and by its latitude of 29° 45′.[40] We were in it examining it for two days, and saw no people nor sign of any except some old charcoal on the beach, charred many days before. While we were exploring the ports within this port we found in one of them two or three campsites abandoned many days previously, of the same sort as those of the Indians of the Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz, where your lordship was. A little narrow, little used path came up to them from the interior. In these camps we found half a clay pot. The character of the land around this port and of all we could see of it is poor—very poor. Perhaps it is because it is all high mountain ranges, or bare rock, without trees or green except some cactus[41] and shrubs of the kind which grow around the Baia y Puerto de Santa Cruz†. Seeing that there were no people in this port, nor did it seem likely that the interior was inhabited by people different from those the campsites suggested, I took possession for your lordship[42] and we went on, in order to make the most of the favorable wind.

The land we left behind, from the Rios de San Pedro y San Pablo to this Puerto de los Puertos—sixty-two leagues—is very low land, sandy, with few hills, such as there are being very small. The sea is not very deep; a league and two leagues from shore we did not find in all this distance more than eight to fifteen fathoms.

We weighed from this Puerto de los Puertos on Friday, September 19, sailing north, in and out, as the contour of the coast guided us. Seventeen leagues from this Puerto de los Puertos we found a little uninhabited island, a league or two from the mainland in latitude full 30°.[43]

Following the said course, thirty leagues beyond this little island we entered a strait formed by the mainland and an uninhabited island, which was four leagues wide and twelve long. There is very deep water between it and the mainland. It lies in latitude 31° and at its entrance there are two little islets. We named it "Estrecho de San Miguel," for we passed through it on his day.[44]

Having passed through this strait, following the said course for thirty leagues, in latitude 32° 45′ we saw at sea six or seven white, high sharp rocks for which reason we named them "Los Diamantes."[45] Four or five leagues

past them we commenced to find the water white, like river water, and as we sailed through this water we saw land to the southwest, eight or nine leagues from us. Thinking that it was an island we went to it to see it and to learn what it was. The nearer we came to it the less depth we got, to such extent that we found ourselves in four or five fathoms and the sea all reddish and turned to mud. Because the water was shallow where we were and the water turbid, we anchored, to find a way to draw nearer that land. We did not find it nor could we get nearer than we were, it being more than two leagues away. Therefore, this same day, it being then late, we turned back to the mainland to see if between it and this other land we might find deep water in order to continue on.

We found a channel two leagues from the mainland, eight fathoms deep, into which its two tides flooded every twenty-four hours in their order, flood and ebb, without falling off a jot and with a flood and an ebb current so strong that it was marvelous. When the tide ran out it left dry, and when it flooded it covered more than two leagues which lay between where we were and the mainland. We anchored in this channel because it was late to go forward, in order next day to see what thing this was and where it ended.[46]

The next day, Monday, September 28, we wished to continue on but as the day dawned, it being low tide, we saw the whole sea where we must pass, between one land and the other, closed with shoals, and in addition to this we saw, between one land and the other, many summits of mountains, the bases of which we could not see for the earth's curvature.[47] Since for these reasons we could not go ahead I landed on a sand-bar nearby and took possession for your lordship. This done, we came out of that channel with the tide and stood away southwest, to pass around the land which we saw there, in order to continue our voyage on the other side of it.[48]

This inlet and reddish sea are in 34°. We named it the "Ancon[49] de San Andrés y Mar Bermejo," because it is that color and we arrived there on the day of San Andrés.[50] It is 104 leagues from El Puerto de los Puertos. The character of the land—of that which comes down to the sea—is poor, very poor. It may be because for sixty leagues beyond El Puerto de los Puertos it is very high land, all stone — sheer rocks — without any verdure or green thing. The sea off these coasts is quite deep. The rest of the country as far as the Ancon de San Andrés and Mar Bermejo is very level land, all sand, and the sea is shallow one and two leagues off shore. In all these 104 leagues we did not see a person or sign of any; I do not believe that such land can be inhabited. We weighed from Ancon de San Andrés and Mar Bermejo on Sunday, September 28,[51] and stood away southeast to make around the land, in which direction we had to seek a passage on the other side of it, to continue our voyage.[52]

On the same course and coast, thirty-six leagues from this Ancon and Mar Bermejo, four leagues ahead of where we were, we saw what looked like a very

large smoke signal, and because we were all desirous of seeing the people of these lands, believing this to be a smoke signal, we took careful note of its situation and next day stood away for it, in order to see what sort of people they were who made it. When we reached the place, according to the observation we had taken, we found a very large bay which had a high sandy islet at the mouth of it, off which we anchored. I entered between the islet and the bay in a boat and went to the place where we had located the smoke signal. While we were in the bay we saw another smoke signal where the first had been, and very near to us, on the same hill which was at the mouth of the bay. We were all astounded to see the smoke and not to see fire nor people who had made it. We thought it must be some volcano and I wanted to go up to it to see. While we were looking over the bay and reconnoitering to see if there were any people who might do me damage, I saw in my presence and in that of all those who were with me a great lot of sand fall from the hill at the mouth of the bay. The dust it raised ascended so high and so dark that truly it looked like smoke.

Seeing that this was what we had thought to be a smoke signal, but was not such, nor were there any people or any possibility that the land was inhabited, for it seemed to us to be very dry and sterile and without any virtue or verdure, since it was all very high ranges of the sort of stone of which they make knives in New Spain, and seeing that it was not smoke which had seemed smoke to us, nor was there any likelihood of there being people in the land, I spent this day exploring the bay and observing its character. I found it to be a port as fine and big as could be. Once inside, it is so closed in on all sides that the sea is not visible. The bottom is clean and of any depth those who enter it wish to seek. It has two large clean entrances, free of obstacles, formed by the island. Inside we found so many seals that were I to say there were a hundred thousand I think I would not be exaggerating. For this reason we named it "El Puerto de los Lobos." One entrance bears northwest-southeast and the other northeast-south-southwest. It can be identified by the latitude of 31½° in which it lies, and by the sand islet at its mouth which makes it so good a port. This islet is high and noticeable.[53]

The character of the land from Ancon de San Andrés and Mar Bermejo, whence we stood away for this port, is high and bare, of wretched aspect without any verdure. The sea is deep.

While we were riding this night off the mouth of this bay, waiting for wind to sail in continuance of our voyage, we saw a fire two leagues from us. I therefore stayed where I was anchored until next day, in order to go to see the people who had built it. As soon as day broke—it was October 3—I went there in a boat, and, having reached the place where the fire was, before we landed we saw on shore an old man and another young man with three or four boys. Seeing us approaching them, the young man demanded of one of the boys his bows and some arrows which he had left at a little distance. When

the boy had fetched them, he took the bow and tried it, apparently to see if it were strung. He and the rest stood still where they were, without any harm or fear, although we were coming close to them. Seeing them so assured we thought they must not be alone but rather had some ambuscade laid, and that their assurance was a ruse. Therefore we chose not to land near them, although we might have done so; instead, we drew away to another place, in order to reconnoiter a gully where they were and certain bushes back of them. When we had so reconnoitered we landed and went toward them. They stood still until we had come within twenty or thirty paces of them. Finding us so near, they arose and the old man came toward us, placing his hand before his eyes like one who protects his sight from the sun. The rest began to flee up a high hill and presently the old man started after them. We seized him to see him and what manner of men he and the rest were, and to find out if he could understand the Indian we brought from the Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz. He spoke another language. The rest were naked people without any clothing, garments or covering. Their hair was cut two or three fingers long.

They had a little enclosure of woven grass without any cover over the top, where they lodged, ten or twelve paces from the sea.[54] We found inside no sort of bread nor anything resembling it, nor any other food except fish, of which they had some which they had killed with well-twisted cords which they had and with some thick hooks made of tortoise shell bent in fire, and with others, smaller, made of thorns. They kept their drinking water in certain skin pouches which we thought must be the stomachs of seals. They had a little raft which they must have used in fishing. It was made of canes tied in three bundles, each part separately, and then all tied together, the middle section being larger than the laterals. They rowed it with a slender oar, little more than half a fathom long, and two small badly made paddles, one at each end. We judged these people to be nomads, possessed of little intelligence.[55]

Seeing that they were of this quality and that we could not by any means learn from them anything concerning the land, we released him and gave him back everything that was in their camp and other things we carried, and he returned to his people. We embarked to return to our ships which were more than two leagues out. When we had hardly drawn off a bowshot from where they were, two of the boys who had fled came down to the shore to draw the raft into safety. We arrived at our ships quite late and tired, and after difficulty, for the wind blew hard against us and the sea grew very rough. In this camp where these Indians were there were rabbits, hares[56] and coyotes.[57]

No less worry and weariness did we endure this day on account of the *Trinidad,* which stood away before daybreak to continue on our course, as on other occasions we were wont to do. Because she was at some distance from the vessel in which I was, she did not see the fire that I saw nor did I have a chance to inform her of it. Therefore she kept on, thinking that I also was continuing on the course, and she was lost from view. I thought that she saw me remain-

ing behind and that she would return, although she had the wind against her, and that to do so she was standing out to sea in order to turn and come up along the coast with the seabreeze. Therefore I did not wish to go after her and so not go to see the Indians. After I returned aboard I did not wish to sail, in order not to miss her in the night.

Next day, October 4, we sailed on our voyage southeast in search of the ship. We followed the coast, in and out, according to its contour. It was so dark this day, so thick and foggy, that we could not have seen the ship even had we been close upon her nor could she have seen the vessel in which I was; therefore, I hardly sailed at all this day or night in order not to miss her. The following day and night it was the same sort and manner of weather, and neither did we sail. The third day dawned dry and clear and Our Lord was pleased to permit us to find the ship. We came together again and I spoke those who were aboard her, blaming them for having been careless and for having sailed without me. They gave as their excuse the understanding above set forth. I warned them not to be careless in the future and we continued on our voyage.

On the same course,[58] ten leagues from the Puerto de los Lobos, we came upon an uninhabited island about fifteen leagues long and six wide.[59] It lies parallel to the mainland, two or three leagues away and is the same sort of land as the mainland and belongs to it.[60] In the mainland there is a great bay, in which we anchored, to take possession there and to see if there were any people different from those we had seen, and to see if there was water we could take in a river which empties there, for we were in need of water. We found no people, only some few traces of them, many days old, nor did we find water we could take. I took possession for your lordship and we re-embarked to continue our voyage. This bay is in latitude 30½°.[61] We named it the "Baia de San Marcos," for we arrived there on his day.[62]

From this bay to Puerto de los Lobos, whence we weighed when the ship was lost, as above described, it is twenty leagues. At night we saw some fires, far apart. The character of the land is the same as the preceding and the sea is deep.

While we were anchored in this Baia de San Marcos, waiting for wind to sail, we saw two fires more than a league apart, and in order to see the people who built them we remained without making sail the next day and went to see them. Arriving where one of the fires was, when we were still a bowshot away from the place we saw two men, tall, naked and of good appearance, with bows and arrows in their hands. When they saw us approaching them they went behind some stakes where they lived, making believe they were squatting and hiding, as if lying in wait for us. They did this to delay our landing while they got away and placed their women and children in safety. Seeing that we drew near in order to land, they fled up a hill where they lived in two enclosures made like the others we had seen. There were tracks there of ten or twelve persons, some small and some large, probably their women and children. Here

we found no sort of bread nor anything resembling it. They kept their drinking water in the stomachs of fish. We found a bowl like the small ones found among the people of the Baia y Puerto de Santa Cruz and this led us to conclude that this land and people are all one. We went some distance inland to inspect the character of the country and to see if there were more people besides those we had seen. We found none, nor any better country than that left behind us. There were some trails which ran along the coast, narrow and little travelled, there were rabbits and hares and many tracks of coyotes. Having seen these things, as related in this paragraph, we returned to take boat again for our ships and make sail. This we could not do that day as the wind was contrary.

Then, next day, Wednesday, October 8, with little wind and sometimes calms, we stood away between this land and the island on a southeast course. After six or seven leagues we disembogued between this land and another.[63] Six leagues farther on we found another uninhabited island, which measures nine leagues long and five wide and is five or six leagues from the mainland.[64] There are two or three other little islets between this island and the one behind at the Baia de San Marcos. Eighteen or nineteen leagues farther on, we found another uninhabited island, five or six leagues long and two or three wide,[65] and four leagues beyond this, another of the same sort and size.

On Sunday at dawn,[66] while between this island and the mainland, a man came out from the mainland towards the ship on a raft. He came out a crossbowshot from land and, on reaching there, stood up on his raft and remained there, still, looking at our ships. Presently, after he had looked them over, he spoke certain words in a loud voice and returned whence he had come. A little while after, he came out again from where he had gone with four others on four more rafts. Talking among themselves, they came half again nearer than he had come who came the first time, and he who had come the first time led the way. Having arrived at this distance, they began to shout in a language which the Indian we brought from the Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz did not understand, nor did they understand him. So they remained a long time without being willing to come nearer although we called them by signs and showed them things to barter and to give them, to which they paid little heed.

Seeing that they would not come up and were returning whence they had come, I went out after them in a boat to see if I could take some one of them so as to give him things and release him. I overtook the one who seemed to be of more importance than the others, for he was the one who came nearest and talked the most—the one who had come out first on the first raft—and when we came up with him he left his raft and dived into the sea and swam. I kept after him for more than half an hour but could not capture him, for every time the boat reached him he dived under the bow and after quite a while came up beyond the stern. Although we exerted ourselves to turn the boat quickly and go after him again, he had meanwhile rested, floating on the water,

in order to do the same thing again; and so he kept it up with good spirit and without weakening in the least until he had so tired us out that those who rowed the boat could no longer start it going. His companions came to his assistance on the other rafts, and seeing that we could not take him I returned to the ships.

He and the others whom this day we saw on the rafts and on land, eight or ten men, were naked people of good appearance. Their hair was trimmed two or three fingers long. Altogether they had two or three bows with arrows. The rafts of canes on which they came out were larger than the first I described above, but of the same make and style. They rowed with the same sort of sticks and paddles. We remained this day in this vicinity, for we had not the wind to proceed. The Indians walked about upon the beach. They made us a smoke signal and a fire at night.

The channel between this island and the mainland, where these Indians were, is in latitude 28° 40′, and we named it "Pasaje de Belen,"[67] because when the Indian called to his companions for help, he said *"Belen!"* It is thirty-six leagues from this Pasaje de Belen to Baia de San Marcos, behind it.[68] At night while between Baia de San Marcos and Pasaje de Belen we saw a few fires, far apart. The character of the land is poor like the preceding, except in the vicinity where these Indians were, where there appeared to be a little more verdure. Seeing that these poeple and those whom we had seen previously were all of one kind, and that this land and the Baia de Santa Cruz were also all one, to judge by the appearance of the people and the trend of the land and its appearance, and finding ourselves so near it and thinking it likely that between it and where we were there could not be anything of any more account, we stood away for there on a southwest course,[69] running in and out, as the contour of the coast required.

We weighed from Pasaje de Belen on October 13, and arrived at the Puerto y Bahia de Santa Cruz on the 19th. Between Pasaje de Belen and this place there are some little uninhabited islands of wretched aspect and of the size which your lordship will see by this map. At night we saw some fires ashore, few and far apart, like the preceding. The land showed a little more verdure and the nearer we came to the Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz the greener the land looked to us.

[*As the account given by Ulloa in the two preceding paragraphs is very brief and omits to take notice of one of the essential facts about the expedition, there is inserted here that part of Chapter VI of the Preciado account, as translated by Hakluyt, which covers the interval between October 13 and October 19.*]

At our comming out of these openings[70] we began to finde a Bay with a very great haven, environed with divers small hilles having upon them greene woods and pleasant to behold.[71] In this bay and strand were two small Islands neere unto the shore, one of the which was like unto a table about halfe a league in bignes, and the other was a round hill almost as big as the former. These Islands served us onely to content our sight, for we passed by them without staying, having but a slacke wind on Munday morning: all which day we followed our course with the foresayd slacke winde, and within a while after it

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became flat contrary, so that we were constrained to anker at the sayd point of the sayd haven;[72] and on Tewesday at breake of day we set sayle, but made but little away all the day, because the winde continued contrary, although but very weake. The night following wee were becalmed a little beyond the point of this haven; but about midnight wee began to have a fresh gale, and on Wednesday in the morning wee were seven leagues distant from that point. This countrey shewed (as it was indeede) more plaine then the rest, with certaine small woody hilles, and within the other point which was before descried, the situation seemed to be more pleasant and delightsome then the rest which we had passed. And at the uttermost end of the point were two small Islets. The sayd Wednesday about nine of the clocke the winde blew a good gale, and we sayled by evening between seven and eight leagues, and came over against a land not very high, where wee saw certaine creekes or breaches not very ragged, into every of which a river seemed to fall, because the soyle was very greene, and had certaine trees growing on it farre bigger then those which we had found before. Here the Captaine with five or sixe men went on shore, and taking possession passed up one of those rivers, and found the footing of many Indians upon the sand.[73] On the bankes of that river they saw many fruitful trees, as cherry-trees and little apple-trees,[74] and other white trees: they found also in the wood three or foure beasts called Adibes, which are a kind of dogs. The same night wee set sayle with the winde off the land, which blew so freshly, that it made us to strike our foresayle; and on the sixteenth of October at nine of the clocke we came neere unto a point of certaine high mountaines, on which day being Thursday we made little way, because the winde ceased, but it rose againe in the night, whereupon by the breake of day on Friday wee came before the sayd point being sixe or seven leagues off. The land seemed to bee very mountainous with certaine sharpe points not greatly clad with grasse, but somewhat bare. On our left hand wee saw two Islands, the one of a league and a halfe, the other not so much, and it seemed that we drew neere to the port of Santa Cruz, whereat we were sory, because we were alwaies in good hope to find some out-let into the maine Ocean in some place of that land, and that The same port was the same out-let, and also that by the sayd coast we might returne to the foresayd haven of Santa Cruz, and that we had committed a great error, because we had not certainely sought out the secret, whether that were a Streit or a river which we had left behind us unsearched at the bottome of this great sea or gulfe.

All Friday and the night following we sayled with a scante winde, and on Saturday at breake of day we were betweene two points of land which make a bay, wherein we saw before and behinde foure or five great and small Islands.[75] The land was very mountainous, part whereof was covered with grasse, and part was voide. Within the land appeared more mountaines and hils, and in this place we were come neere unto the haven of Santa Cruz, which is all firme land, except it be divided in the very nooke by some streite or great river which parteth it from the maine, which because we had not thoroughly discovered, all of us that were imployed in this voyage were not a little grieved. And this maine land stretcheth so farre in length, that I cannot well expresse it: for from the haven of Acapulco, which standeth in seventeene degrees and twenty minutes of latitude, wee had alwayes the coast of the firme land on our right hand, until we came to the great current of the white & red sea: and here (as I have said) we knew not the secret of this current, whether it were caused by a river or by a streit: and so supposing that the coast which wee had on our right hand was closed up without passage, wee returned backe againe, alwayes descending Southward by our degrees, untill wee returned unto the sayd haven of Santa Cruz, finding still along the coast a goodly and pleasant countrey and still seeing fires made by the Indians, and Canoas made of Canes. We determined to take in fresh water at the haven of Santa Cruz, to runne along the outward Westerne coast, and to see what it was, if it pleased God. Here we rested ourselves, and eat of the plummes[76] and fruits called Pithaias:[77] [This day being Saturday the winde increased, and wee had sight of the Isle of pearles, which on this side of the gulfe appeareth with a deepe valley all covered over with trees, and sheweth much fairer then on the other side],[78] and wee entred into the port of Santa Cruz on Sunday the 18 of October and stayed there eight daies to take in wood and water resting our selves all that while, that our men might strengthen and refresh themselves. Our captaine determined to divide amongst us certain garments of taffata, with clokes and saies, and a piece of taffata, and likewise ordained, that wee should goe on land to catch a couple of Indians, that they might talke with our interpreter, and that we might come to the knowledge of their language. Whereupon thirteene of us went out of our ship by night, and lay in ambush in a place which is called The well of Grijalva,[79] where we stayed untill noone betweene certaine secret wayes, and could never see or descrie any one Indian: wherefore wee returned to our ships, with two mastive-dogs which we carried with us to catch the Indians with more ease: and in our returne we found two Indians hidden in certaine thickets, which were come thither to spie what wee did: but because wee and our dogs were weary, and thought not on them, these Indians issued out of the thickets, and fled away,

and wee ranne after them, and our dogges saw them not: wherefore by reason of the thicknes of the wilde thistles,[80] and the thornes and bryars, and because we were weary, we could never overtake them: they left behinde them certaine staves so finely wrought that they were very beautifull to behold, considering how cunningly they were made with a handle and a corde to fling them.

We remained in this Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz from October 19, when we entered, to the 29th, taking on water and wood we needed, and timber for certain necessary repairs aboardship. During this time we made some expeditions inland and other efforts to capture some Indian from whom to learn something of the country,[81] but were unable to do so, because, inasmuch as they had suffered the first time we came there, they retired into safety inland so that we could not get a man of them.[82]

We weighed from this Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz on Wednesday, October 29, for the south coast as your lordship ordered, and as we were leaving the port the pilot of the *Trinidad* was careless, and because of the current, which was then running to sea, he grounded the ship on one of the channel shoals. We expended some effort in an attempt to get her off at once in order that she might not be damaged, but were unsuccessful for the tide was ebbing. It ran out so quickly that she was left dry. Seeing that we could not get her off, we propped her up on all sides for the time being, that she might not fall over, until the tide should flood again, and so we held her up and brought her off at nine or ten at night. She had suffered no damage. We did not leave that night as soon as we had brought her off, although the wind was right, because we preferred to await daylight to see the way out more clearly. As soon as it was day we sailed and came out at our good pleasure.

As we were sailing with a favorable wind six or seven leagues beyond this port between Isla de Santiago[83] and the mainland, the wind blew contrary and some rain fell, and we were this day and night beating between the island and the mainland. Seeing that we could not go forward and that the wind and sea were rising, we returned to shelter at the point[84] which projects from this land towards Isla de Perlas.[85] The next day was better weather, more propitious to our voyage, and we made sail. On arriving at the same place between Isla de Santiago and the mainland, the weather again turned rough and contrary with the same rains, so that we hove to that night until next morning at daybreak, when we returned to the mainland coast to seek an anchorage in which to anchor in order not to lose ground. While we were at anchor the wind and sea rose so that we were obliged to raise the anchor and seek shelter in the place whence we had first sailed. As we were setting out thither the wind changed, becoming favorable to our voyage, and with it we proceeded. As we were sailing, it shortly shifted again to contrary and blew against our continuing, but suitable to our seeking the said shelter.

Because the wind was unstable, changing quarter every little while, night caught us between this Isla de Santiago and the mainland. It was so dark and fearful, with wind, thunder, lightning and some rain, the wind at times contrary,

now one way and now the other, that at times we thought we were going to be lost. Some said they saw San Telmo. Whatever it was I did see, I saw it on the *Trinidad,* where it appeared. It was a shining object on the top of the main mast. I do not assert whether it was a Saint or some other thing, but whatever it was, devout thanks did it get and Our Lord was pleased that the weather improved shortly and turned calm and clear and we came to shelter in the place where first we had sought it.[86] We remained at anchor there the next day, without sailing, resting from the exertion of the night before. Having rested this day, as above stated, and seeing that the wind was somewhat propitious to our voyage, we sailed with a favoring wind, on Tuesday, November 4,[87] and arrived in two days at the point of the other, the south coast of this land, fifty leagues from where we set out and in latitude full 23°.[88] All these lands are high and green; at night we saw some fires.

Arriving at this point and in this latitude of 23°, whence we were to commence the exploration of this coast,[89] we stood away on Friday, November 7, on a northerly course, running in and out, as the contour of the coast required. With little wind and occasional calms we sailed fifteen leagues in five days. During the night calms separated us from each other. This we regretted greatly, for presently a little wind blew fresh with some rain, and because the other ship was separated from the one in which I was, we remained on the coast without sailing to see if she would come up, as according to our reckoning she was behind us.[90]

Seeing that the day was passing, that she did not appear and the sky was so overcast that even were she only a short distance from us we could not see her, we stood out to sea to see if we could discover her or she us, and in order to burn lights at night that she might come up or we go to her if she burned lights for us. We did not see her that day nor did she come to the lights that night. Next day, finding myself without her, I was in great tribulation, for the wind had blown a bit strong that night and it seemed to me that because of it we might become so separated that we would not get together again. Seeing that for three days it had been calm, when day dawned and it grew light and she was not to be seen on all that coast nor at sea, I made my reckoning and found it reasonable to suppose that she was behind us. Although some of the seamen disagreed with my opinion we turned back to find her and Our Lord was pleased that when we had gone two leagues we found her. We came together again with much rejoicing among all aboard our ship, and also aboard the other one who had felt no less apprehension than we had. We anchored this day near shore for the wind was contrary.

We weighed next day, Friday, November 14, and as we sailed along the coast with little wind and occasional calms,[91] the next Sunday we met a storm out of the north, in the face of which we returned to take shelter on the coast, for the land protected us somewhat. While we were so anchored the weather improved and the wind blew propitious to our voyage. We again weighed,

and as we were beginning to sail we were struck by another storm, also out of the north, so violent that it did not permit us to return to the land to find shelter, but, on the contrary, carried us to sea and kept us there from Monday to Wednesday by the fury of the gale. Thursday dawned fair, so much so that we lay becalmed. We remained this day where the storm left us, the ships separated one from the other, unable to come together or to make any headway.

This night at midnight another storm blew up as violent as the preceding ones. It worried me greatly because I had not my ships together to keep them upon one course. The night was dark and tempestuous and therefore each was obliged to go her own way, as the wind drove, and this we did. When day broke I found myself minus the other ship. This afflicted me more sorely than it had on preceding similar occasions, for it seemed to me too much bad luck to lose her so many times, and I feared lest there might have befallen her some disaster such as is wont to happen in such weather.[92] This day we beat back and forth while the wind lasted, to see if we could see her and that she might see us. Seeing that we did not see her nor find her, we came to the coast to see if we could find her there. She was not there nor did she come up. As she did not come up nor appear, we continued our voyage along the coast, Saturday, the 22nd of the month, to go to a certain latitude where I had told them to rendezvous if by any chance we became separated.

We sailed with little wind and occasional calms, and eight days after we had lost the ship I arrived at dawn in a great bay which lies in latitude 25°,[93] which is where I had, as stated, told the pilots of the fleet we were to await each other fifteen days, if we became separated,[94] and in that bay I found the ship. Our rejoicing corresponded to the need we had of each other, and the situation warranted. We remained at anchor in this bay all the day on which we met, without sailing, to tell each other why we had separated one from the other. We had no wind to do more.

When we had come together she said she had been awaiting us there for five days and that she had been brought thither by a very strong current in a very short while, without being able to help herself, and that she had found very good water. This pleased us greatly for we were much in need of water. She gave us news of a very large lagoon, off which we were, and of the entrance to it.[95] This lagoon is so large that it is twenty or twenty-five leagues around, and the mouth is so wide and so deep that ships of any size can enter. This lagoon is inhabited, as it appeared and will presently be related. Having so come together, as above said, we sailed for the place where the water was on Thursday, November 27. As we were setting out a north wind blew, so fierce and furious that we could not make the land where the watering-place was. On the contrary it drove us so far to sea that with difficulty we could hardly make back to the land at the point where we left it. This same day, a little before midnight, we made it three or four leagues below the point from which

we had sailed. We rode at anchor that night, all the next day and the next until noon, when the wind dropped and blew so that we could go to the watering-place. We went on Saturday, the 29th of the month,[96] but we could not reach it that day. We anchored half a league from it because it was night and found little depth.

Next day we sailed, and with the small boats went to see the water and discovered the channel by which the ships had to come up to it. While we were so engaged a smoke signal was made on land, which amazed us, for in all the time the *Trinidad* was there she had seen no people nor sign of any. When those who were in the boats sounding the channel saw the smoke they went to it to see what it was. They saw six or seven Indians who were making it, who fled on seeing that they were drawing near the land.

Next day, Monday, December 1, we brought the ships up to the watering-place and landed to fill.[97] Before disembarking we saw four or five Indians on a high hill watching us. After we had disembarked, while setting out our sentries we saw twelve or fifteen others on some hills. While we were taking water this day two bands of these people assaulted us at vespers. One came down the side of a hill straight to the watering-place. The other attacked from above by way of certain steep gullies near us. These Indians approached so crouched and hidden, one from the other, that our sentries did not see them—could not see them—until they were very near. They hardly gave us time to climb the height, although we took it so fast that they did not arrive there before us. They attacked us with such marvellous spirit and ferocity and with such a rain of arrows, javelins and stones, that they did not permit us to show a face from under our bucklers. Our Lord was pleased that we should resist their first onslaught, and we broke them up and they fled, although at the expense of two or three of us and Becerillo, whom they wounded.[98]

After we had broken them up, they separated in three different directions and stationed themselves in three places on the hill near us whence they could do us damage, and from there they fired javelins, arrows and stones at us. Those on the hill, as soon as they went up it, got together and began to walk about, singing and dancing, with their bows in their hands. We were unable to decide why they did this. It must have been to indicate that they had held us in little esteem, or to honor some one of themselves who perhaps had conducted himself better than the rest, as is customary among them. Seeing that both bands stayed where they were and continued to try to do us damage, we formed into two parties. One remained on guard to see that they did no harm to those who were filling water, and we of the other party fought with those who came nearest to us from the hour they attacked us until night separated us.

They gave us plenty of work this day, and the hardest was to take the hills where the two bands were, whence they offended us without risk to them and at our cost. The taking of these hills was a relief to us and an assurance of safety, for in addition to our then being in a position to offend them without

ourselves being offended, they lost heart and withdrew from us and we gained courage, especially upon taking the last, which was the stronger and better and had rocks in abundance, with which they waged the principal war on us and did the most damage. This last stronghold taken we stopped. The Indians who were on it and the other hills withdrew whither they saw fit and formed little parties, say six or seven men in each group, and so assembled they sat down and built their fires and were quite at their ease. We did not know whether or not they did this to lead us to believe that they were going to remain, or to protect themselves from the cold, for it was very cold. In this manner they remained quiet until it commenced to grow dark, when they began to depart, each carrying a burning brand in his hand. When they had all gone, we advanced, as we had not dared to do before, lest they might think we were fleeing and take heart and do us damage as we embarked, which they could have done, for the place where we had to embark lent itself to it. We embarked with difficulty because it was night and the sea rough. When we arrived aboard the wounded men and the dog received attention, and we issued orders as to the manner in which we were to fill the water we lacked.

The people who came and waged war on us this day were naked people of medium appearance.[99] Some had long black hair and all the rest wore theirs cut two or three fingers long. Many of them wore hanging about their necks shining shells of the kind in which pearls grow. In their ears they wore pieces of wood two inches thick. Their arms were slender bows (?),[100] taller than they, arrows of cane or wood with flint points and some lances. This same day, before they attacked us, I went up on a very high hill which overlooks the lagoon of which they had told me, to inspect it and see if there was anything else in the land. Nothing more was to be seen than the size and beauty of the lagoon above described.

The next day, Tuesday, the 2nd of the month, we brought the *Trinidad* nearer up to the watering-place than she had been, in order to be able to protect ourselves with the artillery if the Indians should return. We did nothing this day except to come up to take the watering-place, nor did we attempt more, except to go with a small boat to see the lagoon and the entrance to it. They went into this entrance and found it clear and very deep, and the lagoon to be such and as large as has been said.[101] In it they found very large rafts made of canes and bigger than the boat in which they were, according to those who went there. They found some people on its shores who disputed their landing every time they came near shore with the boat. The entrance to this lagoon is to the north, and it lies in latitude 25°. It will be identified by a prominent and recognizable point of land which comes out into the sea. It was here we found the *Trinidad,* and therefore we called this point "Punta de la Trinidad,"[102] and named the lagoon "La Laguna de Santa Catalina."[103]

Then, the next day, Wednesday, the 3d of the month, all the men who were able came out armed and equipped as best they could, and landing with

due precaution the sentinels took up their positions in such manner that they could attack without being attacked, even if the people came. We filled the water we needed without any difficulty or contradiction from the natives, even without seeing a man of them, big or little, and so returned to the ships.

Then, next day, Thursday, the 4th of the month, I took possession for your lordship,[104] and we sailed in continuance of our voyage standing away on a northwest course. Eight or ten leagues farther on this course we came upon a beautiful bay, which was ten or twelve leagues around and one across the entrance.[105] It is inhabited by the same sort of people as the preceding Laguna de Santa Catalina. I did not wish to stop in it for I was somewhat indisposed, and because it seemed to me there was nothing more to see here than at the last place. We continued on our voyage.

Having sailed twenty or twenty-five leagues from this bay along the coast, the wind blew so entirely contrary that we could not advance at all. In order not to lose ground, we anchored off shore and rode at anchor for three days, awaiting wind to enable us to sail. During these days we saw six or seven leagues inland many and large smoke signals, far apart, in such numbers that they were three or four leagues in extent. They lasted all the time we were there and much longer, as afterwards appeared. At the end of these three days, one Thursday, the 11th of the month, early in the night, the weather grew so rough that it broke the cables by which we were anchored and we were compelled to abandon our anchors and to sail, putting out to sea. We managed this with great difficulty, for the wind was a cross-wind, and in the direction in which we could get out we had a point of land to pass. Our Lord was pleased that we should double it and get away without danger, though not without the hard work above described, because in addition to having to double the point, the wind and sea rose so that we were hard pressed.[106]

Seeing that day dawned with the same sort of weather prevailing and growing constantly worse, and that it presented no indication of immediate cessation, we returned to shelter twenty leagues back behind a sandy beach near Punta de la Trinidad. Here, awaiting an abatement of the storm and for weather propitious for our voyage, we lay from this Friday when we reached there, the 12th of the month, until the following Monday, the 15th. Then, seeing that the weather continued to grow worse, we dropped down to Punta de la Trinidad to be more sheltered and to fill water, for we had drunk it up.[107] We arrived there this same day. The next day, Tuesday, we towed the ship *Trinidad* up near the watering-place (for the wind did not serve us), in order to fill water in safety and to make use of her if it should be necessary.

As we were arriving and were already near the watering-place, four men appeared upon a hill, and shortly, on other higher hills, a few more Indians, who stationed themselves near the first who had come down to the shore, and posted themselves over the watering-place, the rest behind them, except three or four who remained in certain positions watching and protecting the others.

As they were so standing sentry, some sailors came near them to drop an anchor. The Indians spoke to them and made signs to them to come ashore where they would give them a shining shell which they showed them, of the sort in which pearls grow, which they wore hanging about their necks. The sailors indicated to them by signs that they did not wish to do so, and two or three of them came swimming out to a rock, which lay somewhat out to sea between them and the sailors. They sank an arrow into the rock and on top of it hung the shell they offered and withdrew. When they had done this, they again made signs to the sailors to go after the shell. They did not wish to do so but rather returned to the ship. When the Indians saw that they had not wished to take the shell, they again went out to the rock, took the arrow and the shell and came swimming with them. Sinking the arrow in the buoy above the anchor which the sailors had dropped, they went back.

Seeing their actions and that apparently they did not wish to give it unless we went after it to get it, I took it and went to land where the Indians were, with certain articles of barter to give them. By signs I had them draw a little nearer than they had been, and indicated to them that I wished to give them those things which I showed them and that they should come for them. They would not, but rather made signs that I should go to the rock to which they had come first and put them there for them. I did so and had a man swim out and place some little things there for them. He did this and I motioned to them to go for them. They answered me to withdraw further than I was and they would. I withdrew and they came out and took them and went ashore.

When they had come out on land, all assembled to see what those things were which we had given them. Presently, when they had seen them, they sent them inland by a messenger in the direction of the lagoon and made signs to us with their hands that they were going and would return. We thought they said that they were going to show those things to the rest of the people and to summon them, according to what happened later. Having despatched this messenger, they again came out to the rock in the water and again placed another shell there and a few little skeins of strings,[108] like those the Indians of the Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz wear on their heads, which I again sent to get, leaving other things there in exchange. I ordered the man who took these things out to call them, to see if finally he could get them to come up to him. This he did but they desired no conversation with him. On the other hand they made signs to him to return and to me to withdraw farther than I was and then they would come after our gifts. This was done and they took them. Presently they again came out to the rock and hung on the arrow a diadem, such as some of them wear on their heads, made of woven thread, very thick, all covered with fine red feathers, well tied and fastened in, in such manner that it looked more like thread with little black feathers standing up along the edges.[109] It was as much as five fingers or more wide in the middle,

the ends pointed. I had it fetched and went to the ship for dinner for I felt more need of dinner than I did of their bestiality and barter.

Seeing that I went aboardship, they all retired together to a little hill where they had first been, and a little while after reaching there they all got up and began to walk about, singing and dancing, and making all manner of signs of rejoicing. A little while after they had done this, they again got up from where they were seated, and with much loud outcry and rejoicing began to run and jump about very rapidly from one part of the hill to another, without any arms. This rejoicing over, which was soon, they sat down again and from time to time called out to us, summoning us to resume bartering.

After dinner, in order that they might not be afraid, I got into a boat alone, with only the necessary rowers and the Indian from the Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz,[110] and we went to see them to find out if the Indian could understand them. As we arrived, I made them signs to go out to the rock where we had traded before and they left their arms and went out to it. As before, I had certain things placed on the rock, so that they should come up to where the Indian was, that he might speak to them. They came and approached with considerable fear although they were quite safe. The Indian spoke to them and said many things to them which they answered by signs, like people who did not understand. So they were a long while engaged without being able to comprehend each other. I regretted this not a little for I should have liked to learn something of them, especially what sort of people they were and how much intelligence they possessed. They seemed to me to possess little. At this juncture the messenger arrived, whom I said above they had sent inland toward the lagoon, and when he had come up to those who sent him and had spoken with them, they despatched another with as great haste as they had the first. I saw that he carried some of the things I had given, among which was a collar of tiger (?) skin I had given them.

A little while after this messenger left, he returned, and with him a little band of people. Presently another band arrived, who were much painted from the knee up in black and white. In truth from a distance they looked well, especially when one did not know what the paint was. On coming up to where the others were, they all laid down their arms and began to sing and dance and to point to us with their hands, raising and lowering them in sign of all sorts of rejoicing. Some, who probably felt themselves to be finer figures or of more account than the others, began to leap and advance, to indulge in antics and to show their mettle. After they had all arrived and gone through their ceremonies and pageantry, as above stated, they joined those who were there first, and laying aside their arms and coming near the rock, we renewed our bartering in the same order and manner as before. Among those who had come last was one very much painted, wearing on his head a diadem like the one they had given me. He was seated on some rocks (?)[111] somewhat apart from the rest, who ran to him and carried to him everything I gave them. It seemed

to me he must be the principal person to whom they had sent the messengers.

After I had been with them awhile in this trading and had thoroughly seen their number and condition, I left them and went to rest and to summon my companions, that they might see them, if they wished, and amuse themselves with them, for, in order not to alarm them, I had preferred to take with me no one but the inspector. A little while after I had come back, some went to see them and I went with them, lest they go further than was advisable. When we had arrived where they were, we summoned them and renewed our trading as at first. When they had seen them well we returned to our ship. We told them by signs to go away and to come the next day and this they did. This day what we got from them were many tail feathers of owls,[112] some little shells of the kind in which pearls grow, some small skeins of thread of the sort they wear on their heads, a belt or girth, which looked as though it were meant to go around the body, made of some black beads, some mantles of cords,[113] on the ends of which were many deer hoofs for rattles,[114] and a diadem of the kind described.

Then, next day, the 17th of December, we landed before dawn to fill water and to take possession of certain heights before the Indians should come to occupy them, because from one of them they could do us damage. When we had so occupied them and while we were filling water a little band of people came along the beach, at about nine o'clock, from the direction of the lagoon. On arriving about half a bowshot from us they stopped and all laid down their arms and made a signal of peace, which was to raise a little banner of white feathers which they carried. We reassured them by signs. This done, they went up a hill which was near us and again made a sign that they wished to resume trading as on the preceding day, which sign was to raise an arrow with a shell on it, of the kind they gave us, and to tell us by signs that they wished to come up to put it at a point midway between us and them. We indicated to them by our motions that they should so place it. They replied for us to withdraw farther than we were, although we were at a good distance from them and between us was such a good-sized gully that to climb up it many times one needed to wear as few clothes as they wore. Not satisfied with this they made us signs to sit down and squat lower and to make the dogs we had with us lie down. We did as they asked.

This done, two of them came up (with great fear, we fancied), sank their arrow where they had indicated and returned mighty fast up a hill to where the rest were. After this, they made signs for us to go after it, and so he[115] went to get it and put something else in its place in exchange. I bade him call them and reassure them, to see if they would get over their fear and come up to him and take from his hand what I gave them, but they would not. On the contrary, they were very careful to see if he carried any weapon. As he carried one and the Indians saw it, they immediately bade him lay it aside, so he could not carry any weapon, except a dagger up his back which they

did not observe. He went and took what they had left on the arrow, on which he placed what he carried and withdrew a little and commenced to speak and to call them, but he could not persuade any of them to come to take anything from his hand, although, after a long time and after he had greatly reassured them, they came within fifteen or twenty paces of him, which we did not consider very near. So he was engaged until after midday with them, giving them what he had and receiving from them what they gave, which was merely more such valuable jewels as we had obtained the day before.

When we had filled the water we wanted we bade them by signs to withdraw farther, indicating that we wished to go to eat and that they should permit us to embark. They understood us and complied and all withdrew to the highest part of the hill and we began to embark. When the water was already aboard and some of the men were in the boats, one of the lookouts we had stationed saw coming over some hills another band of people, all with bows and arrows in their hands. He warned me, and I had the men who were in the boats come ashore again and again take up the post we had held before for it was suitable to our defense. When we began to prepare and get ready to see what the Indians intended, the first lot, who were already there, began to talk to us and tell us not to be alarmed as the others were not coming to do us harm.

Those who first arrived took up their position on a hill near us and made the same sign the first had made when the trading began. To both we answered to their taste and these had the same assurance of their personal safety as the first. When we had traded with them a little in the things already described and in the same order and manner, we bade them by signs join the first party, and told the first party to summon them. Both parties comprehended us and complied. When they were assembled, a few of the first-comers drew near and began to go about, singing and dancing, every man taking into his hands those weapons with which nature equipped him. These must be a dirty people of wretched habits, for, in addition to this evil dance, they made other evil and dirty signs to the man who was trading with them. Being so assembled and we being tired and weary with having spent the whole day with them in barter and bestiality, we gave orders to embark in such fashion that they would not damage us. In this we employed a ruse with them. Seeing us embarking, they all came down to the cliffs by the sea and began to call us. We replied that we were going to eat and would return, so that they might not think that fear had dictated the manner of our embarcation. When we were aboard they called us various times by signs, to which we responded that when we had eaten we would return, as above said.

Seeing that we delayed they were minded to fire a few arrows at the ship. We paid no heed to them for we did not know whether they did this in jest or in earnest, but not satisfied with this, many of them waded waist deep into the water to fire arrows at certain sailors who were in a boat raising an anchor

so that we might sail and go to join the other ship which was at some distance. They shot many arrows at them and made a lot of noise, with yelling and harsh sounds. In view of this and of the bad treatment we received from them the first time we arrived here,[116] and the fact that their trading and friendly overtures had been directed to the end of playing us some trick, if they could and should find us susceptible, and also in order to protect the men in the boat, I decided to let them have some punishment, or him upon whom it might fall, in consideration of their conduct, past and present. We let loose on them a few shots[117] from the ship, which did some damage and would have done more, but, thinking that the skies were falling on them, upon hearing the shots and seeing some among them fallen, they fled in a fashion worth seeing. Without waiting for anybody, each man ran on his own account in the direction in which he thought he could escape or hide from us the quickest, and thus in no time at all they were all out of sight in the gullies, so that we saw not a man of them, neither here nor in any other place during the time we were about. After we had gone this we rejoined the other ship which was in a well-sheltered place, and remained there from the said Monday when we had arrived, the 15th of the month, until the following Sunday, the 21st, when the wind gave us a sample of weather favorable to the continuance of our voyage.

We weighed from this watering-place and Punta de la Trinidad to resume our voyage on Sunday, as above said, and as we were sailing along the same coast with little wind and sometimes contrary, we arrived, after five days on the said course, in the vicinity where we lost the anchors when we took refuge there in the bad weather,[118] and here saw the same smoke signals in the same fashion and manner as before. We were astounded to see that they lasted so long, especially since at night enough dew fell to quench all the fire in the world.

We went on,[119] and sixty leagues from this smoke were caught in a storm from the northeast[120] when in sight of three islands near the mainland. This storm was such as to drive us so far that we lost sight of both mainland and islands.[121] When the storm had left us, not a little weary and ill-treated, we turned to the coast in order to continue to see what it offered. We were seven days getting back to it after this storm left us, and arrived off it in latitude full 30°,[122] twenty-five leagues forward of the point whence the storm drove us from it. Two or three nights before we came up to the land we saw fires on the shore. We did not anchor, because when about to do so we decided that the weather would be wretched and rough, for which reason we did not dare anchor. Rather, we stood out to sea, and as we did so, the weather grew so much worse that we were forced to turn back to seek shelter, and avail ourselves of these three islands, above mentioned, which we had left behind twenty leagues away. We did not wish to see what they were when we passed them, for they seemed to us to be of little value and of wretched aspect, and we did not wish to lose favoring weather.[123]

We arrived at them and came up to the principal one on a Saturday, January 9 of the year 1540, and just as we anchored and found shelter there,[124] a north wind blew so cruelly and so hard, bringing on such darkness and clouds and fog with it in the sky and over the land, that even in the shelter where we were, which was not bad for that wind, we were hard pressed, and I truly believe that if we had been caught at sea we would have been in danger. When this bad weather passed and gave us an opportunity to get the boats out of the ships and go to land, we did so, to see if there were any people and if we could get water and to put into the ships a little ballast which we needed.[125] On the land we found traces of large and small people, not recent but old, rather, which looked as though left in a rainy season. This astonished us not a little, for it seemed to us impossible that in such a poor kind of land there could be a living thing upon it. Exploring it, we found water in some gullies but not such in quantity or quality that we could fill the water we needed. Having seen the poor character of the land and that we could not fill water there, we took on the ballast we needed and re-embarked.

After we had been six or seven days in this shelter, the weather cleared and became somewhat propitious for our voyage, so that we weighed and stood away east, to sail around this island on the other side which we had not seen.[126] When we had gone two or three leagues with little wind and occasional calms, four Indians of the island came out to us on a wooden raft.[127] They came near and retired when they had looked us over. We did not wish to seize them and hold them aboard in order not to delay us or cause them displeasure. Presently we discovered the point of that island where it turns north.[128] Here a few rocks project into the sea, off which were five or six rafts of fishermen, in which were ten or twelve men fishing, and to the right of them was a little hill on which a few of the people who inhabited that land appeared.

We concluded therefore that there must be people there, and to see them and to find out if there was water here, for we needed water, we anchored in that place before doubling the point. When we had anchored and come to a stop, all those who were fishing at sea withdrew to the other side of the rocks, in which direction it seemed they had their lodging. Half an hour or an hour after they had arrived (it was after sundown and night was falling), five men on a raft came out of their settlement toward us and drew up to within a bow-shot from our ships. At this distance they stopped and began to speak to us loudly in high voices, and we to them, in languages such that if they little understood us still less did we understand them. After vociferating a bit, it being now night, they returned and went to their camp and so did the rest who were on the hill.

Then, next day, Thursday, the 15th of January, we remained quiet until noon, unable to go forward for lack of wind. Half an hour after sun-up five rafts came out from the island, from the place whither it seemed the people had retired, which carried one and two and three and four and five men inside.

They went out to sea (a good deal farther out than we were), and without any indication of fear or fright, to judge by their reposeful manner, fished until nine or ten o'clock and then returned to their settlement. Later, after midday, the wind blew so that we could double the point and depart. We did so and discovered the place to which they had withdrawn; there they lived, and here we anchored.

On seeing us anchored the men, boys and women gathered up their miserable belongings and went inland. Some of the men remained in the place and some on the shore and some on a hill. When we had anchored, we went ashore quickly to see those people and to see if we could find any water, in order not to lose the wind which was good. On seeing we were going there, the Indians all came up to the place where we were about to land and began to speak loudly and insolently and to forbid us by signs to advance. We made signs to them to keep quiet and that we did not intend them any harm nor had other purposes than to seek water. The more we reassured them the more arrogant did they become. Finding that no signs or arguments prevailed to reassure them we landed against their will.

The Indians, seeing that we were going to land, armed themselves with many stones and great clubs which they employed with both hands, and with much spirit and determination prepared to prevent our landing. They did prevent it for a while, in such manner that as we landed they did us plenty of damage with the stones. No matter how well we protected ourselves with our bucklers, they landed plenty of them on us, and with them wounded some (and severely), and knocked out others. They pressed us hard. The sailors were to blame for it, because when the stones fell they faltered and weakened in such fashion that for a while they made us good targets for the stones. The Indians did not escape without paying as the larger share fell to them. Our Lord was pleased that when we had shot a few of them[129] we landed, but not because they withdrew from the water's edge even after all the damage some of them had received. Rather, if with good will they disputed our landing, with even better they came upon us as we landed and so determinedly that they waded into the water to receive us with their stones and clubs. With these they dealt us such mighty blows that when they struck a buckler they shattered it, and he who got off lightest found the arm which had held the buckler sore for many a day. So they held for a while, fighting foot to foot with us, and then we broke them and they fled, carrying off with them a good tale to tell. In addition to the wounded and those who were shot (who were quite a few), one died right there.[130]

When we had so broken them up and the affair described had occurred, we went some distance inland to seek water. We found none, for it appeared that they brought their drinking water from a distance in the paunches of seals. While we were looking about for water at some distance from the sea in some gullies, we came upon everything that the women and boys had removed from

the settlement, as above related. This convinced us that they must have been extremely frightened since they abandoned everything they possessed so far from us. To judge by the way the loads lay, by the manner in which they were scattered about, each dropped what he was carrying where he stood when he heard the news. We looked to see what these things were, what sort of things these people had and for what they were used, and we found nothing except some seal-skins[131] in which they slept and protected themselves from the cold, some seals' paunches in which they had water, fishing lines and hooks made of the thorns of certain cactuses[132] and some fish they had killed to eat. Having inspected this miserable rubbish, inasmuch as we did not find water,[133] we returned to see the settlement where they had been.

It consisted of some enclosures, no more nor less than we had seen before in other places. They had five or six rafts which they used in fishing, made of pine or cedar timbers, as long as twelve or fifteen feet, and so big that a man could hardly reach around them. The part under water is rounded and where the people stand on them they are flat. They are not hollow in any part. On each side, to maintain the balance, there are bundles of many cedar poles closely tied together, as long as the canoes themselves. They rowed them with paddles two or three palms long and about three fingers across, at the end of each being a three-cornered triangular piece of wood of this shape [here is sketched in an arrowhead] five or six fingers from point to point.

Having seen all this, we embarked and continued our voyage the next day, Saturday, the 17th of the month, sailing for the mainland coast, whence the weather had driven us.[134] As we sailed, with little and contrary wind and occasional calms, this same night we encountered a storm from the northwest, so violent that it separated the ships from each other and compelled us to return to take shelter in the same place from which we had weighed. One ship, the *Santa Agueda,* arrived there next day at midday, and the *Trinidad* when it was night. We did not anchor nor did we have to take shelter, for the weather improved and became almost calm, with some changes favorable for continuance of our voyage. When the ships had come together, we continued on our way, and while sailing the following day little calms succeeded which lasted two or three days. These and some current which runs there again separated us and the ships lost sight of each other. Finding ourselves so separated from each other, we returned towards this island, to meet there again, for so we had agreed.[135] Our Lord was pleased that the same day we turned back to hunt each other, we met on the island's coast, eight or ten leagues forward of the point where we had separated. In this vicinity was another settlement of people.

On observing them, we anchored near them,[136] to see them and to look for water, as above said. Seeing us anchored, five or six men came out of the settlement on three rafts and came up to the *Trinidad,* which was nearest. They came up to her without any fear or alarm and those aboard gave them articles

of barter and the Indians gave them fish. They exchanged these things from hand to hand. So they were engaged for a little while, giving and taking. The Indians gave signs of being well pleased with the men aboardship. While they were so occupied their comrades called them from the land and they departed. Shortly after they arrived the same three rafts came out again and stood out a little farther to sea to fish. After they had fished a little while, one of the rafts came up to the *Trinidad* with three men, who began by signs to bid them give them things in exchange for the fish. Those aboard the *Trinidad* made them signs to come alongside and they would do it. They came up and they did so, and so they were busied a while trading their fish. They returned to land and shortly after they reached there two other rafts came out, one with four men and the other with two. They came alongside and gave us a little water which they carried in a paunch, which we had by signs told them to bring. We gave them beads in exchange.[137] On the raft on which the four men came, there was one older than the rest, who did not row but rather issued orders to them what to do and what to say to us, and took what we gave them. We thought he must be of more importance than the others. After they had been there a while they drew off, and when they had gone a little distance from us they began to speak insolently in high voices, especially those of the raft where this older man was, and from this they threw two or three small stones at us. I think they bade us depart, for so they indicated by signs.

Then, next day, Wednesday, January 21, to find out if there was water in that Indian encampment, we landed at dawn in order to occupy the shore before the Indians should see us, so as not to give them cause or opportunity to act toward us as the first down below had done, and so as not to do them any harm. When we were landing, as soon as they saw us, five men of pretty wretched aspect came out from the settlement, two of them with two little bows with which they could hardly have killed sparrows, one with a little rod in his hands, and the other two with clubs little more than half a fathom long. So they came on, and we were thirty men and had three dogs. They advanced on us with as much spirit and ferocity as though in number and quality they had been us, and we they. They began to make such threats and menaces by word and gestures, that, really, it seemed they wanted to eat us, and, moreover, that they had the power to do so. The more signs we made them to be still the more arrogant they became, to such an extent that they were silly enough to stand foot to foot with us, throwing many stones and menacing us with the clubs and pointing their arrows at us. Every time they did any of these things they painted themselves with some little cakes of white earth they had in their hands, marking their legs, arms and breasts. The more arrogant they grew the more they daubed themselves.

Finding that neither argument, the signs of peace we made, nor the considerable patience we had with them prevailed, and seeing ourselves annoyed

as much as they were annoying us, we decided to drive them away by setting the dogs on them to bite some of them and frighten them, and so get rid of them without doing them more harm. We did this and the dogs seized two of them. One was the old man who I have said above had gone out on the raft the day before and had seemed to me to be of more importance than the others. After the dog had seized him he was just as fierce and obstinate as before. We could do nothing with him, for no kind treatment could reassure him or reduce him to reason, any more than if he had been a brute animal. After the dogs had seized them and handled some of them roughly, we made them understand what they had not wished to understand before, which was that we had not come to offend them but only to seek water. They conducted us to a little watering-place in a gully where they drank. It seemed to us to be such a small quantity that we could not fill all we needed. When they had shown us this and were reassured, we gave them some articles of barter and released them and they went away happy.

This done, we came to see the settlement they had, which was no more nor less than the preceding had been. Here in a cave, at its door in the sun we found an old blind man covered with a seal-skin, so old that he was all white and dry with age and so shrivelled that he could not control his members. It seemed to the Reverend Father fray Remundo, who was with us, that because of the childishness he saw in him, his age, and that he was without sight or strength or possibility to do evil or harm, it was well to baptize him and make him a Christian, and he did so.[138] This done, we embarked in our ships and this day we dropped half a league farther south to look at some gullies which appeared big to us and likely to offer water. In one of them we found water, so good and abundant that it sufficed to fill us to capacity, although with hard work, for the water was somewhat distant from the sea and had to be carried on our backs.[139]

Then, next day, Thursday the 23rd [22nd] of the month, we filled the water of which we had need at our pleasure, without any contradiction on the part of the natives, even without seeing a man or any fire or sign, either then or afterwards in all the time we were about this island, which was not a little while as appears from what I have related and shall relate presently. While we were filling and as we were finishing a northeast wind blew, which forced us to hurry to embark and make sail, and come to seek shelter from it in a better haven seven or eight leagues away behind the point of the island at the foot.[140] As we made sail the weather cleared and we did not arrive at the shelter whither we were going, but, on the contrary, continued on our voyage toward the coast of the mainland with little wind and occasional calms. After we had sailed two days and may have gone eight or ten leagues in this time, on the third day, Sunday, January 25, the day dawned dark with wind almost athwart and much rain.[141] With this weather we ran until the afternoon to see if it would change. The farther the day wore on the worse the weather

grew. The wind blew athwart and became so strong and the sea so high that we were hard pressed and were forced to return to take shelter at the island whence we had set out. Here we arrived the next day, Monday, the 22nd [26th] of the said month, and remained there until the 31st, when the wind blew somewhat more propitious for a resumption of our voyage. We left this island and shelter where we were, on the 31st of the month, as above stated, when we had some weather suitable for it, to again continue on our way. We stood away for the watering-place where we had first filled in that island in order again to replace the water we had drunk up.

As we weighed anchor and began to sail, the wind again blew contrary, although not so strong as before, but strong enough to prevent us from reaching the watering-place in the two days we worked to get there. Seeing that we could not come up, especially with the *Santa Agueda,* we put aboard the *Trinidad* (because she made better headway against the wind) all the empty casks and all the men available, with a view to filling water. Although with difficulty, the next day at midday or before, she came up to where the watering-place was and filled all that was wanted. This same day she rejoined the other ship, which was beating off shore, waiting. When we had rejoined, we anchored off the coast to deliver to the *Santa Agueda* the water the other brought her and to fetch aboard some fire-wood which we needed. We got it and until Thursday, February 5, awaited weather to sail.

We again sailed from this place, where we took on this water and wood on Thursday, February 5, when we had a sample of suitable weather, as I have said above, and as we were sailing on our course as before, that same day as we set out, the wind again blew contrary and as strong as on other occasions, so that we were forced to return whence we had weighed. This was such that, if it had caught us at a distance from land and separated, it would have treated us badly. We anchored this day and resumed our wait for the weather to abate and the wind to blow propitiously for our voyage until Sunday, February 8, when we again got some sign of favoring wind, but it lasted as short a while as it had before. Again we weighed on this day as above said and stood away on a course for the mainland which we had so many times followed. Sailing with little wind and an occasional calm, we arrived there in three days' time, on the 11th of the month,[142] and anchored in the same vicinity from whence we had returned the first time the storm drove us back to that island.[143]

While we were anchored, awaiting wind to enable us to sail, heavy rains fell after midnight, with a high wind which blew across from the land. This gave us so much work to do that we had to double our cables and anchors. Our Lord was pleased that this should not last more than two or three hours, when the wind shifted to northwest and we could make out to sea and get away from the cross-wind in which we were. When we had got to sea the wind and the sea rose so that we were hard pressed. We sought shelter several times, to see if it would blow over that we might continue, and again we beat back and

forth from one place to another in an effort not to drop back, as the weather was causing us to do. Lying to and beating about, we passed three days struggling against the weather and waiting for the wind to change. It did not change, and seeing that it had not and that we had been brought—forced—back to near the island from which we had sailed, we put in there for shelter on Saturday, February 13 [14], and waited there for the weather to clear. We took on what water and wood we had used up and remained until Wednesday, March 3, when we again got a showing of favoring weather as on other occasions.[144]

Again we sailed to continue our voyage, on Wednesday, March 3, and as we began to sail the wind dropped to calm and a current took us and carried the *Santa Agueda* close to shore without our being able to prevent it. With great difficulty we drew her off with the boats and with a little wind which blew and helped us. With this wind we sailed little more than half a league, and when we turned the point of the island toward the north, we found the wind so strong against us that it compelled us to return for shelter to the point, where we arrived at nine at night. We were there until the 8th of the month, when the wind gave signs of favoring us, as on other occasions it was accustomed to do.

We weighed from this place where we were, on the 8th of the month, as above related, and as we began to sail the same current caught us and separated us from each other, carrying the *Santa Agueda* to sea and the other to land. When we had been so separated the wind again turned contrary as before and so strong that it caused us difficulty, especially the *Santa Agueda*. Because it caught her at sea she got more of it than the other vessel, which was sheltered by the land. For that reason and in order not to return at night to anchor off shore, because it was not a coast suitable for that, the *Santa Agueda* had to stand out to sea until midnight. From this hour on she stood in to land to return to shelter, and both ships reached it next day at vespers, in the same place and vicinity whence we had weighed. Here we remained until the next Friday, the 12th of the month.

We weighed this day to resume our contention, and as we began to sail, having sailed two leagues or a little more, a fog came down in the middle of the day so thick and dark, that while one ship could speak to the other, we could hardly see each other. In two days we reached the mainland coast at a point seven or eight leagues southeast of the place to which we had twice returned, as above said, and we did not anchor there, because the sea was high and the wind strong.[145] Instead, we stood out to sea again and as we sailed the wind rose so that it became necessary for us to return to shelter at the island whence we had set out. We arrived there Sunday, the 14th of the month, at eight or nine o'clock, and anchored a league or a league and a half farther north than the place from which we had weighed when we left there.

The night following the day of our arrival, what with the rough weather

prevailing and because she was not anchored over clean bottom, the two cables with which the *Trinidad* was anchored broke. Finding herself loose, she made sail and stood out to sea to make ready another anchor, which she had left and anchor with it, to recover one of the anchors she had lost. When day broke she did this and recovered one of the anchors. It was the best and most necessary one. The other was lost. Seeing that the weather did not improve, we came to seek shelter farther south in the haven where we always sought it. We arrived on March 17, and remained there until the 24th of the month.[146]

Because I have decided from this haven to send the *Santa Agueda* with this relation, I wish to report to your lordship on the quality of these three islands, called San Esteban,[147] and of the land which we have seen to here from Punta de la Trinidad.

It is as ugly and sterile and of as wretched aspect as the lands south of it. In the whole length of it we saw only the smoke signals above mentioned and a fire far forward of them. We saw no other people nor sign of any, except the fires I said we saw on the coast forward of those islands, and the Indians of this island, who are naked people with holes in their ears. In their habitations we found some hollow pipes, as much as a palm long, made of baked clay, and in them a certain burnt herb which they must use like tobacco. There are some pines and cedars on the tops of the hills in that island, for which reason we called it "Isla de los Cedros." It is the largest and most important of these three Islas de San Esteban. They are in latitude 29° to 30°. I should like indeed to send your lordship an account of the people who inhabit the mainland in this vicinity, but your lordship will realize that the weather has been so strongly against me that we have not had an opportunity. Your lordship need not regret it too much, for I believe—I feel certain—that they are not better than the islanders. Experience suggests as much and the lands lie close together. One may rest assured that if the mainland were of more account than the island there would be some sign of it here. In the island there are rabbits, deer, etc.

Being in this vicinity, as above stated, I had an inspection made of the commissary supplies on hand and found myself with the meat that your lordship will see by the report. Since for all these people the supplies were few, as your lordship will observe, and since I could not proceed on these supplies with all these people, feeling that it was regrettable to have spent so much time and labor without accomplishing what your lordship so greatly desires, and has cost so much, I have determined to go on as far as I can with the ship *Trinidad* and these few supplies and men if God grant me weather and the wind will permit, and to send this ship and these men to New Spain with this report.

To prepare the ship and put her into good condition and provide her with things necessary, we came to seek a suitable place at the south point of this island, where we arrived on Wednesday, March 24, of the most Holy Week.

We sought such a place all along there and found it on the first day of the most Holy Festival of the Resurrection, on which day we arrived. We were busied in putting the ship into repair and despatching both of them until today, Monday, April 5, when we all clear from this Isla de Cedros, each to proceed upon his respective voyage.

God grant the outcome be such as your lordship desires, whom may it please to advance your illustrious lordship in person and estate through a long period.

I kiss your lordship's illustrious hands.

FRANCISCO DE ULLOA.

Sirs:

I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, bear true witness to all to whose eyes these presents may come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil), that on the eighteenth day of the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and thirty-nine, the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and commander of this fleet for the very illustrious Señor Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca, in El Puerto de los Puertos in La Bahia de la Posesion which is in latitude 29° 40′, actually and in reality took possession for the Marqués in the name of the Emperor, our master, king of Castile; placing his hand upon his sword and saying that if any person disputed it, he was ready to defend such possession, cutting trees with his sword, moving stones from one place to another and taking water out of the sea and throwing it upon the land, all which was done in token of said possession.

Witnesses who were present when this was done: Reverend Fathers of the Order of San Francisco, Father fray Remundo, Father fray Antonio de Meno and Father fray Pedro de Ariche; Francisco de Terrazas, inspector; Gonzalo Hidalgo; Diego de Haro and Martin de Espinosa.

Done this day and month of the said year.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, recorded it as it occurred in my presence and in conclusion made here this my notarial mark in testimony of the truth. Pedro de Palencia, notary public.

Martin de Espinosa, Gonzalo Hidalgo, Frater Raimundo Anyelibus, Frater Antonio de Meno. Diego de Haro. Francisco de Terrazas.

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I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, bear true witness to all to whose eyes these presents may come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil), that on the tenth day of the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and thirty-nine the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and captain of this fleet for the very illustrious Señor Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca, arrived off the Rio San Pedro y San Pablo,

which is in latitude 26½° on the coast of this New Spain, north of Culiacan, and asked me, the said notary, to bear witness that at the said Cabo de San Pedro y San Pablo he was commencing his exploration with this fleet for the very illustrious Señor Marqués del Valle in the name of the Emperor, our master, and king of Castile.

Witnesses who were present: the Reverend Father of the Order of San Francisco, fray Pedro de Ariche; Francisco Preciado; Pedro de Busto and Martin de Espinosa, belonging to this said fleet.

Done on the day, month and year aforesaid.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, record it as it occurred in my presence and in conclusion made here this, my notarial mark, in testimony of the truth. Pedro de Palencia, notary public.

Martin de Espinosa. Francisco Preciado.

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I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, bear true witness to all to whose eyes these presents shall come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil), that on the twenty-eighth day of the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and thirty-nine the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and captain of this fleet for the very illustrious Señor Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca in the Ancon de San Andrés and Mar Bermejo, which is on the coast of this New Spain, toward the north, in latitude 33½°, took possession for the said Señor Marqués del Valle in the name of the Emperor, our master, king of Castile, actually and in reality; placing his hand upon his sword, saying that if any person disputed it he was ready to defend it, cutting trees with his sword, pulling up grass, moving stones from one place to another and from there to another, and taking water from the sea and throwing it upon the land, all in token of the said possession.

Witnesses who were present when this was done: Reverend Fathers of the Order of San Francisco, Father fray Raimundo, Father fray Antonio de Meno; Francisco de Terrazas, inspector; Diego de Haro and Gabriel Marqués.

Done this day, month and year aforesaid.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, recorded it as it occurred in my presence and in conclusion made here this, my notarial mark, in testimony of the truth. Pedro de Palencia, notary public.

Frater Raimundus Anyelibus. Frater Antonio de Meno. Gabriel Marqués. Diego de Haro. Francisco de Terrazas.

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I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, bear true witness to all to whose eyes these presents may come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil), that on the sixth day of the month of October of the year fifteen hundred and thirty-nine, the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa,

governor's lieutenant and captain of this fleet, for the very illustrious Señor Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca, took actual possession for the said Marqués in the name of the Emperor, our master, king of Castile, in the Baia de San Marcos, which is southeast of the Ancon de San Andrés of the Mar Bermejo, and in latitude 30½°; placing his hand upon his sword and saying that if any person disputed it, he was ready to defend it, cutting trees with his sword, pulling up stones and grass, from one part to another and from there to another, and taking water from the sea and throwing it upon the land, all in token of the said possession.

Witnesses who were present when this was done: Reverend Fathers of San Francisco, Father fray Raimundo and Father fray Pedro de Ariche; Francisco de Terrazas, inspector; Martin de Espinosa; Pedro de Busto and Juan Montaño.

Done this day, month and year aforesaid.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, recorded it as it occurred in my presence and in conclusion made here this, my notarial mark, in testimony of the truth. Pedro de Palencia, notary public.

Martin de Espinosa. Pedro de Busto. Juan Montaño. Frater Raimundus Amilinus. Francisco Terrazas.

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I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, bear true witness to all to whose eyes these presents may come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil), that on the fifteenth day of the month of October of the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-nine, the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and captain-general of this fleet for the very illustrious Señor Marqués del Valle, actually and in reality for the said Señor Marqués del Valle and in the name of the Emperor, our master, king of Castile, took possession at the Rio Carrizal in 27½°; placing his hand upon his sword and saying that if any person disputed it, he was ready to defend it, cutting trees with his sword, moving stones from one place to another and from there to another, taking water from the sea and throwing it upon the land, all in token of the said possession.

Witnesses who were present when this was done: Diego de Haro; Gonzalo Hidalgo; Francisco de Terrazas, inspector; Martin Sanchez and Juan Montaño.

Done this day, month and year aforesaid.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, recorded it as it occurred in my presence and in conclusion made here this, my notarial mark, in witness of the truth. Pedro de Palencia, notary of this armada.

Diego de Haro. Gonzalo Hidalgo. Juan Montaño. Francisco de Terrazas.

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I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, bear true witness to all whose eyes these presents may come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil), that on the first day of the month of December of the year one

thousand five hundred and thirty-nine, the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and captain of this fleet for the very illustrious Señor Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca, actually and in reality took possession for the said Marqués and in the name of the Emperor, our master, king of Castile, in Baia de Santa Catalina at Punta de la Trinidad, in latitude 25°; placing his hand upon his sword, cutting trees with it, moving stones from one place to another and from there to another, all in token of the said possession.

Witnesses who were present when this was done: Martin de Espinosa; Francisco de Terrazas, inspector; Francisco Preciado; Diego de Haro and Juan Montaño.

Done this day, month and year aforesaid.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, recorded it as it occurred in my presence and in conclusion made here this, my notarial mark, in testimony of the truth. Pedro de Palencia, notary of this armada.

Juan Montaño. Martin de Espinosa. Diego de Haro. Francisco de Terrazas.

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I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, bear true testimony to all to whose eyes these presents may come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil), that on the twentieth day of the month of January of the year one thousand five hundred and forty, the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and captain of this fleet for the very illustrious Señor Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca, actually and in reality took possession for the said Marqués in the name of the Emperor, our master, king of Castile, on Isla de los Cedros in latitude 29½°; laying his hand upon his sword and saying that if any person disputed it he was ready to defend it, cutting trees with his sword, moving stones from one place to another and from there to another, taking water from the sea and throwing it upon the land, all in token of said possession.

Witnesses who were present when this was done: Reverend Father fray Raimundo of the Order of San Francisco; Francisco Preciado; Martin de Espinosa and Pablo Blasco, master of the *Trinidad*.

Done this day, month and year aforesaid.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary of this fleet, recorded it as it occurred in my presence and in conclusion made here this, my notarial mark, in testimony of the truth. Pedro de Palencia, notary of this armada.

Frater Raimundus Anyelibus. Martin de Espinosa.

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Said written relation and acts of possession having been presented in the manner aforesaid by the said Francisco Sanchez de Toledo in the name of his said principal, the said *alcalde* took them into his hands, saw that they appeared to be neither torn, cancelled nor in any respect suspicious, and said that he

ordered me the said notary public, as he did order, to make one or two or more copies of it all, authenticated in legal form and in such manner that they may serve as evidence, and to give them to the said Francisco Sanchez, each of which he said that he, being possessed of authority to so do, did thereby legalize, that it might serve as evidence in court or out of it, wherever it may appear.

And I, the said notary public, at the request and order of the said *alcalde*, made this said transcript of the said documents and gave it to the said Francisco Sanchez de Toledo, in the said name.

Done this day, month and year aforesaid.

And the said *alcalde* signed it here with his name.

Witnesses who were present when this was done and to see this read, corrected and made to agree with the said original: Gerónimo Tirado; Juan de Leiva and Pedro Marqués, transients in this city.

Juan de Burgos, notary for their majesties and notary public. (Rubric)

And I, Alonzo Diaz de Gibraleon, one of the registered notaries of the said City of Mexico, was present in company with the said *alcalde* and the other witnesses when the aforesaid was done, and I had this copy made, which is a true copy, and made here this, my mark [Mark here], in testimony of the truth. Alonso Diaz de Gibraleon, notary public. (Rubric)

CHAPTER II

MENDOZA AND ALVARADO, *Partners*

In the Introduction a short sketch has been given of the various land and sea expeditions set on foot by Cortés and Mendoza in the search for gold and treasure in the north. There was another adventurer quite as greedy and active as they were, Pedro de Alvarado.[1] He also had his eye on the "Seven Cities," and determined to make a bid for wealth there as he had done in Guatemala and Peru. A grand fighter and one of the most picturesque of all the *conquistadores,* he had come to Mexico with Cortés who sent him to Guatemala to occupy that country in his behalf, a task which he accomplished to his own satisfaction, if not to that of his chief, for no sooner had he become well settled than he threw off allegiance to Cortés and secured direct from the Crown the appointment as governor of the country. He was an attractive rascal, however, and in spite of his disloyalty Cortés seems to have remained on friendly terms with him, realizing perhaps the impossibility of holding such a man as a permanent vassal in an out-of-the-way place like Guatemala, and complacently accepting the inevitable under the conviction that it would be better to retain Alvarado's friendship than to incur his enmity.[2]

Guatemala, not being rich in gold and silver, afforded too little scope for Alvarado's ambition and energy, and he looked around for new worlds to conquer. In 1529 Charles V had disposed of his interest in the Moluccas to the King of Portugal, for the time being at least, but his advisers told him that there was a territory just beyond to the west which lay in the territory alloted to him under the agreement made in Tordesillas in 1494 and was not included in that pawn. All the expeditions which had been sent out to the Moluccas had started from Seville, with the exception of that of 1527 under the command of Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron which the Emperor in June 1526 ordered Cortés to send to the relief of Garcia Joffre de Loaysa. At the time of the pawn, a new fleet under Simon de Alcazaba was about ready to leave Seville. The Emperor took the ships and went to Italy with them, and that ended the efforts to occupy the "Islands of the West" from Spain itself. The fleet sent out from Seville in 1535 under Alcazaba and that of Camargo in 1539 had no such objective; their purpose was to take possession of the south end of South America, under the expectation or at least the hope that they would find gold and silver in the possession of the natives there as Pizarro and his band of adventurers had among those in Peru. The patent fact that the "Islands of the West" could be reached in a much shorter time and at much less expense from the Pacific coast of New Spain than from Spain itself, and the rapid colonization of that coast, probably afford the explanation for the shift now made in the base of operations.

August 5, 1532, Charles V made a contract with Alvarado for the discovery

of islands in the South Sea in the neighborhood of Guatemala, of all those to the west not already discovered and of the mainland to the west not included in the limits already granted to the government of others.[3] The object contemplated by the Emperor was probably an expedition to the spice islands. This contract was made at the instance of Alvarado, who stated that he was building a fleet to discover the secrets of the South Sea, as he had heard of rich islands and other countries on the coast. He offered to provide twelve ships and employ 400 men in the enterprise, which he said would cost him 40,000 *castellanos*. Having finished his fleet, he set sail from Guatemala in January, 1534, but instead of attending to his own business went to Peru, where he found himself obliged to come to terms with Pizarro and Almagro and sell them his fleet for 100,000 pesos. He returned to Guatemala about a year afterwards with a few men, having left behind the bulk of his force which entered Pizarro's service. This Peruvian enterprise was entirely illegal, having been prohibited both by the Emperor and the Audiencia in Mexico, who from the start suspected his design.

May 12, 1535, working no doubt under his contract of 1532, he broached another scheme.[4] This was to go to Spain and fit out there a fleet which was to proceed by the Strait of Magellan to the spice country, make a settlement there and then discover what there was in the South Sea. From Guatemala he proposed to send another to support it. He asked a license to go to Spain, but as this did not come and he heard that the Emperor had departed for the Levant with an expedition, thus making it difficult to secure the force he proposed to take by the strait, he abandoned this project, and November 30 wrote that he was going to send out in January two well armed and equipped moderate sized vessels, and a large brigantine which he had already purchased, under Francisco de Castellanos and with Ginés de Mafra as pilot. He wrote that he was also laying down in his shipyard three new galleons of a hundred tons each and a galley, all to be supplied with oars, which he expected would be finished inside the year which he allowed for the return of the other ships.[5] It is not quite clear from his letter just how he proposed to reach the spice country with these last ships, which he said he would accompany himself, but from his remark about oars it appears that he expected to follow the coast.

There is no record that these ships ever left, and it is not unlikely that before they could sail in January some order came from Spain forbidding him to embark in any more expeditions, and ordering him to come there to justify himself if possible for his excursion to Peru. He certainly did go there in July or the early part of August, 1536, leaving behind instructions to have an *Informacion* drawn up to prove that he had been driven to the coast of Peru by contrary winds.[6] He reached there at a time propitious for the furtherance of his design; a new spice excitement was on. In June Andrés de Urdaneta and Macias del Poyo, two of the few survivors of Loaysa's expedition to the Philippines, had returned to Lisbon. In September and October they made various declarations in Valladolid before the Council of the Indies in which they related their adventures

in the Moluccas.[7] February 26, 1537, Urdaneta presented a detailed account of his experiences, at the end of which he gave a description of the Moluccas and surrounding islands, so far as known to him, and their productions, estimating that a profit of 600,000 ducats could be obtained every year solely from the trade in cloves, nutmegs and mace, without considering what might be gained from that of the rich islands near by and the great country of China. He said however, that cloves came only from the Moluccas, and that nutmegs and mace were obtained in the Banda Islands.[8] Alvarado's proposal then to conduct a new expedition on a large scale to the spice islands must have been peculiarly timely.

While the negotiations were in progress, a new factor made its appearance. Cabeza de Vaca came to Spain with his story.[9] Cortés claimed prior rights to make discoveries to the north of the territory discovered by Nuño de Guzman, but Alvarado was on the spot and had influential friends at the court.[10] He now offered to send on a discovery to the west, within fifteen months immediately following his arrival in Guatemala, two galleons and a *navio sotil* supplied with food for two years, and with the necessary men, artillery and equipment. He also offered to send two others along the coast to discover the turning point of the land[11] so as to find out all its secrets. If any lands or islands should be discovered which it would seem advisable to settle, he offered then to send ten other ships with 800 soldiers, of which 300 would be horsemen in case the character of the country to be settled should be such as to make them necessary, and priests and friars to instruct and doctrinate the natives, all at his own expense, without expecting any re-payment thereafter except for such outlays as should be specified in the agreement. He also stated that he had an agreement with the new viceroy in Mexico, Mendoza, that the latter should have a third interest in the enterprise. In return for this service and his previous ones he asked for a long list of grants and privileges which are set down at length in the contract which the Crown executed with him April 16, 1538.[12] In this Alvarado was appointed captain-general of the new territory to be discovered, at the yearly salary of 3,000 ducats, payable out of the revenues thereof, and the Crown agreed that during seven years no contract would be made with others to make discoveries within the limits assigned to him. He was also to be made governor of Guatemala for seven years, subject to the outcome of his *Residencia* then being taken. His agreement with Mendoza was confirmed, and a cedula was ordered to be sent to advise him of the fact that Alvarado was obliged to admit him as a partner in the enterprise with a one-third interest.[13]

Although Mendoza afterwards said that he had no knowledge of this clause in Alvarado's contract at the time it was made and disclaimed having ever asked for any participation in it, it hardly seems possible that Alvarado would have made such a statement without authority from him, as he certainly did not need him in the enterprise. In order to absolve Mendoza from having lied about the transaction, it would be necessary to assume that during the course of Alvarado's

negotiations it had been suggested to him that he would have to include Mendoza in order to get his grant. Even in such case, however, it seems to have been hardly necessary to have asserted that he had an agreement with Mendoza. The writer has made a thorough search of the contemporary documents to discover whether Alvarado stopped in Mexico on his way to Spain, without any definite results, but he probably did not as he seems to have gone from Guatemala to Havana. He also evidently had some sort of an understanding with Cortés about his expedition, as the latter afterwards claimed that he had prepared a large quantity of supplies at Guatulco for Alvarado's fleet,[14] and this in spite of the fact that at that time he was in Spain combatting Alvarado's right to make an expedition up the coast.[15] The whole matter is involved in much obscurity, and seems to show evidence of intrigue carried on by Alvarado with both men.

It has already been seen that Alvarado had in his employ in Guatemala one pilot, Mafra, who had been in the Moluccas with Magellan. He now enlisted in Spain Andrés de Urdaneta, Hernando de la Torre,[16] and Martin de Islares, all of whom had been with Loaysa, and Alonso Hernandez who had probably accompanied Saavedra. During the rest of the year the officials in Spain were busy appointing officials for the new province and getting out cedulas of one kind or another relating to the contract. Juan de Curio was appointed chief pilot, Diego Lopez de Zuñiga comptroller, Hernando de la Torre Treasurer, and others to various other positions. A special clause was put in the contract that under no circumstances should the fleet enter the territory of the King of Portugal, and a special cedula was issued to Alvarado March 21, 1539, reiterating this order. August 9, 1538, he was appointed captain-general of the islands that might be discovered.[17] Having collected a force of some 300 soldiers and bought a large quantity of supplies, artillery and other necessities for his enterprise, he left Spain with his party in the early part of 1539, and after stopping at Santo Domingo, landed in Puerto Caballos April 4.[18] He at once sent instructions to Guatemala to begin the construction of two ships and then undertook the arduous task of conveying his artillery and supplies across the country. He himself reached Guatemala September 15, and as soon as the festivities following his arrival were over, he began the construction of the rest of the ships with all his accustomed energy. He placed Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo in charge of those which were being constructed at Istapa, a small port at the mouth of a river five or six miles east of San José in Guatemala. Other vessels were built, perhaps at Acajutla, where his principal shipyard was located.

November 18, 1539, he wrote the Emperor that he had heard that some one had gone to ask him for a grant to conquer the coast of New Spain, as there was news that it was a very rich and fruitful country, and begged him not to make any, as he said that by the time his letter should reach him he would be there himself with his fleet, God willing, not only there but at the islands.[19] The news to which he referred was the story brought back by Niza, as Alvarado

himself mentions in this letter. Niza was an old friend or companion of Alvarado, having accompanied him on his expedition to Peru, and been present with him on several important occasions.[20] From what little can be gleaned from the few contemporary accounts of Niza's arrival in Mexico, the excitement must have been intense.[21] Mendoza himself immediately began preparations for an expedition on a large scale, and Alvarado now made plans to divert his exploration of the northwest coast to a land adventure in search of the "Seven Cities."

The building and equipping of the ships was a slow task. One of the early chroniclers of Guatemala gives us the names of some of them, the *Santiago* (the *Capitana*), the *San Francisco,* the *Anton Hernandez,* the *Alvar Nuñez,* the *Figueroa,*[22] and another, the *Juan Rodriguez,* apparently named in honor of Cabrillo, who was the second in command of the fleet. Alvarado himself was captain-general, and altogether he had eleven ships and 850 soldiers, of whom 250 were cavalry, and a number of Indians for service. At a session of the *Ayuntamiento* of Santiago held May 19, 1540,[23] Francisco de la Cueva was appointed as his lieutenant during his absence by Alvarado, who then departed for Acajutla.[24] Oviedo tells us that a man named Bernaldo de Molina who was on his way to Spain with despatches from Alvarado stopped in Santo Domingo and told him that he had seen the fleet leave in search of the "Seven Cities" in the month of August. According to Molina it consisted of three galleons of over 200 tons each, seven ships of 100 tons each, a beautiful galley and two *fustas,* and carried more than a thousand seamen and soldiers.[25] It thus seems likely that for some reason Alvarado did not get away until August, and that the fleet sailed from Acajutla.

The cavalry which Alvarado had aboard his ships and which he was not required by his contract to send on his exploring expedition, on which it would have been entirely useless, could not have escaped the eagle eye of the Viceroy even if the knowledge that Alvarado was contemplating some land expedition had not reached him long before the fleet set sail. His own army, composed largely of young men and late comers to Mexico, was somewhere in the north; there was none left with which to organize another except the *conquistadores* still living. These were in the prime of life and were capable of putting up a good fight if necessary, but they could hardly have been considered by the Viceroy as likely to be of much assistance to him in any struggle he might have with Alvarado, who was now looming up on the horizon with what was probably the most powerful force that had yet been organized in New Spain. It was true that he had a third interest in it, of which by this time he must have become aware, even if he had not known about it from the start,[26] but he had the whole interest in his own expedition, and could easily foresee that in any arrangement he might make with Alvarado, some share in this would have to be given him. It is uncertain whether the steps he took were intended to starve Alvarado into making a new contract more advantageous to himself or to drive him away from the coast. The facts are that when Alvarado reached Guatulco with his fleet, probably

about November 1,[27] to take on board the supply of food which had been collected there for him by Cortés from his estate in the neighborhood, he was met by Luis de Castilla and Peralmildez Cherino with orders from the Viceroy not to land, and not to take on the supplies.[28] With this order Alvarado apparently complied and set sail for Acapulco.[29] As there was nothing there he went on to Santiago in Colima where he was again met by Castilla, who had with him on this occasion Agustin Guerrero, the major-domo of the Viceroy. These two men were the closest to Mendoza of any in Mexico. During the course of the *visita* of Mendoza in 1547, Castilla testified that they had gone to Navidad to make an agreement with Alvarado in behalf of the Viceroy, but that Alvarado refused to do so with them, declaring that he was determined to go to see the Viceroy himself.[30] There is evidence that they put the same kind of pressure on him in Santiago as they had in Guatulco by preventing Alvarado from obtaining food.

A meeting was arranged which took place near the end of November at Tiripitio in Michoacan about half way between Mexico and Santiago. Castilla, in his attempt to refute the charge that the Viceroy had compelled Alvarado to give him a half interest in the fleet instead of a third, testified that the conference nearly broke up because the Viceroy said that Alvarado wanted too much, but that the next morning he told Castilla that he was going to come to an arrangement with Alvarado even if he had to agree to his terms, because if Alvarado went on with his expedition it would be to his prejudice and to that of the force which he had sent to Cibola.[31] Mendoza's reasons are succinctly stated in his letter of October 6, 1541: "His Majesty was pleased that I should have a part in this contract which he made with the *adelantado*, Pedro de Alvarado, for discoveries in the South Sea. There was some discord between us in adjusting the matter, because His Majesty had made me the grant without my having asked for it, or knowing anything about it. In the end, however, having before my eyes what had happened in Peru, I came to an arrangement with him and we agreed to send out two fleets, one to discover the coast of New Spain, and the other to the west in search of the Lequios and Cathay."[32] Alvarado wrote the Emperor from Valladolid giving him an account of this memorable conference, and Mendoza no doubt did the same, but both letters are lost, to the best knowledge of the writer. Some months later however Alvarado, writing from Guadalajara, said that the contract had been made in order to avoid scandal and the rivalry which had arisen between him and Mendoza by reason of the latter having sent Coronado into his territory. He said they had arranged their differences without regard to their own interests, but only to those of the King, and that joined together they would have such a great array of ships, forces, food, and supplies that everything would be discovered in a very short time.[33]

The agreement, which was dated November 29, 1540, and signed before the bishop of Guatemala, Francisco de Marroquin, the *oydor*, Alonso Maldonado, Cherino and others, provided that Mendoza should have a half interest in the enterprise instead of a third, and that from that day on Alvarado should have a

half interest in whatever Coronado and Alarcon might discover, but only a quarter interest in anything that might have been discovered by them up to that date. Each party relieved the other from any claim for payment of any part of the expenses that had been incurred in fitting out these expeditions, but from that day all future expenses were to be shared equally. The partnership was to last for twenty years, the rights and obligations of both parties passing to their heirs in case of death. The Puerto de Acapulco was fixed on as the port of loading and unloading the fleets, and the shipyard for their construction was established at Xirabaltique in Guatemala. Both men swore to keep the agreement on the cross of the Order of Santiago, to which they belonged.[34]

This business having been concluded the principals went to Santiago where Alvarado's fleet then was, to make arangements about its disposition and to give Mendoza an opportunity to look it over and get acquainted with the men. They decided to send out two expeditions: one to the spice country of three ships and a galley and 300 men, under the command of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos,[35] and the other up the coast of five ships and a *fusta* with 300 men under Juan de Alvarado.[36] The former was to leave inside of three months and the latter in April. From Santiago the two partners now moved the fleet to Navidad, a port some twenty miles to the north which had recently been discovered. They reached there Christmas day, 1540,[37] and while they were in Purificacion near by, where the Viceroy was making an official *visita*, news of the rising of the Indians in Jalisco reached them. At first this revolt was limited to the district around Suchipila, some distance from the coast, but the Viceroy at once went to Guadalajara, no doubt accompanied by Alvarado.[38] He sent out Cristobal de Oñate to lay siege to the hill where the Indians were entrenched, and as Oñate reported that he was quite able to punish them, the Viceroy departed for the City of Mexico, probably still accompanied by Alvarado. They must have left Guadalajara about April 1, as Alvarado wrote a letter from that place dated March 28, and at the end of the month they were both in Mexico. Alvarado in this letter stated that two other large ships were being built and more would be in the future. All this he said had been done with such labor and expense that they had not only invested in the enterprise their own property but also a great part of that of their friends, and particularly his own, asserting that he could not sustain himself unless he received some aid from the King. He also referred to his exclusive contract for seven years and complained of the efforts of Cortés to prevent him from carrying it out. At the end he said that he expected to return to Guatemala when the fleets had been despatched.[39]

April 29, 1541, the partners prepared in Mexico a set of instructions to Diego Lopez de Zuñiga and Gonzalo Dovalle for a voyage up the west coast in the Pacific Ocean.[40] Alvarado must have left Mexico before May 31, as on that day Mendoza, acting alone, issued a set of instructions to Alarcon for another expedition up the Gulf of California.[41] Alvarado returned to the north and the next we hear of him he was in Zapotlan with Castilla. The revolt in New Galicia

had now become very serious and the Spaniards in Guadalajara, hard pressed by the Indians who had defeated Oñate, called on him for aid. Mendoza also wrote him asking him to go to their assistance. He immediately responded, and leaving Castilla in command and Cabrillo in charge of the ships and collecting some of his infantry and cavalry who were in garrison in various places, went to Guadalajara, arriving there June 12. Desiring to conclude the affair as soon as possible, he resolved to immediately attack the Indians who were fortified in an almost inaccessible spot in Nochistlan. Oñate attempted to dissuade him, begging him to wait until the aid arrived which had been asked of the Viceroy. In a few days Alvarado, who was impatient and scornful of any danger from the Indians, prepared his force, began his march and reached Nochistlan June 24. The cavalry was entirely useless, and the infantry could effect but little. He was defeated by the Indians the next day in an attempt to scale the rock, and in the disorder of the flight was accidentally wounded by a horse rolling down hill and striking him. It is generally considered that he died on July 4, but there is much doubt about the precise day.[42] His men scattered, some remaining in Mexico and many returning to Guatemala, but the ships were left and according to all accounts Mendoza took possession of them.

As the sole successor to the enterprise, no one appearing to claim Alvarado's interest, probably on account of the huge debts he had left,[43] Mendoza was now called on to carry out his agreement with the Emperor. It may be safely assumed that the principal interest of the Crown in making the contract with Alvarado had been to insure that an expedition be sent to the spice islands, that to the northwest coast being Alvarado's scheme. Coronado was still somewhere in the wilds of New Mexico and Mendoza was anxious to get in touch with him. Alarcon had returned by the middle of November, 1540, from his journey to the Colorado River without having accomplished this,[44] and instructions had already been issued to him as has been seen, to undertake another voyage up the gulf, which according to a later statement of Mendoza was to make a settlement on the Colorado River.[45] Haste was now made to despatch him again, as well as the other fleet which was to go up the outer coast, also charged with the duty of communicating if possible with Coronado and going on as far as possible. In spite of the fact that Juan de Alvarado had been designated to command this expedition, we have seen that a change for some unknown reason had been made and that Lopez de Zuñiga had been appointed in his place. Whether he ever went or not is not known, but from the fact that the references to the expedition mention it as having been under the command of Francisco de Bolaños, it is probable that another change was made after Alvarado died. Bolaños was one of Alvarado's men who had come with him from Guatemala as chief pilot of the fleet. Lopez de Zuñiga, one of Alvarado's officers, was a soldier, and at that time the command of expeditions of such magnitude and importance was almost always given to one of that profession. There is evidence, however, that he had been placed in charge of a garrison at Etzatlan, and was

still there in September when the expedition left.[46] If correct, this would furnish the explanation of his failure to accompany it.

Just before July 28, 1541, a letter written by Coronado, dated April 20, reached Mendoza. This letter is lost, but in that of October 20 written after his return from his expedition to Quivira, Coronado refers to it, stating that it had contained all the wonderful things he had heard from the Turk.[47] The Turk, so called, was an Indian slave whom Hernando de Alvarado had brought back to the camp from Cicuye on his return about the end of March of that year from his expedition to see the buffalo. The Turk said that he was a native of a country towards Florida where there was a river two leagues wide in which there were fish as large as horses and a large number of canoes with more than twenty rowers on a side. These canoes had at the prow a great golden eagle and carried sails, while their lords sat under awnings on the poop. He may have told some other tales, quite as wonderful, which Coronado passed on in his letter. This story was published by Giovanni Battista Ramusio in 1550 in the first volume of his *Navigationi,* on the authority of a gentleman who said that he had seen at the Emperor's court in Flanders in 1541 a letter from Mendoza in which he wrote that Coronado had discovered the "Seven Cities" and that beyond toward the northwest after passing a great desert he had come to the sea, where he found some ships loaded with merchandise, whose sailors indicated by signs that they had been thirty days sailing there from their country. At the prows of these ships were some pelicans made of gold and silver. The story was also published in 1552, probably from Ramusio, by Lopez de Gómara, who in describing the Coronado expedition did so in such a way as to leave the impression that the towns visited by him lay in a line to the northwest instead of to the east and northeast. So it came about that the map makers in northern Europe, when they read his account, placed them in this way, the province of Quivira being on the coast near 40°. Later even Tiguex and Cicuic figured on the same coast farther to the south.[48] It seems difficult to believe that after the return of Coronado and the circulation by his numerous followers of the stories about the expedition to Quivira in the northeast anyone in Mexico could have thought that Quivira was on the northwest coast or in that vicinity, but the influence of the map makers was so strong that even as late as 1572 we find Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa calling the northwest coast Cibola and Quivira.[49]

The facts are, of course, that Coronado never went northwest after leaving the "Seven Cities" nor did any of his men ever reach any point within several hundred miles of the coast, nor is it possible to believe that Coronado ever said they did. Mendoza seems to have taken some stock in the tale, however, as it will be seen hereafter that Cabrillo at least must have had orders to look for some river, perhaps the Turk's river, two leagues wide, thus furnishing some proof that Mendoza thought this emptied into the Pacific Ocean. This river seems to have become identified as the Rio de Nuestra Señora, a name applied to the Rio Grande by Hernando de Alvarado when he discovered it September

7, 1540, in honor of the Virgin, whose birthday is celebrated the following day. In his report he did not state in which direction it ran, and this uncertainty may have caused the misunderstanding.[50] If additional fuel had been necessary to fire Mendoza's zeal in his search for treasure, the story of the Turk must have furnished it, and Bolaños was despatched September 8[51] with at least three ships, a supplementary instruction having been issued to him or to Lopez de Zuñiga August 2. Mendoza explained the delay in sending out the expedition, which was to have left in the spring, by saying that it was due to discord among Alvarado's captains in New Galicia, but the real reason no doubt was the serious Indian situation.[52]

The instructions issued to Lopez de Zuñiga and Dovalle for this voyage are still extant. The language used in that to the former would warrant the belief that his appointment to command the expedition had been made by the Emperor himself, and such may have been the case, although no record of it exists. He had, however, as previously mentioned, received a direct appointment July 20, 1538, as *Contador* of the "Provinces of the West," and some other favors had also been granted him in subsequent cedulas. Dovalle was doubtless the Gonzalo de Ovalle, a *regidor* of the *Ayuntamiento* in Guatemala in 1539 and a man of some note who had come to New Spain with Francisco de Garay in 1523.

It might be assumed from reading this document that the chief object of the expedition was to discover and take possession of as much of the coast as possible for the purpose of bringing the Indians to the Christian faith. We can be certain, however, that this was only a minor one and that the real purpose was to find gold and silver and if possible to get in touch with Coronado who was somewhere in the north; how far from the coast was of course uncertain at the time. Being drawn up at least six weeks before Coronado's letter of April 20 reached Mendoza, it naturally contains no reference to any supposed town or river on the northwest coast in the neighborhood of 40° of latitude. Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero declared afterwards that when Luis de Castilla came to Navidad to deliver the ships to Bolaños, he gave him an extract from a letter to Mendoza from the Emperor in which he stated that a man imprisoned in Portugal had written him that he had discovered a strait somewhere in the north through which he had passed from one sea to the other. The natural inference would be that it was part of the business of Bolaños to look for this strait, and Ladrillero claimed that when the fleet turned back he wanted to go on and if he had been allowed to do so he would have discovered it.[53] There is nothing in the accounts of the expedition of Cabrillo, which followed immediately, to indicate that he had any instructions to look for any strait, but he evidently did have one to look for the Rio de la Señora. Perhaps Bolaños had similar ones, and Ladrillero, thirty-three years after he saw the letter Castilla delivered to him, confounded this river with the strait in the existence of which he manifested such an unbounded belief.

If we may credit the testimony of a witness in 1560, Alarcon was despatched

the same day as Bolaños.[54] Of this voyage nothing more seems to be known. Mendoza himself said that his vessels were disarmed, thus implying that he never left, but he may have done so and gone back almost immediately on finding that his other ships did not follow him; that he never reached the Colorado River again seems certain. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate the serious situation of affairs in New Galicia than the abandonment of this enterprise. All the soldiers and arms which could be collected were needed there. Mendoza himself was finally forced to take the field in person; his efforts were successful and the revolt was put down in the winter of that year and the spring of 1542.

While these events were transpiring in New Spain Cortés was in old Spain stirring up all the trouble he could for Alvarado and Mendoza. That he had just cause for his complaints is obvious, and that more attention was paid to them than is usually thought plainly appears from a letter of Mendoza himself. October 20, 1541, Francisco de los Cobos, the Emperor's secretary, wrote him suggesting that he and Alvarado take Cortés into their partnership. May 10, 1542, Mendoza in acknowledging this letter did not embrace the idea with any great eagerness, nevertheless he wrote that he would not "flee from it." He gave Cobos authority to conclude the matter, but whether or not any further action was taken is unknown.[55] Cortés, however continued his hostility or perhaps renewed it, presenting, July 6, 1543, to the Council a list of charges against Mendoza.[56] Cabrillo had returned to Navidad empty handed April 14 of that same year. Is it possible that Cortés had heard the news before taking this action?

In the interference of Cobos in this matter we can perhaps find the key to much that seems obscure in the history of these transactions. His wife was a Mendoza, although apparently not a near relative of the Viceroy; he was certainly a friend of Alvarado's and Cherino was one of his own followers. What relations if any he had with Cortés are unknown, but as the latter had sufficient influence at court to have his charges against Mendoza investigated it seems probable that Cobos was afraid of him and adopted this method of appeasing him. In the end it will be seen that all Mendoza's enterprises in search of wealth proved unsuccessful. His losses must have been immense and he soon had to render to the Emperor an account of his actions.

The idea usually held, and indeed one which is apparently confirmed by the opinion Villalobos, the Council's legal adviser, rendered in the proceeding in Spain initiated by Cortés in March, 1540, that the Coronado expedition was a government enterprise is a mistake.[57] Although Mendoza sent Coronado in the name of the King, this really meant no more than that he gave him what amounted to a royal commission; certainly the King bore no part of the expenses. These were provided by Mendoza, his friends and the participants; Cortés even afterwards charged him with having assessed the officials for part of them. All the interest the King had in it was his right to the fifths of any precious metals or other dutiable booty obtained, the same right he had in the

enterprises of Alvarado, Cortés, Pizarro, or Soto. Mendoza was just as much of an adventurer as they were, to use the word in its old sense as meaning one who adventured his capital in a speculative enterprise, and this no doubt was the cause of the breach between him and Cortés. The latter claimed a preferential right under his contract of 1529 to send an expedition to Cibola against all parties including the King himself. His chief opponents were the representative of Soto, who had a good technical claim, and the firm of Alvarado and Mendoza, who in this matter were represented by Villalobos or the Emperor's secretary, Cobos. Alvarado's agent in Madrid began an opposition, but it was purely perfunctory. It appears that the Council delayed action until Mendoza and Alvarado could be heard from, and it was not until May 13, 1541, that a period of thirty days was set in which the various parties had to present all their proofs. Cortés' representative appealed from this action and asked time to bring witnesses from New Spain. What happened June 13 is not of record, but the suit dragged on until 1544. March 15 of that year the Council issued an order that the order of June 25, 1540, be complied with and that the other matters be referred to the Emperor. Cortés was still seeking action on these October 23. By that time we can readily understand that all parties had lost any interest they might have had in the proceedings, events having demonstrated that the bone over which they were fighting had no meat on it.

CHAPTER III

VOYAGE OF FRANCISCO DE BOLAÑOS

There are several indications that Mendoza sent another expedition up the northwest coast besides that of Cabrillo. May 31, 1541, some instructions were given by him to Alarcon for another voyage up the Gulf of California to the mouth of the Colorado River. In one place in this he states: "In the instructions given to Diego Lopez de Zuñiga who goes by the coast as captain there is a paragraph in which he is told to take much care to find out about those who have gone by land [i. e., Coronado] and those whom you are taking by the Ancon."[1] Sometime after Mendoza heard, probably in 1545, that Villalobos had reached the Islands of the West, he wrote a letter to Juan de Aguilar, his agent in Spain, and gave him some instructions which contain representations for him to make to the Emperor in his behalf. The document is of great interest but this is not the place to give it in full but merely to note that Mendoza said in it that he had sent ships on three different occasions to explore the coast and had discovered it up to 44° of latitude at his own heavy cost.[2] There are only contemporary records of two actually sent out by him, that of Alarcon in 1540 and that of Cabrillo in 1542. It appears hardly likely that he could have been referring to the second expedition of Alarcon which either never left at all or else immediately returned before having proceeded any great distance. The third voyage then, must have been the one to have been commanded by Lopez de Zuñiga, to which various references have already been made in treating of the enterprises of Alvarado and Mendoza.

We have evidence given in 1560 that Francisco de Bolaños set sail in command of the expedition September 8, 1541,[3] and a document exists which contains some account of this voyage. May 17, 1574, the Spanish agent at the Court of London wrote home[4] that Sir Richard Grenville was preparing an expedition which was said to be destined for the Strait of Magellan. A copy of this letter was sent to Martin Enriquez, the viceroy in Mexico, with the result that in December of that year an investigation was made by the Audiencia in Guadalajara at which it seems various witnesses testified. So far the writer has been unable to locate in the archives in Spain the *Informacion* then drawn up, but that it existed at one time is evident from the fact that Martin Fernandez de Navarrete made an extract from it which is now to be found among his copies of manuscripts in the Depósito Hidrográfico in Madrid. That extract consists of the testimony of Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero who by reason of his experience as a navigator in the South Sea was no doubt supposed to be especially competent to discuss the subject. The chief object of the investigation seems to have been to find out how Grenville could get into the South Sea and more particularly whether he could enter it by some strait at the north.

It would appear from the preamble of the document that some ships had been seen off the coast of Jalisco which were believed to be English and no doubt if we had the rest of the *Informacion* some interesting evidence from other individuals about these apparitions would be found.

Ladrillero testified that he had come to New Spain with Mendoza in 1535 and had been navigating the South Sea for twenty-eight years. In the first place the twenty-eight is an obvious error for thirty-eight, and in the second place it may be assumed that even if he came with Mendoza he very shortly went to Guatemala because he himself declared that he had come to New Spain with Alvarado's fleet as chief pilot.[5] He could hardly have been any other than the Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero who afterwards went to Peru and conducted the extraordinary expedition to explore the Strait of Magellan in 1558 and 1559.[6] When he testified he was living in Colima and was more than sixty years of age.

Collateral but convincing evidence that this voyage took place about the time indicated can be gathered from the accounts of the succeeding voyage of Cabrillo because he employed certain names for places on the lower part of the west coast of the peninsula which he did not give himself and had not been given by Ulloa. These are five in number, possibly six, in the following order proceeding north: Puerto de California, Puerto de San Lucas, Puerto de San Pedro, Baia de San Martin, Punta de Santa Catalina and possibly Abreojos. Leaving aside the first and last as affording no indication of when they were given we can deduce from the Saints' names used in the others that San Lucas was named October 18, San Pedro October 23, San Martin November 11 and Santa Catalina November 25, these being the respective days of these Saints. Bolaños probably reached the Abreojos but it is uncertain whether he or Cabrillo named them. Ladrillero in his evidence mentions only three of the above but adds another, San Mateo, undoubtedly an error for Santiago, as the expedition could easily in two days after leaving Santa Catalina have reached the Bahia de Ballenas later called "Santiago" by Cabrillo.[7] The Baia de San Pedro is the one now known as Magdalena and Bolaños must have spent some time there from the fact that the Baia de San Martin just north of the entrance to the bay was evidently not reached until November 11. This long stay is further indicated by the remark of Cabrillo who, although he did not enter the bay, stated that neither wood nor water was to be found there, a plain proof that he had the account of someone who had been there before. As Ulloa had not entered it, this statement is an additional proof of the authenticity of the account of Bolaños' voyage and of the fact that Cabrillo had a copy of it.

Just how far the expedition went cannot be made out. Ladrillero himself declared that they had gone eighty leagues beyond the bays he mentioned to where, when in sight of a high mountain, they encountered a heavy northwest storm and were forced to return, two of the ships having broken their masts. From his failure to mention any of the islands north of Abreojos it seems likely

that the storm struck them in that vicinity. A great part of his declaration is devoted to airing his opinions about the strait at the north. No doubt he thought himself to be an authority on straits from his experience in the Strait of Magellan.

When the ships came back they stopped at some port at the southern end of the peninsula which Ladrillero referred to as the Puerto de California and in the course of his declaration California is also mentioned, apparently as a general name, something which might very readily have been the case in 1574 when that name was beginning to be applied to the whole peninsula.[8] For this reason it is uncertain whether Bolaños named some small bay on the southern coast "Puerto de California" or not. It might be a fair inference that he did, in view of the fact that he bestowed the other names from there north beginning with San Lucas. Wherever the fleet was, Mendoza called it the "Isla del Marqués,"[9] this being but a variation or perhaps simply a descriptive name for that given by Cortés, "Santa Cruz." The name he used does not militate against the theory that Bolaños named the port "California" because the expedition had not returned when Mendoza wrote, Bolaños evidently having sent over one of the small vessels to the mainland to notify him of what had happened to his ships, and not perhaps forwarding with it a record of the places he named. On the whole the writer is strongly inclined to believe that Bolaños was the man who gave the name "California," probably applying it to some small bay capable of holding his ships near the southeastern end of the peninsula, as that was the nearest to the mainland. When the name first appears on the maps it is attached to a cape, evidently the one now known as Cabo Pulmo, near which Bolaños was probably anchored.[10]

Of the names of the ships he took there is no other record than Ladrillero's statement that his was the *San Gabriel*, nor do we know anything about the members of the expedition, except what he states and the fact that Antonio Correa, who afterward accompanied Cabrillo as master of one of his ships, declared about 1550 that he had gone with Bolaños.[11]

Declaration of Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero

In the City of Guadalaxara on the 13th of December, 1574, the illustrious Doctor Gerónimo de Orozco,[12] president of the royal Audiencia which has its seat in the City of Guadalaxara, governor and captain-general of all the new kingdom of Galicia, and of the council of His Majesty, in the presence of me, Luis Velez Cherino, *escribano de cámara* of the said royal Audencia, having looked at all that has been written in this case about the ships which they say have been seen in the South Sea on the coast of Compostela in the Valle de Vanderas, at what they say is the Punta de los Frayles,[13] in order to get more information and to ascertain the truth of what has been stated above or can be known, ordered a declaration to be made by the pilots and seamen who are skillful and acquainted with the navigation of the coast, in which they should say and declare what they knew or what could be known in regard to the statements above made, so that His Majesty and the royal Council of the Indies should be better informed of what truth there is or can be about the said ships having been seen; and so that, in view of the said information and other circumstances, he could order what is convenient for the royal service; and for the record he ordered to appear before him the following persons:
[Something evidently omitted here.]

And in order to ascertain what had occurred regarding this matter he ordered to appear before him Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero, a resident of the town of Colima, who, having sworn by God, His Holy Mother, the words of the Holy Evangelists and the sign of the Cross, and promised to tell the truth, the following questions were asked him: what his age is, what occupation he has, where he was born, how long ago he came to this country, where he has resided during the time he has been here, and whether married or single.

He answered that he is more than sixty years of age; that in the year 35 [i. e., 1535] he was examined to be a pilot in the City of Seville by Sebastian Caboto, the pilot major, and other pilots, and they gave him his certificate; that up to the present time he has served His Majesty in the said occupation not only in the North Sea but also in the South Sea; that after he had been examined to be a pilot he made three voyages from Spain to these parts, and on one of them brought Don Antonio de Mendoza who was viceroy of New Spain, and before he became a pilot he made eleven voyages from Spain to these parts; that at the time he brought the said Don Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy, he remained in New Spain;[14] that he has navigated the South Sea twenty-eight years,[15] having served His Majesty at all times in all the voyages which have offered in the said sea; that he is a native of the town of Moguer in the district of Niebla, and there he has his family connections and that he is married, and a resident of Colima because Don Antonio de Mendoza ordered him to live there in order to take charge of the fleets of His Majesty.

Asked that he, who as such a pilot has navigated and discovered all this coast of the South Sea towards the islands of the west by the order of the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, should declare what ports, islands and beaches there are where ships can anchor along the said coast and district of this kingdom of New Galicia; he answered that in all of these parts along the said coast which this witness has navigated, — a matter of some five hundred leagues, — ships of any size can anchor or find shelter, because all the coast is clean and there are no storms which can do them any damage, unless it might be a southeast wind; the ports which there are from the Puerto de Navidad towards the islands of the west, in these five hundred leagues which this witness has navigated, are the Puerto de Chiamela, that of the Valle de Vanderas, Chimetla (although this has dangerous shoals), that of Culiacan, which has the same, Guayabal where the Marqués took on supplies, that of California, that of San Lucas where there is a quantity of tunny fish, the Baia de San Martin, and that of San Mateo where there is a great quantity of fish like those of Spain, sole, horse mackerel, and dog fish of all kinds, which they call in Castile, *follos,* and especially of Andalusia, and many other kinds of fish which are found in the country of the witness, especially a great quantity of sardines just like those of Spain;[16] and that the fleet (of three all told) with which this witness went as captain and pilot in the ship belonging to His Majesty named the *San Gabriel,* went eighty leagues beyond all these bays and ports, and one Friday in the afternoon at the hour of vespers, while in sight of some very high mountains which the people on board the fleet named the "Sierras de Fuegos"[17] because of the very large fires which the Indians of the land made there, a great storm struck them, and with the wind, which was what they call a north-northwest wind, the *Capitana* and *Almiranta* broke their masts so that it was necessary to go back more than two hundred leagues for shelter, contrary to the wish and opinion of this witness, because he wished to go on as the Viceroy had ordered.

Asked if in the ports which this witness has spoken of, or in the other parts of the said coast, he saw or knows of any settled people, and if so what people they are and in what parts they are; he answered that along the coast there are uncivilized Indians, and from Culiacan on they are all people of warlike character.

Asked what number of people there may be on the coast along which this witness has declared that he has navigated; he answered that in the bays and shores which he has referred to there was some show of people, and that at some places they came to see this witness and the people who were with him, leaving their bows and arrows in order to talk with him, and they did talk and gave to this witness and his companions some colored head-dresses, beads and other things which they carried, and the said Indians received them with good will, but they did not give them, nor were they willing to give them, anything to eat, nor show them where water was to be found, although this witness and

the company were in great need of it; they did not find it however, nor could they find it in the many places where they looked for it.

Asked if, in the places where this witness and others on this voyage were, they saw or discovered any islands, to declare in what parts they were discovered, how far they are one from the other, and what the distance is from this kingdom and coast to the said islands; he answered that off the Valle de Vanderas there are and this witness saw five islands, west thereof about twelve leagues more or less from the said Puerto de Vanderas, and that he has been around all of them and between them more than five times and that some of them are more than fourteen leagues around and are called "the Islas de Xalisco;" that beyond these about twenty leagues there is another island called "Las Marias,"[18] which is the one off the cape at the mouth of the Rio de Cintiguipaqué,[19] about three leagues from land, more or less, and is about five leagues around; and that in all the rest of the course which this witness sailed he does not know of any other islands.

Asked if in these islands, or in any one of them, there are any settled people and what quantity there might be, and what kind they are; he answered that in the Isla de Las Marias where this witness landed, he saw no people, and he does not know whether there are any or not on the other islands, although he has heard it said that there are some.

Asked, if he knows or has any information whether on the said islands where this witness has gone and has made discovery, there is any gold, silver, pearls or precious stones, or other things of value and esteem, to declare what he knows particularly about this matter or has heard about it; he answered that in California this witness set foot on land in the Puerto de San Lucas and went inland two or three leagues with six men with their arms, and came to a rancheria where they found fifteen or twenty Indians who were fishing; that the said Indians had pearls hanging from their hair about the size of the end of a finger, *melgerite*[20] and *berruecos*[21] and were dressed in deer skins; that this witness took two women and two boys to make interpreters out of them, and brought them in the ship to Mexico where he gave them to the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza; that as these Indians had these pearls and he saw many oyster shells and oyster deposits in the sea, this witness considers it certain that there is a quantity of oysters and pearls along the coast which this witness has navigated; that these pearls are found in some places more than in others, and the same is true of these islands which this witness says he saw and went around, but he knows nothing about any of the other things asked about.

Asked, if he knows or has any notice that on said coast beyond where this witness went there is any strait from the South Sea to that of the North through which ships could pass from one to the other, to declare with great particularity what he knows about this, and in what part the strait is if any, and what he has heard said about it and understands about it; he answered that what there is and what he knows about it it is this: that this witness and the others who

were with him had the intention of discovering a strait which this witness understands exists between the South Sea and the North Sea, and which disembogues where the English go after codfish, according to his information and if this witness had been alone with the ship and the people in it, he would have gone in search of this strait and would have sailed until he had seen it, but on account of the contrary weather which they encountered and the bad treatment of the ships, they returned as related above, and did not finish their voyage; that they remained in California and sent from there to advise the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, who ordered them to return, as at that time Villalobos was going to sail for the Islas de las Malucas and it was necessary for him to take the ships in which this witness and others had sailed to carry the people he had to take to the said islands to the west; that so it was that the said ships served for that voyage, and the discovery of the strait remained as it is up to today; and that this witness is certain that there is such a strait and that it is eight hundred leagues more or less from Compostela.

Asked how he knows and what he has heard, and from what persons, that there is such a strait; he answered that when this witness was in the Puerto de Navidad about to go on the voyage of discovery of this coast and of the strait, Don Luis de Castilla, *caballero* of the Order of Santiago, came to the port by order of the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, to deliver the ships to the *general,* who was called Francisco de Bolaños. He delivered them to the *General* and together with them an extract from a letter from His Majesty the Emperor, our master (who is in glory), in which he told the Viceroy that a certain Portuguese gentleman, whom the King of Portugal held as prisoner, had written him and had told him that he, the said gentleman, had discovered the strait and passed through it from one sea to the other, and on account of having given out a notice of this they held him prisoner in Portugal.[22] Besides all of this, this witness has heard many pilots and seamen who have sailed with him say, and especially did he hear an English sailor who sailed with this witness more than twenty-seven years ago say, that in company with other Englishmen, while going from England on a voyage after codfish, they had been inside of the said strait; he does not remember the name of the Englishman, but on account of the experience which he has had of matters of the sea this witness considers it certain and true that there is such a strait, and that it can be navigated, and although the witness is old and weary, if His Majesty orders it he will endeavor to discover it.

Asked, if the witness knows or has heard in any manner that by this strait any ships have passed from the North Sea to the South Sea, to declare what people have passed, what number of ships, and to what nation they belong; he said that he repeats what he answered to the preceding interrogatories; that it is about a year and a half, more or less, since he heard it said by many people in these kingdoms of New Spain and New Galicia that twenty-seven ships were going about in the South Sea which it was believed had entered by

the said strait, which they call that of the Bacalaos; that they were English or French; that this witness had offered the said señor Presidente to go to see and find out what people they were; that this witness understands and considers it certain that by the said strait the said ships and many others could enter and make fortifications in the said strait and in other places in the South Sea, where they could fortify themselves and make settlements, and from there come down to all the ports and bays in all the South Sea, as well as to those which are discovered in this kingdom and that of New Spain which are uninhabited and without defense, because only miserable Indians live in the neighborhood who in most places are very few in number; that the said ships could also reach Panama and the coast of Peru, where they could do great damage to His Majesty, and the South Sea could not be navigated with the same freedom as up to the present; that those who came in by the strait would become masters of all the South Sea without encountering resistance; that he knows what he has stated because he has navigated in these parts twenty-eight years in the service of His Majesty, for he came as pilot major of the fleet which Don Pedro de Alvarado, who was governor of Guatemala, brought on a voyage of discovery, consisting of ten ships with topmasts, a galley, a *fusta,* and a *frigata,* with 565 Spaniards;[23] that coming on this voyage they stopped at the Puerto de Santiago de Colima, where Don Pedro de Alvarado received news that all the new kingdom of Galicia had revolted and was asked to come to the aid of the said kingdom; that while in this port the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, wrote to him that he should stop there with the fleet and go to the help of this kingdom which he did, and took part in the pacification of the land, and that in the defense of the said kingdom Don Pedro was killed; that this witness and 180 seamen remained with the *Almirante* guarding the ships; and also that this witness by order of the Marqués del Valle went with a vessel to Panama, loaded with supplies, in aid of Pascual de Andagoya when he went to discover the Mangranes and the Borbona,[24] and also in the other voyages of which he has related; and that he will serve in those of His Majesty when ordered, and if it should be necessary he will go to the strait with fifty Spanish seamen in a *patax* or ship which his Majesty may order to be given to him, and will do away with the doubt whether any settlements or people are in the said strait.

Asked, if he knows or has any information that any people have seen any ship on the coast of Compostela or the Valle de Vanderas, or if he has heard anything about it, to say from whom, and where, and when, and how many ships have been seen; he answered that he says what he has already said in answer to the previous interrogatories, and that he does not know anything about what is asked more than what he has already stated.

Asked if this witness understands that any ships of foreigners, such as the English, or French, or other nations, might have passed by the said Strait of Bacalaos; he answered that this witness believes and considers it certain, as he said in answer to the preceding interrogatories, that all vessels that wish, of all

nations such as the French, English, or any other nation whatsoever, can enter by the said strait into the Sea of the South, and navigate there throughout, and that the one who fortifies it the most strongly can prevail over the others; and this he knows as a person who has had the great experience above referred to.

Asked if he knows or has heard it said that the said ships and people who were in them have done any damage along the coast of the South Sea, and if so, in what parts and what damage they have done, or if they have taken any supplies of bread, or whether they have taken any water or wood or other things; he answered that he does not know.

Asked, if the said foreign ships passed through the said strait, what damage they could do, and in what part or places along the coast of the South Sea His Majesty could order preventative measures so as to suffer no attack or damage, but even attack any enemies, whomsoever they are, who should pass through the said strait; he answered that he repeats what he said in answer to the preceding interrogatories, and that it would be expedient that His Majesty should prepare for defense against the said ships; that he knows this from what he has previously recounted, and because he has navigated as previously mentioned, and also because this witness went to Peru from these parts in a ship by order of Don Antonio, the viceroy, when Peru was in rebellion, which might be twenty-three years ago,[25] more or less, in order to carry certain dispatches, and that he carried them and brought back the answer; and that he saw all of the said sea even to Peru, and is well acquainted with it.

And this is the truth and what he knows, by the oath that he has taken, and he has signed it with his name, which he affirms and ratifies. Doctor Orozco. Juan Fernandez. Before me, Luis Velez Cherino.

Copied, corrected and compared with the original from which it was taken, in the City of Guadalaxara, on the 20th of December, 1574. Witnesses: Pedro Minez and Juan de Virbes, residents of this city.[26]

[Then follows Velez Cherino's certification.]

CHAPTER IV

THE VOYAGE OF JUAN RODRIGUEZ CABRILLO

As soon as the news of the arrival of Bolaños at the Isla del Marqués reached Mendoza he began preparations for another voyage. The instructions he gave the commander of this expedition have not yet been found, but the general ones must have been like those issued to Lopez de Zuñiga. Conditions had, however, somewhat changed since Bolaños set out. After Coronado returned from the buffalo plains in October, 1541, he sent Garci Lopez de Cárdenas back to Mexico City with an account of his journey. What he had to write to Mendoza about it can be seen in his letter to the Emperor of October 20.[1] While he did not say in this that he intended to return, yet it seems obvious that such was his intention from his statement that it would not be possible to establish a settlement in New Mexico. Cárdenas must have reached Mexico sometime in January, 1542, as it is plain from the general tenor of Mendoza's letter of March 10[2] that he knew that Coronado was expecting to return. Mendoza also now knew very well just about where Coronado was and that there was no longer any possibility, or, for that matter, any need of establishing a communication with his force from some point on the northwest coast. That it was hoped to find the mouth of the Rio de la Señora, as has been explained in a preceding chapter, is apparent from the accounts of the expedition, but that Mendoza really had expectations that Cabrillo would succeed in doing so, is another matter. If we may credit the evidence submitted in 1560 in the *Informacion,* it was also hoped to reach China by following the coast. This was perhaps the case, as the idea was a favorite one during the century.

In spite of the positive statements of Lázaro de Cárdenas and Francisco de Vargas, two of the witnesses in the investigation in 1560, that three ships were sent, one of which belonged to Cabrillo, even a brigantine being mentioned, the accounts of the expedition show no trace of more than two. Two good seaworthy vessels were really all that were now required. Herrera even definitely states that there were but two, the *San Salvador,* the *Capitana,* and the *Victoria.* The latter was evidently a small open vessel, but whether the *San Salvador* was one of Alvarado's three galleons of over two hundred tons each, or one of his seven one hundred ton ships, and was really Cabrillo's, is not stated. Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, Alvarado's *almirante,* was placed in charge of the little fleet.[3] Bartolomé Ferrer, a Levantine,[4] was chief pilot, and Lorenzo Hernandez, a Corsican,[5] the other pilot. Antonio Correa[6] and Gerónimo de San Roman[7] were the masters. The ships were well fitted out, perhaps supplied with food for three years, and a chaplain accompanied them.[8]

We have already seen that Cabrillo had come to Santiago with Alvarado.

According to Herrera he was a Portuguese, and although in the *repartimiento* made to him in 1536 by Alvarado as a settler in the new town of Gracias a Dios,[9] he is not mentioned as such, while others are so designated, yet his son's failure to produce any evidence regarding his birth or his services previous to his coming to Mexico, indicates plainly enough that such was the case. He had originally come to New Spain in 1520 as a soldier in the expedition of Pánfilo de Narvaez. As a commander of a company of cross-bowmen he joined Cortés in his campaign against the City of Mexico, like other members of the Narvaez force, and accompanied Captain Francisco de Orozco on his expedition to Oaxaca after being present at the capture of the city. Later he went to Guatemala, probably with Alvarado. Here he rendered important services for which he was rewarded with several *encomiendas,* notably that of Coban in Vera Paz. It was later asserted that when he left Guatemala with Alvarado those he possessed gave a total rental of about twelve thousand pesos per year. Much testimony was afterwards given to the effect that he had spent all his money in Alvarado's enterprise. Besides this, no sooner did he leave Guatemala than Cueva, the acting governor, took away from him his *encomiendas* for some reason which does not appear. His family was left very poor; in fact, one of the witnesses declared that they were living in a straw house. His wife's name was Beatriz de Ortega, and after his death she married a man by the name of Juan de Aguilar. As nearly as can be made out from the *Informacion,* he had two sons, one of the same name as himself, and perhaps some daughters.[10]

It is greatly to be regretted that a full account of the expedition has not survived. Those published herewith are nothing but summaries of one or more, with most of the interesting details, or at least such as would be more interesting to us, eliminated. Two facts stand out prominently, however, which give us a plain indication of the objects Cabrillo had in view besides merely taking possession of the country. One is a continued reference to the Indians and the other the search for a river. Whether Cabrillo's interest in the Indians was the pious one set out in the instructions to Lopez de Zúñiga, or was due to his effort to find some who showed signs of civilization and who therefore might possibly possess some gold or treasure, is not apparent from the narrative, but as no mention is made that any of those he met evinced any aptitude for receiving the Christian faith, the intention of Christianizing them must have been very slight if any even existed. The *auri sacra fames* was still too strong to allow room for anything of such an altruistic nature.

The search for the river to which Herrera even gave a name, "La Señora," is obvious. This began when they were on the Santa Barbara Channel in a latitude of just a little less than 36° according to their calculations. The Indians explained by signs that there was one farther on, and as that was to the north it seems probable that they referred to the Santa Inez River or to the Santa Maria, neither of which carries much water except in the rainy season.

As soon as Cabrillo managed to double Point Conception he began to look for this river. Manifestly, neither of those just mentioned bore any resemblance to what he was seeking, although the valley of the Santa Maria seen from a distance shows some indication of containing a large one. Whatever he saw, however, was unsatisfactory, so he went on and did not see another place where one might be looked for until he was coming back from the north after having been obliged by a storm to stand off from the coast. When he reached what he thought was full 39° he found what from the description cannot possibly be any other than the Salinas River and its valley opening out from Monterey Bay. When seen from the neighborhood of Point Año Nuevo or even from Santa Cruz, no land can be seen between the hills enclosing this valley. It certainly has a striking resemblance to an arm of the sea, the Monterey Peninsula and the mountains behind it looking like an island. The Salinas River is of course too small, as Cabrillo soon discovered, to meet the conditions demanded by the Rio de la Señora, if the reasoning adopted by the writer on this subject in a former chapter is sound.

Cabrillo set sail from Navidad June 27, 1542, and in spite of continued contrary winds from the northwest finally succeeded in reaching Point Arena on the northwest coast in lat. 38° 57′. As far as can be made out from the narratives, nothing was seen of the coast beyond except what was visible when they were off that point. Twice they reached a higher latitude, but they were far enough at sea to be out of the sight of land. The highest observation made was 43°, which can be corrected to 41°, as there was undoubtedly an error of two degrees in their observations in these high latitudes. During one of the storms experienced they thought they had gone up one degree more, and thus it came to be an accepted fact that the expedition had reached 44°; some even placed it as high as 45°. Possession was taken of the country in several different places, the first at a bay called "Posesion," north of Cabo Engaño, which point Ulloa was evidently supposed to have reached. Only one of these is recorded in Upper California, that at the Pueblo de las Canoas, but the name "Posesion" first given San Miguel Island indicates that possession was also taken there. It was also intended to do so in the Bahia de los Pinos but the surf proved too heavy to allow a landing to be made. On the second voyage to the north the coast was examined north of Point Reyes without seeing anything but mountains, but when at sea in what they thought was 43°, some drift logs were encountered, from which it was concluded that a large river emptied into the ocean somewhere near them. Assuming that they were in about 41° at the time, they were about opposite the mouth of Eel River or of Mad River, both of which in the rainy season, then in full force, bring down large quantities of driftwood.

When the ships returned Mendoza sent them to Peru. He was expecting news from Villalobos and contemplated either sending aid to him or setting on foot a new expedition to the Moluccas. In order to provide occupation for

the returned sailors, as they were difficult to keep in the country, he gave them permission to take three ships and agreed to supply enough mares and colts of his own to make up any deficiency in cargo there might be after they had secured from others all the freight possible. At least one of these ships was captured by Hernando Machicao at Tumbez, and Mendoza claimed to have lost thereby twelve of his horses and all the food and equipment he had provided for the ships.[11]

The account of the voyage is chiefly interesting as containing the first known description of the coast of Upper California and its inhabitants. Cabrillo came in contact with the natives at San Diego, Santa Catalina Island and on the Santa Barbara Channel. Very little is said about those of the two former places, but the somewhat superior state of civilization of the Indians on the channel evidently attracted his attention, or that of the person who made the summary. These Indians, known as Chumash, occupied that part of the coast which extends from the northern part of Santa Monica Bay to or nearly to the Bay of San Luis Obispo, but their settlements were most numerous along the shores of the Santa Barbara Channel proper. It may be truthfully said that not much more is known about the Chumash than what can be read in the pages of this narrative and in the accounts of Sebastian Vizcaino's voyage. When the Franciscan missionaries came to California in 1769 they also recognized that the intelligence and standard of living of these Indians were superior to those of others in California they had seen, and very shortly began founding missions among them. The effect of these was extremely disastrous to the Indians, who died off with great rapidity, so that at the time of the American occupation, hardly any were left. None of the missionaries among them seems to have thought it worth while to leave a detailed description of them and their customs, and what little is known of them is largely derived from the accounts of visitors, and that little is on the whole very much like what Cabrillo and Vizcaino said about them.

One of the curious things in Cabrillo's narrative is the trouble he took to give the names of Indian villages on the Santa Barbara Channel. When the text of the narrative became available in Buckingham Smith's *Coleccion,* those in California interested in the subject began to speculate about the identification of these towns. Many of the Spanish ranches in that neighborhood had Indian names and thus quite a collection of Chumash place-names was made. Alexander S. Taylor published an article attempting to trace the connection between some of these and Cabrillo's names.[12] Recently Dr. A. L. Kroeber has continued the investigation.[13] His conclusion is that Cabrillo's names do not represent any consistent geographical order. Like many other writers, Dr. Kroeber was misled by the error in the use of the name "San Salvador" for "San Sebastian." Altogether, the known facts seem too few to make identifications with any degree of accuracy except in a few cases, so few in fact, that it is not worth while to recapitulate the results.

Our main interest lies in identifying, if possible, the Pueblo de las Canoas, which Cabrillo says was called "Xucu." Dr. Kroeber thinks this name to be the same as "Shuku," that of a town at Rincon, while beginning with Taylor and H. W. Henshaw, a host of investigators and writers have asserted that the Pueblo was at or near Ventura. The location at Rincon does not meet the topographical conditions ascertainable from the narrative in any respect, and Ventura only does so partially. The latter place is about sixty miles from Point Conception, whereas Cabrillo places the distance from the Pueblo to Cabo de Galera at thirty leagues. This would allow only two miles to his league if the Pueblo had been at Ventura. Furthermore, Ventura is in 34° 30′, so that if the Pueblo were there Cabrillo's location as in 35° 20′ was only fifty minutes too high—too little, considering his errors farther north and even for a long distance south. We must then look for the Pueblo farther south, just east of Point Mugu, where the immense valley of the Santa Clara with the high range beyond begins to come into view, when approaching it as Cabrillo did from the south. Here large Chumash towns were located, the southernmost of the tribe,[14] unless perhaps the one said to have been at the mouth of Malibu Canyon on Santa Monica Bay was then in existence.[15] The latitude of Mugu Lagoon, about 34° 5′, corresponds better to that ascribed to the Pueblo by Cabrillo, as the error is then 1° 15′. Certainly Cabrillo did not sail by these Mugu towns without stopping to see what manner of men lived in the first habitations seen which resembled houses. Another indication that the Pueblo was in that neighborhood is his reference to seeing the islands after leaving it and not before reaching it, and the distance to it from San Lucas Island, that is, Santa Rosa, which he estimated as eighteen leagues.

The identifications of places on the coast named by Cabrillo north of Point Conception are so well established and fortified by such good authority that to attempt to upset them seems a somewhat useless task. Nevertheless, the writer is convinced that they are almost all erroneous. It is not probable that Dr. H. E. Bolton, the most recent commentator on the voyage, conducted any independent investigation of the matter.[16] He was apparently satisfied with those adopted by Professor Davidson as being the result of a careful examination by a man thoroughly competent in the premises. That Professor Davidson was thoroughly competent in many respects is certain, but he was misled by his lack of knowledge of the real meaning of Spanish geographical names, and besides, failed to follow a logical and consistent course in regard to Cabrillo's errors in his observations of latitude.[17]

The words used by Cabrillo, which are important in this connection, are *cabo* and *punta*. These are almost invariably translated as "cape" and "point," words interchangeable in the English language. With Cabrillo, however, the word *cabo* meant the end of the land, that is to say, a *cabo* marked a change in the general direction of the coast, or a change in its general character. His *puntas* were simply points projecting into the sea and had, so far as we can

identify them from the narrative, none of the characteristics just mentioned of *cabos*. So few geographical names were applied by him on the coast of Upper California that this distinction is not very marked, but that he had it in mind in applying names north of Point Conception may be reasonably assumed from this rule which he pursued there and farther south. No better example can be cited than his name "Cabo de Galera" for what is now termed "Point Conception."

The errors in Cabrillo's observations of latitude were not peculiar to him; similar errors can be discovered in the accounts of other early voyages. So far as the writer has investigated such accounts, the latitudes in the northern hemisphere were invariably placed too high. This arose undoubtedly, not so much from a defect in the instruments in use, as from errors in the tables of declination of the sun. Furthermore, the higher the latitude, the greater was the error as a rule. In other words, there was an increase in error as northing was obtained. This is particularly noticeable in the accounts of this voyage. In the latter part of the century some correction must have been made in the tables, as the errors then become demonstrably smaller, although the latitudes are still too high. By comparing Cabrillo's latitudes attributed to known points with their known locations, it will be seen that at Punta Tosco his observation was already 43′ too high. At Todos Santos his error had increased to 1° 28′ and at San Diego to 1° 40′. At Point Conception, the place farthest north which can be identified without question, his observation was also at least 1° 33′ too high. It thus seems reasonable to suppose that north of that point the errors still continued to increase, and if we concede that Herrera's Cabo de Fortunas was Point Arena, there was an error there of 2°—just what might be reasonably expected from the preceding rate of progression. It is true that between San Diego and Point Conception Cabrillo's observations show a smaller error than 1° 40′. Just how to account for this is not easy, but it may have been due to the fact that in his observation at San Diego there was an additional error to that contained in his tables.

In the narrative only six names are found north of Point Conception. These, with the latitudes assigned to them are: The Sierras de San Martin in 37½°, the Cabo de San Martin in 38° (later 37½°), the Cabo de Nieve in 38° 40′, the Bahia de los Pinos in full 39°, the Cabo de Pinos in 40°, and the Sierras Nevadas, the northern extremity of which was the Cabo de Nieve. Herrera gives the same names and the same latitudes except that he gives none to the Bahia de los Pinos. He mentions another, the Cabo de Fortunas, in 41°, not found in the narrative, although the point is described. The only latitude given by Gómara is 40°, which he ascribes to the Sierras Nevadas, stating that they were the country farthest north marked out. In the notes to the translation these places have been identified as follows: The Santa Lucia Mountains (that part which extends roughly from near San Luis Obispo to Cape San Martin); Cape San Martin in 35° 54′, or Point Piedras Blancas in

35° 40′; Cypress Point in 36° 45′; Santa Cruz Harbor in 36° 57′, and Point Reyes in 38°. The Sierras Nevadas were the northern part of the Santa Lucia Mountains and Cabo de Fortunas was Point Arena in 38° 57′. By comparing these latitudes with those given by Cabrillo we find that the difference is about two degrees. What he meant by changing that ascribed to Cabo San Martin from 38° to 37½° can only be surmised; the most likely reason is that on his way south, at which time the latitude was changed, he concluded that Point Piedras Blancas was more of a *cabo* than Cape San Martin, as indeed is the case, the latter being in reality only a *punta*.

The identifications here submitted also accord much better with the topographical indications contained in the narrative than those usually adopted. Cabo de Nieve was unquestionably the northern extremity of the Sierras Nevadas, as Cabo San Martin was the southern, and as Point Carmel is in no sense a *cabo,* while Point Cypress is, and the mountains actually run out at the north at Cypress Point, this must have been Cabrillo's Cabo de Nieve. He does not say that there was any snow on it but merely that it was the end of the snow mountains. In spite of Gómara's statement about the Sierras Nevadas, the narrative leaves no room for argument as to their location. They were not the farthest north. The narrative contains a reference to snow covered mountains seen when near Cabo de Pinos, November 15. The cartographers may have applied the name "Sierras Nevadas" to these, forgetful of the fact that Cabrillo himself had given the same name to another range farther south. The identification of Cabo de Pinos as Point Reyes at once brings up the objection that the point had no pine trees on it so far as known. In this respect, however, one has to choose between accepting the Cabo de Pinos as a point without pines or the Bahia de los Pinos as a bay without pines. Professor Davidson's identification of the latter as Drake's Bay is open to this objection. The bay has no pines and had none in 1595. A still greater objection, however, is the latitude, 38°, of Drake's Bay, because if it were the Bahia de los Pinos, which Cabrillo said was in full 39°, his error would have been only a full 1°, less than any recorded north of Todos Santos in Lower California. Having made this identification, Professor Davidson was obliged to move Cabo de Pinos up to what he called Northwest Cape near Fort Ross in 38° 31′, and Cabo de Fortunas up to Cape Mendocino in 40° 26′, positions which are both entirely untenable. Northwest Cape, as he calls it, is not a *cabo,* it is hardly even a *punta.* Cape Mendocino conforms in no respect to the description given to Cabo de Fortunas. Furthermore, Cabrillo's error would have been only 34′, the smallest discernible error in the narrative, if this identification be accepted.[18]

The writer believes that the Bahia de los Pinos was without question the northern part of Monterey Bay. That part was almost certainly covered with trees at the time. The depth of water in which the ship was anchored close to the coast can only be found off Moss Landing in the submarine valley which

extends out into the ocean in that bay. As previously pointed out, Cabrillo's remarks about a river are almost conclusive evidence that he was anchored here. There is no place farther north where one, looking from the ocean, could say that there was any sign of a great river which did not exist.[19] Finally, if we take the *cabos* named by Cabrillo: Cabo de San Martin, Cabo de Nieve, Cabo de Pinos and Cabo de Fortunas, we find that they were true *cabos* in his use of the word, once they are identified as Point Piedras Blancas, Cypress Point, Point Reyes and Point Arena. Point Reyes is the most conspicuous point on a long stretch of coast and so was Cabrillo's Cabo de Pinos.

Not only were the observations for latitude made by Cabrillo in error, but also his calculations of longitude. These naturally were not the result of observations, but were made up from the courses and the distances run. It is apparent that the general idea was that his discoveries extended upward from Cabo San Lucas in a northwest or a west-northwest direction. This can be seen on Gómara's map (Plate XI), and also, to a certain extent, on that of Gastaldi published by Ramusio (Plate XII). The latter only is graduated, showing a difference in longitude of some twenty degrees between Cabo San Lucas and the Sierra Nevadas in about 40°. As the actual difference is only about fourteen degrees, this is a rather large error considering that the difference in latitude is not more than eighteen degrees. From remarks made in 1565 by Rodrigo de Espinosa in his log of the *San Pedro,* it seems probable that the maps the ship was carrying did not agree on this point, as might naturally be expected from the working up of Cabrillo's log by different cosmographers.

It must be a matter of regret to everyone that there is nothing to commemorate Cabrillo's visit to the coast, not even a geographical name, except Cape San Martin applied in recent years. Located anywhere between 40° and 50° and in the relative position near the coast assigned to them by Gómara, the Sierras Nevadas were shown on maps for a long time. Even after the capes, bays, ports and mountains had been renamed by Vizcaino, this name was frequently selected from old maps and appeared near the coast together with Vizcaino's names. It was still there in the eighteenth century when the Spaniards began to make land explorations in California. Whether the name was transferred by them to the snowy range now known as the "Sierra Nevada" or this was baptized anew is uncertain. If they adopted his name it would seem to be the irony of fate that it is now applied to a range of mountains which he never saw.

A facsimile of the original account of Cabrillo's voyage in the Archivo de Indias will be found in the Appendix. A translation follows below.

Translation

Juan Rodriguez left the Puerto de Navidad[20] June 27, 1542, to discover the coast of New Spain. From the Puerto de Navidad to Cabo de Corrientes it took a day and a night with a southeast wind, forty leagues. From Wednesday until

the following Thursday they held their course along the coast thirty-five leagues, and Sunday, July 2, had sight of California, having been delayed in crossing almost four days on account of the winds which were not very favorable. On Monday, the 3d, they cast anchor at the Punta de la California[21] and remained there two days. From there they went to the Puerto de San Lucas[22] on Thursday and took in water, and during this time saw not a single Indian. It is said that this port is in 23° and from the point to the port it is clean and suitable for anchoring.[23] The country is bare and broken.

They sailed from Puerto de San Lucas Thursday night and on the following Saturday, the 8th, anchored at the Punta de la Trinidad in 25° — about five[24] leagues from San Lucas. The coast is clean and without dangers.[25] In the country inside high mountains appear, bare and broken. They remained at anchor here on account of contrary winds from the west-northwest until the following Wednesday, the 12th, when they left. An island at the Puerto de la Trinidad makes a good port, protected from the west-northwest winds. It is at the head of the island on the southeast side, is clear and suitable for anchoring, but has neither wood nor water.[26] The island is ten leagues in length and two in width. That night they anchored. On the following Thursday they set sail and passed by the Puerto de San Pedro in 25½°.[27] In this port there is neither water nor wood; its direction is to the southeast and it has good shelter from the west winds.

They continued sailing along the coast, which makes a great *ensenada,*[28] the cape of which is in 26°.[29] It is low land and sand dunes, and the coast is white and clean.[30] They went sailing along this with favorable winds up to 27°, and Wednesday, the 19th, went ashore at a port which they found. When they landed they found an Indian trail and went along this about an harquebus shot, to where they found a spring. The land inside is level, bare, and very dry. They named it "Puerto de la Madalena."[31] It may be forty leagues from the Baia de San Martin[32] to this port. On Thursday following, the 20th, they continued sailing along the coast with vile[33] winds and about six leagues beyond found anchorage behind a point which they called the "Punta de la Santa Catalina."[34] Thus they went sailing along the coast, and Tuesday following, the 25th, discovered a large bay in 27½°, having made very little progress these days on account of the vile winds. In this port they anchored, naming it the "Puerto de Santiago";[35] it is about twenty-three leagues from the Puerto de Madalena. Five leagues from the Punta de Santiago[36] are some very dangerous reefs of rocks called "Abreojo"[37] which only appear when the surf breaks on them. They are a league from land and in full 27½°. They went sailing on the same course along the coast up to 28°, where they anchored under the shelter of a point where there are some trees, the first seen since leaving the Punta de la California. From this point to the Puerto de Santiago, that is, its northwest point, it may be about twenty-three leagues. The sierras are high and rugged with some trees on them. We named it "Santa Ana";[38] it has a small island about a league from

land. Thursday, the 27th, they left the Puerto de Santa Ana and went on about six leagues to anchor in a port they named "Puerto Fondo," on account of the great depth they found, for close to the land there were thirty fathoms of water.[39] It is clean. The following day they left this port, but had to return there three times on account of contrary winds, and they remained in port until the Monday following. Monday, the 31st, they left this Puerto Fondo and anchored that night about eight leagues from there and the day following continued on their voyage.

Tuesday, the first day of August, they proceeded some ten leagues to where they anchored in a port they named "San Pedro Vincula,"[40] in sight of the Isla de Çedros. The port is in full 28½°; the country is high, rugged and bare, and from California to this place we have not seen an Indian.[41] Wednesday, the 2d, they left this port and encountering a contrary wind went on beating and came to anchor at an island four leagues from the southeast part of the Isla de Çedros. This island, which they called "San Esteban,"[42] bears east-west with the end of the point of the mainland from which it is about a league distant; the coast runs northwest-southeast.[43] From this point the mainland turns toward the east-northeast, making a great *ensenada*[44] in which land cannot be seen. Between the island and the mainland there is a good passage, but you have to pass close to the island, for there is a reef running out about a quarter of a league from the point. There is on the water a great deal of grass which grows from the bottom and is fastened there.[45] The island bears northwest-southeast with San Pedro Vincula and is about three leagues in circumference. We were here on account of contrary winds until the following Saturday, the 5th. It has a good harbor on the southeast side and many fish can be caught with a hook, and there are many birds. They left the Isla de San Esteban Saturday, the 5th, and went to anchor at the Isla de Çedros, where they remained until Thursday, the 10th, taking water and wood. They found no Indians, although they did find some signs of them. The leeward point of the island on the south side is in 29°,[46] and on this south side there are some good ports, water and wood, but on this side it is bare, having nothing but some small shrubs. The island is large, high and bare, and runs almost east and west, being a matter of twelve leagues long on the south side.

They left the Isla de Çedros on Thursday, the 10th, to continue their voyage, and went towards the north in the direction of the mainland. This day they sailed some ten leagues and on Friday came to anchor in a good port, which they named "Puerto de Santa Clara."[47] They went ashore and found four Indians, who fled. It is in scant 30°, northeast of the Isla de Çedros. From here towards the *ensenada,* the coast runs south-southeast and is clean and suitable for anchoring. The country is bare but not rugged, having plains and valleys. They remained in this port until Sunday, the 13th, on account of the vile winds. Sunday, the 13th, they left the port and sailed along the coast with light winds, anchoring each night, and on Tuesday following anchored at a

point in 30½° which makes an *ensenada*. It has very little shelter, so they named it "Punta de Mal Abrigo."[48] Wednesday following they went sailing along close to the coast and encountered much contrary wind from the northwest, so they lay to at night without gaining anything, and on Thursday following, proceeded with rainstorms, sudden changes of wind and calms, so that they did not go to land. That night they had a strong wind from the west-northwest so they lay to, and on Friday went on with favorable winds and found themselves six leagues to the windward of Punta de Mal Abrigo. Thus they went on until the following Saturday, the 19th, when they cast anchor at a small island which is about a half a league from the mainland and about ten leagues from Punta de Mal Abrigo. It is in 30° 40′, has a good anchorage and affords good shelter. They named it "San Bernardo."[49] It measures about a league from north to south. The coast of the mainland, which is clean, runs from north-northwest to south-southeast. The country inside is of very good appearance and is level; there are some good valleys and some trees. The other [that is, the island] is bare. During these days they found no sign of Indians.

Sunday, the 20th, they left the Isla de San Bernardo and arrived at Punta del Engaño, which must be seven leagues from the island and is in 31°.[50] From the point towards the island the coast trends north-northwest south-southeast. At the Punta del Engaño the country is not high and seems to be good land and level. The mountains are bare; we saw no sign of Indians.[51] So they went sailing on until the next Monday, following the coast towards the north and northeast, and a matter of ten leagues from Punta del Engaño discovered a good port in which they anchored and took in water and wood. It is in 31½° and is a port in which one can make any kind of repairs to ships, putting them on shore for that purpose.[52] The following Tuesday Captain Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo went ashore and took possession in the name of His Majesty and the most illustrious Don Antonio de Mendoza, naming it "Puerto de la Posesion."[53] A lagoon was found which had three large [arms].[54] They discovered some Indian fishermen, who at once took flight, but they captured one of them. They turned him loose, however, after giving him some presents, and he went away. The country inside is high broken land, has good valleys and appears to be good country, although bare. They remained here until Sunday, the 27th, dressing the sails and taking water. Thursday they saw some smoke, and going there with the ship's boat, found about thirty Indian fishermen, who waited for them. They brought to the ship a boy and two Indian women, to whom they gave something to wear and some presents and then let them go. They could not make out anything from them, even by signs.

On the following Friday, when going to take water, they found at the watering-place some Indians who awaited them and who showed them a spring and a saline which contained much salt.[55] These explained by signs that they did not have their home there but inland, and that there were many people. The same day in the afternoon five Indians who seemed to be intelligent came to the

beach. They took them to the ships, and as they went aboard they pointed out and counted the Spaniards and made signs that they had seen other men like them who had beards and who had with them dogs, cross-bows, and swords. The Indians were painted on the thighs, body and arms with white bitumen, put on like slashes in cloth, so that they looked like men in slashed breeches and jackets. They made signs that the Spaniards were five days' journey from there[56] and also that there were many Indians and that they had much maize and many parrots. They were covered with deerskins which some wore dressed in the same manner as the Mexicans dress the hides they wear in their *cutaras*.[57] The people are large and well built and carry bows and arrows like those of New Spain, the arrows having flint points. The Captain gave them a letter to carry to the Spaniards who they said were inland.

Sunday, the 27th, they left Puerto de la Posesion and proceeding on their course found an uninhabited island two leagues from the mainland, with a good harbor in it, which they named "San Agustin."[58] It is about two leagues in circumference. So they went beating along the coast with light winds, until the following Wednesday, the 30th, when a storm from the northwest struck them which obliged them to return to the Isla de San Agustin. On this island they found signs of people and two cow-horns,[59] as well as very large trunks of trees which the sea had cast up, measuring more than sixty feet in length, and of a thickness so great that two men together could not reach around them. They looked like cypresses and there were cedars besides. Altogether there was a great quantity of this wood.[60] There is nothing else on this island except a good harbor, and here they stayed until the following Sunday.

Sunday, September 3, they set out from this island, and following their course, anchored near the land on the Monday following, some seven leagues to windward on a north-south coast, but soon went on their course and continued sailing with favorable but light winds along a north-south coast until Thursday, the 7th, when they came to anchor in an *ensenada* which the mainland forms. Here the coast ends its north-south trend and turns toward the northwest. In this *ensenada* there is a great valley; the land is level on the coast and there are high sierras inside. The broken country seems to be good and all the coast is bold and so sloping that a half a league from land they were anchored in ten fathoms. Here there was much kelp in the water.[61] Friday following, the 8th, they went on with light winds plying to windward and here encountered contrary currents. They came to anchor at a point which makes a cape and affords a good shelter from the west-northwest winds, naming it "Cabo de Santa Maria."[62] It is the end of country from both sides, as some high sierras which come from behind end here and other small sierras begin. There is a great valley, and many others; apparently[63] it is a good country. It is in 32½°, is a clean port with bottom in easy reach and bears north-south with the Isla de San Agustin.[64] While in this Puerto de Santa Maria they went on shore for water and found a small lagoon of fresh water, where they obtained

some. At this watering-place about forty Indians came up with their bows and arrows, but they could not be understood. They were naked and brought roast maguey and fish to eat. They are large people. Here they took possession and remained until the following Monday. Monday, the 8th [11th], they left Cabo de Santa Maria and sailed about four leagues on a north-northeast south-southwest coast, but from there the coast turns to the northwest. The country is high and bare. The following day they sailed along a northwest-southeast coast a matter of six leagues, all bold and clean. The following day also they sailed with vile winds some four leagues along a northwest-southeast coast; on the land there are high and rugged sierras. The following Thursday they anchored about three leagues beyond at a point which runs out into the sea and makes a cape from one side and the other which they named "Cabo de Cruz."[65] It is in 33°; there is no water or wood, nor did they find any sign of Indians. Having left Cabo de la Cruz, they found themselves on the following Saturday, by reason of the vile winds, only two leagues from the cape, on a coast trending north-northwest. On shore they saw some Indians in some very small canoes. The land is very high, bare and arid. All the country from California here has beaches of sand; but now country of another character commences, as it is of reddish color and of good appearance.

Sunday, the 17th, they went sailing along on their voyage, and about six leagues from Cabo de Cruz found a good closed port, having passed a small island near the mainland before reaching it. In this port they took water in a lagoon of rain water. There are some trees like silk-cotton trees except that they are of hard wood. They found some big thick logs cast up by the sea. This port is called "San Mateo"[66] and is apparently a good country, there being great savannas and grass like that of Spain. The land is high and broken. They saw some herds resembling domesticated animals of a hundred and even more, which in their appearance and their way of going, looked like the sheep of Peru. Their wool was long and they had small horns about as long as the distance between the extended thumb and forefinger, and about as thick as the thumb. The tail was broad and round and of a hand's length.[67] It is in 33° 20′. They took possession and were there until the following Saturday. Saturday, the 23d, they left the Puerto de San Mateo and sailed along the coast until the Monday following, making about eighteen leagues and seeing many beautiful valleys, groves of trees and level and broken country. They saw no Indians. On the following Tuesday and Wednesday they sailed along the coast about eight leagues and passed by some three uninhabited islands. One of these is larger than the others, measuring about two leagues in length, and affords shelter from the west wind. They are three leagues from land and in 34°; they named them "Islas Desiertas."[68] On this day they saw on the mainland some great smokes. The country appears to be good, with large valleys. Inside, there are some high sierras.

On the Thursday following they sailed about six leagues along a north-

northwest coast and discovered a very good closed port in 34° 20′, which they named "San Miguel."[69] After anchoring they went ashore where there were some people, three of whom awaited them, while the rest fled. To these some presents were given, and they explained by signs that inland people like the Spaniards had passed, and they displayed much fear. That night some went ashore from the ships to fish with a net, and it seems that there were some Indians who commenced to shoot arrows at them and wounded three men. The following day in the morning they went with the ship's boat farther up into the port, which is large, and brought back two boys who understood nothing by signs; they gave them some shirts and shortly sent them away. The following day in the morning three large Indians came to the ships and explained by signs that some people like us, that is, bearded, dressed and armed like those on board the vessels, were going about inland. They showed by signs that these carried cross-bows and swords; they made gestures with the right arm as if using lances, and went running about as if they were going on horseback, and further showed that these were killing many of the native Indians, and for this reason they were afraid.[70] The people are well built and large and go about covered with the skins of animals. While in this port a great tempest passed over, but nothing of it was felt as the port is so good. It was from the west-southwest and the south-southwest and violent. This is the first storm which has occurred.[71] They were in this port until the following Tuesday; here they called the Christians *Guacamal*.

On the Tuesday following, October 3, they left San Miguel, and Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday sailed on their course some eighteen leagues along the coast, where they saw many valleys and plains and many smokes and sierras inland. At nightfall they were close to some islands which are about seven leagues from the mainland, and as the wind died out they could not reach them that night. Saturday, the 7th, at daybreak, they reached them, and named them "San Salvador" and "Vitoria."[72] They anchored at one and went ashore with the ship's boat to see if there were any people there. As the boat was nearing land a great number of Indians came out of the bushes and grass, shouting, dancing, and making signs to come ashore. As from the boats they saw the women fleeing, they made signs to them not to fear; so shortly they became assured and put their bows and arrows on the ground. Launching into the water a fine canoe containing eight or ten Indians, they came out to the ships. These were given some beads and presents with which they were well pleased, and shortly went back. The Spaniards afterwards went ashore and both the Indian men and women and everybody felt very secure. Here an old Indian made signs to them that men like the Spaniards, wearing clothes and having beards, were going around on the mainland. They remained at this island only until midday.

The Sunday following, the 8th, they came to the mainland in a large bay, which they named "Baia de los Fumos" on account of the many smokes they

saw there. Here they engaged in intercourse with some Indians they captured in a canoe, who made signs to them that towards the north there were Spaniards like them. The bay is in 35°; it is an excellent harbor and the country is good, with many valleys, plains, and groves of trees.[73] On the following Monday, the 9th, they sailed from the Baia de los Fuegos[74] and that day went about six leagues, anchoring in a large *ensenada*.[75] From there they proceeded on the following day, Tuesday, some eight leagues along a northwest-southeast coast. We saw on land an Indian town close to the sea with large houses like those of New Spain, and they anchored in front of a large valley on the coast. Here many fine canoes holding twelve or thirteen Indians each came to the ships, and gave news of Christians who were going about inland. The coast runs northwest-southeast. Some presents were given them with which they were much pleased. They made signs that in seven days one could go to where the Spaniards were, so Juan Rodriguez decided to send on a chance two Spaniards inland with these Indians with a letter to the Christians.[76] These explained besides that there was a large river. They named the town "Pueblo de las Canoas." The people wear some animal skins, are fishermen, and eat raw fish as well as maguey. The town is in 35° 20′.[77] The country within is a very beautiful valley, and the Indians explained that inland in that valley there was much maize and food. Beyond this valley some high, very broken sierras were visible. They call the Christians *Taquimine*.

Here they took possession and remained until Friday, the 13th. On Friday they sailed from the Pueblo de las Canoas on their voyage and went this day six or seven leagues, passing along two large islands, each of which measures four leagues in length and must be four leagues from the mainland. They are unpopulated because there is no water on them, but there are good harbors.[78] The coast of the mainland runs to the west-northwest and the country is level with many savannas and groves of trees.[79] On the following day, Saturday, they went no more than two leagues, anchoring in front of a very beautiful and well-populated valley.[80] The country is flat and with many trees. Here canoes came out with fish to barter, and they became very friendly. On the following Sunday, the 15th, they continued their voyage about ten leagues along the coast, and during all that time many canoes were in evidence, because all the coast is very well settled. Many Indians kept coming aboard the ships and pointed out to us the towns, telling their names, which are: Xuco, Bis, Sopono, Alloc, Xabaagua, Xocotoc, Potoltuc, Nacbuc, Quelqueme, Mizinagua, Misesopano, Elquis, Coloc, Mugu, Xagua, Anacbuc, Partocac, Susuquei, Quanmu, Gua, Asimu, Aguin, Casalic, Tucumu, and Yncpupu. All these towns are from the Pueblo de las Canoas, which is called "Xucu," to here. They are in a good country with fine plains and many trees and savannas. The people go about dressed in skins and say that inland at three days' distance there are many towns and much maize. They call maize *oep*, and cows, of which they say

there are many, they call *cae*.[81] They also gave us news of people bearded and wearing clothes.

That day they passed along a large island about fifteen leagues long which was said to be well populated and to contain the following named towns: Niquipos, Mazul, Xugua, Nitel, Macamo, and Nimitapal. They named this island "San Lucas."[82] From here to the Pueblo de las Canoas it must be about eighteen leagues, and from the island to the mainland about six leagues. Monday, the 16th, sailing along the coast, they went four leagues and anchored in the afternoon in front of two villages.[83] On this day as well, canoes kept coming out to the ships, and they pointed out that there were still larger canoes beyond. Tuesday, the 17th, they proceeded three leagues with favorable winds, and from daybreak many canoes went along with the ships, to whom the Captain always gave many presents. All this coast passed is very well settled, the Indians bringing them many very good fresh sardines.[84] These say that inland there are many towns and much food, but they do not eat maize. They go dressed in skins and have very long hair tied up with some long cords. Inserted between the hair and these cords are many daggers made of flint, bone, and wood.[85] The country appears to be excellent. Wednesday, the 18th, they ran along the coast until ten o'clock and saw it all inhabited. As the wind was fresh, canoes did not come out to them. They arrived at a point like a galley which makes a cape and named it "Cabo de Galera." It is in full 36°.[86]

As a fresh northwest wind struck them they stood off to sea and discovered two islands, one large, about eight leagues in length from east to west, and the other about four leagues. In the small one there is a good port. They are inhabited, are ten leagues from the mainland, and are called "Islas de San Lucas."[87] From the mainland to the Cabo de Galera they trend west a quarter northwest.[88] From the Pueblo de las Canoas to Cabo de Galera there is a well inhabited province called "Xexu." There are many different languages, and they carry on great wars with each other. From the Pueblo de las Canoas to Cabo de Galera the distance is thirty leagues. They remained in these islands until the Wednesday following, because there was a great storm.[89]

Wednesday, the 25th, they left these islands, that is, the one farthest to windward, which has a very good port inside which no bad effects will be felt in any kind of sea weather. They named it "Posesion."[90] That day they only sailed a little because there was no wind. On the midnight following, a south-southwest and west-southwest wind with rain struck them, and they saw themselves in trouble as it was an on-shore wind[91] and they were near land. They could not double the cape on one tack or the other. On Thursday following, at vespers, the wind shifted to the south, and with this they went on their way ten leagues along a coast trending north-northwest, south-southeast. All this coast is inhabited and the land seems to be good.[92] That night they held out to sea because an on-shore wind was blowing, and on the following Friday, Saturday, and Sunday they went beating about in one direction and another

with contrary winds, without being able to gain any distance. Then they were in 36½°, ten leagues from Cabo de Galera. Monday and Tuesday, the 31st, the eve of Todos Santos, they went tacking about endeavoring to reach the mainland in search of a large river on the other side of Cabo de Galera of which they had information, and because on the land there were signs of rivers. They did not find any, however, nor did they anchor there, because the coast was very bold.[93] During this month they found the weather on this coast from 34° up, like that in Spain, very cold in the mornings and afternoons and with great storms of rain, heavy clouds, great darkness, and heavy air.

Wednesday at midnight, November 1, while standing off, a heavy north-northwest gale came up which did not allow them to carry an inch of sail. At daylight it came so much fresher that they could do nothing but run back to shelter, which they did under Cabo de Galera, where they anchored and went on shore, as there was a large town there called "Xexo."[94] As wood did not seem to be close at hand they decided to go to the Pueblo de las Sardinas where water and wood were very close. They called this shelter under Galera the "Puerto de Todos Santos." Thursday following they went to the Pueblo de las Sardinas, where they remained three days taking water and wood. The natives helped them and brought the wood and the water to the ships. This town at the Puerto de las Sardinas is called "Çicacut," and the others from there to the Cabo de Galera are: Çiucut, Anacot, Maquinanoa, Paltatre, Anacoac, Olesino, Caacac, Paltocac, Tocane, Opia, Opistopia, Nocos, Yutum, Quiman, Micoma, and Garomisopona. The chief of these towns is an old Indian woman who came on board the ships and slept two nights in the *Capitana,* many others doing the same. The town of Çiucut seemed to be the head of the other towns because they came there from them when called by the chief.[95] The town at the cape is called "Xexo." From this port [that is, Sardinas] to the Pueblo de las Canoas is another province which they call "Xucu." They have round houses, well covered down to the ground. They wear skins of many different kinds of animals, eat acorns and a white seed the size of maize, which is used to make tamales. They live well.[96] They say that inland there is much maize and men like us go about there. The port is in 35° 40′.

Monday, November 6, they set out from the Puerto de Sardinas and that day made almost no headway. Until the Friday following they sailed with very light winds, and that day we arrived at Cabo de Galera. In all this travel they were able to avail themselves[97] of the Indians who came on board with water and fish and displayed much friendship. In their towns they have large plazas and circular enclosures around which imbedded in the ground are many stone posts which stand about three palm-lengths above it. In the middle of these enclosures there are many very thick timbers like masts sunk in the ground. These are covered with many paintings, and we thought they must worship them because when they danced they did so around the inside of the enclosure.

The Saturday following, the day of San Martin, November 11, they went

sailing along the coast and in the morning found themselves twelve leagues from the cape in the same place from whence they had gone back for refuge the first time.[98] All this day they had favorable winds so that they went close to a northwest-southeast coast and made twenty good leagues. All the coast followed this day is bold, without shelter, and a range of very high sierras on which the sea breaks runs along all of it, as high at the sea as inland. They saw neither towns nor smokes, as all the coast, which has no shelter from the north, is uninhabited. They named these sierras the "Sierras de San Martin."[99] They are in 37½°, and the end of them and of some other sierras to the northwest makes a cape which projects into the sea in 38°. This they named "Cabo de Martin."[100] This same Saturday night, four hours after nightfall, while lying to a matter of six leagues from the coast, waiting for daybreak, with the wind in the southeast, such a rainstorm and heavy clouds from the south-southeast and south-southwest came up that they could not carry an inch of sail. They had to run before it all that night with a small piece of sail on the foremast, with great labor, and on the Sunday following the storm became much more violent, lasting that day and night and until Monday at midday. The storm was as great as any could be in Spain. Saturday night they lost sight of the consort.

Monday, November 13, at the hour of vespers the wind calmed down and shifted to the west. They at once set sail and turned towards land in search of their consort, praying God to succor[101] her, as they very much feared that she would be lost. They ran to the north and to the north-northwest with a west and west-northwest wind, and the following Tuesday at daybreak had sight of land. They had to sail until the afternoon; they came to reconnoiter it in a very high country and then went along close to the coast looking for a port where they could take shelter. The sea was so high that it was frightful to see; the coast was bold and the mountains very high. In the afternoon they lay to. The coast runs northwest-southeast. They sighted the country at a point which projects into the sea and makes a cape; it is covered with trees and is in 40°.[102] Wednesday, the 15th, they sighted the consort, for which they gave hearty thanks to the Lord, as they had considered her lost, and bearing down on her joined her in the afternoon. Those of the other ship had passed through even greater hardships and perils than those on the *Capitana* as she was small and had no covered deck. The land along which they passed is very good in appearance, but they saw neither Indians nor smokes. There are great sierras covered with snow and there is much timber.[103] At night they took in sail and lay to.

The following Thursday, November 16, at break of day they arrived off a large *ensenada,*[104] which came from behind. As it seemed to have a port and a river,[105] they went beating about all that day and night and the following Friday until they saw that there was no river nor any haven. In order to take possession they cast anchor in forty-five fathoms,[106] but did not dare go ashore on

account of the great surf. This *ensenada* is in full 39°; all of it is full of pines down to the sea, and they named it the "Baia de los Pinos."[107] The night following they lay to until the following day, and Saturday ran along the coast and found themselves at night off Cabo de San Martin. All the coast passed this day is very bold; there is a great swell and the land is very high. There are mountains which seem to reach the heavens, and the sea beats on them; sailing along close to land, it appears as though they would fall on the ships.[108] They are covered with snow to the summits, so they named them the "Sierras Nevadas."[109] At their beginning there is a cape which projects into the sea which they named "Cabo de Nieve."[110] The coast runs north-northwest to south-southeast and it does not seem that Indians live on it. The Cabo de Nieve is in 38° 40′. Whenever the wind blew from the northwest the weather was clear.

Thursday, the 23d, they arrived on their return at the Islas de San Lucas, at the one named "Posesion." They had run along all the coast from point to point from Cabo de Pinos to the islands, and having found no sheltered port, were obliged to return to this island, as during the past days there was a strong wind from the west-northwest and a very high swell. All the way from the Cabo de Martin to the Cabo de Pinos we saw no Indians for the reason that the coast is bold, without shelter, and very rugged at the shore. On the southeast side of the Cabo de Martin, for fifteen leagues, they found the land inhabited and many smokes, as the country is good,[111] but from Cabo de Martin[112] up to 40° we saw no sign of Indians. The Cabo de San Martin is in 37½°.

While wintering at the Isla de Posesion, there passed from this present life, January 3, 1543, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, the captain of the ships, from a fall which he had in this island the previous time they were there, in which he broke an arm, close to the shoulder.[113] He left as captain the chief pilot, who was one Bartolomé Ferrelo, a native of the Levant, and strongly charged him at the time of his death not to fail to discover as much as possible of all that coast. They named this island the "Isla de Juan Rodriguez"; the Indians call it "Çiquimuymu." Another they call "Nicalque" and the other "Limu." On the Isla de Posesion there are two towns, "Çico" and "Nimollollo." In the other island there are three towns, "Nichochi," "Coycoy," and "Estocoloco." In the remaining island there are eight, as follows: Niquesesquelua, Poele, Pisqueno, Pualnacatup, Patiquiu, Patiquilid, Nimemu, Muoc, Pilidquay, and Lilibeque. The Indians of these islands are very poor, being fishermen, and eat nothing except fish. They do not sleep on the ground.[114] All their business and occupation is to fish. In each house they say there are fifty souls, who live very filthily, going naked. They remained at these islands from November 23 to January 19, and in all this time, almost two months, there was very rough wintry and rainy weather. The winds which were most frequent were west-southwest and south-southwest and west-northwest, some very violent.

Friday, January 19, 1543, they set sail from the Isla de Juan Rodriguez, which is called "Çiquimuymu," in order to go to the mainland in search of some

supplies for their voyage. In leaving the port such a strong wind from the west-northwest struck them that they had to take refuge at the other Islas de San Lucas and to anchor at the Isla de Limun, which they named "San Sebastian."[115] They were obliged to weigh anchor again as there was no port there, only the shelter which the islands afforded, and the wind had shifted to one on shore. They went around these islands eight days with very vile winds, sheltering themselves under the islands themselves from the bad weather, and on the 27th of the same month entered the same port of the Isla de Juan Rodriguez where they had first been. The greatest trouble they had was from unsettled winds which kept changing about from one quarter to the other, but the most constant are from the west-northwest and the west-southwest. Tuesday, the 29th, they set out from the Isla de Juan Rodriguez for the Isla de San Lucas, which is in the middle of the others, in order to get some anchors which, unable to raise, they had left there during a storm. These they secured and also took some water. They left this Isla de San Lucas Monday, February 12, not being able to do so sooner on account of the vile weather of wind and snow. It is inhabited and the people are like those of the other island. The Indians call it "Nicalque," and there are three towns on it named "Nicochi," "Coycoc," and "Coloco."[116] That day they went to the Puerto de las Sardinas to get wood and other things necessary for their voyage which were not to be found on the island. Wednesday, the 14th, they left the Puerto de Sardinas after taking a boatload of wood, not daring to stay longer on account of the high sea. They did not find so many Indians as the first time nor any fishing, as it was winter; the Indians were living on acorns, another seed, and crude herbs from the fields. From here they went to the Isla de San Sebastian in order to make sail to run out to sea, as they would be more secure there from the storms.

Sunday, February 18, they left the Isla de San Sebastian with a favorable northeast wind and ran to the southwest, because they were told that towards the southwest there were some other islands. They sailed till nightfall that day some twelve leagues from the Isla de San Sebastian and saw six islands,[117] some large and some small. That day a sailor died. The Monday following, at daybreak, they were to the windward of the islands a matter of ten leagues, and with the wind in the west-northwest, they stood out to sea for five days to the southwest.[118] At the end of this time, having gone about a hundred leagues, they found the winds stronger and a high sea. Thursday, the 22d, they went about in the direction of land in order to go in search of the Cabo de Pinos,[119] with a south-southeast wind which lasted for three days, each day coming stronger. The Sunday following, at daybreak, they had sight of Cabo de Pinos, and that day to nightfall had sailed twenty leagues to windward on a northwest-southeast coast, bold and without shelter. No smoke was seen on land. They saw a point which marks a change of trend of the land, as the coast there turns to the north-northwest.[120] At midnight the wind shifted to the south-southwest and they ran west-northwest until daybreak. In the morning the wind shifted to

the west-southwest, very strong, which lasted until the Tuesday following. They ran to the northwest.

Tuesday, the 27th, the wind returned to the south-southwest and lasted all that day. They ran to the west-northwest with the forecourse as it blew very strong. As it was growing dark the wind shifted to the west, and they ran all that night to the south with little sail. There was a high sea which broke over them. On Wednesday, the 28th, at daybreak, the wind shifted to the southwest, true but not very strong. That day they observed the latitude in 43°.[121] Towards night the wind freshened and changed to the south-southwest, and that night they ran to the west-northwest with great difficulty. Thursday at daybreak the wind shifted and came from the southwest with great fury, the seas coming from many sides, which molested them very much or broke over the ships.[122]. As these had no covered decks,[123] if the Lord had not aided them, they could not have escaped. As they could not lay to, they had to run before the wind to the northeast in the direction of land. Considering themselves lost they commended themselves to our Señora de Guadalupe and made their vows. So they ran until three o'clock in the afternoon with great fear and travail as they saw that they were about to be wrecked. Already they saw many signs of land, which was near, such as birds and fresh logs, which came out of some rivers, although by reason of the great darkness land could not be seen. At this hour the Mother of Our Lord succored them with the grace of Her Son, and a very strong rainstorm came up from the north, which made them run before it towards the south with lower foresails all night and all the following day until sunset. As there was a high sea running from the south, each time that it assailed them on the bow it passed over them as if over a rock. The wind shifted to the northwest and to the north-northwest with great fury, forcing them to run before it to the southeast and the east-southeast until Saturday, March 3, with such a high sea that it set them wildly crying out that if the Lord and His blessed Mother did not miraculously save them they could not escape. Saturday at midday, the weather improved and the wind remained in the northwest, for which they gave many thanks to Our Lord. They also passed through hardships on account of the food, as they had nothing except some damaged biscuit.

It seemed to them that there is a very large river, of which they had heard much, between 42° and 43°, as they saw many indications of it.[124] This day in the afternoon they sighted Cabo de Pinos,[125] but on account of the high sea they could do nothing but run down the coast in search of a port. They endured much cold. Monday, March 5, at daybreak, they found themselves at Isla de Juan Rodriguez, but did not dare enter the port on account of the storm which was blowing, which made the sea break in fifteen fathoms at the entrance. It was a north-northwest wind and the entrance is narrow. They ran to take shelter under the Isla de San Sebastian on the southeast side. During the previous night while sailing with a high wind with only both small headsails, the

other ship disappeared, so that it was suspected that the sea had devoured her; even after day dawned they could not find her. They believed that they were in 44°[126] when the last storm which made them turn back struck them.

Thursday, the 8th, they set out from the Isla de San Sebastian to go to the mainland in search of the other vessel and went to the Pueblo de las Canoas, but found no news of her. Here they took four Indians. Friday following, the 9th, they left the Pueblo de las Canoas and went to the Isla de San Salvador, but did not find the consort there either. Sunday, the 11th, they came to the Puerto de San Miguel and they neither found her there nor any news of her, but here they waited six days and took two boys to carry to New Spain to learn to be interpreters, leaving certain signals in case the other ship should come there. Saturday, the 17th, they left this Puerto de San Miguel and the Sunday following arrived at the Baia de San Mateo, but did not find any trace of the other ship there either. Sunday, the 18th, they left the Baia de San Mateo in the afternoon and the following Wednesday, the 21st, arrived at the Puerto de la Posesion, but did not find any news of their consort there either. They waited two days outside without entering the port, as they did not dare to do so on account of the high northwest wind blowing. As the cable was cut they were obliged to weigh anchor. Friday, the 23d, they left the Puerto de la Posesion and the Saturday following, at midnight, reached the Isla de Çedros. While there, on the Monday following, the 26th, the other ship arrived, at which they were delighted and gave many thanks to the Lord. At the Isla de Juan Rodriguez during the night this vessel passed over some reefs, which made them think they were about to be lost. The sailors made a vow to go to their church stark naked[127] and Our Lady saved them. Monday, April 2, they set out from the Isla de Çedros in quest of New Spain, as they did not have sufficient supplies to turn about and undertake the discovery of the coast, and arrived in the Puerto de Navidad Saturday, April 14.

Bartolomé Ferrel, chief pilot of the ships, came as captain in place of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, who died at the Isla de la Posesion. There came in the said ships men.[128]

CHAPTER V

THE OCCUPATION OF THE PHILIPPINES AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE RETURN ROUTE

In the sixteenth century the term "Malucos," or "Moluccas" as the English called them, was loosely applied to what was sometimes known as the "Especeria," or the "Spice Islands," and comprised all those islands in the Indian Archipelago where spices were thought to grow. Of these, cloves, the most valuable and most sought after, were found in quantities sufficient to form an exportable commodity only in five little islands, the Moluccas proper, just west of Gilolo. Of these Ternate and Tidore, both very small and lying almost under the Equator, produced the largest amount. Those islands to the north, afterwards known as the Philippines, did not produce them or any other spice except cinnamon, which was afterwards found in small quantities on Mindanao. There was gold on Celebes and several of the Philippines, and even at that time an insignificant amount was washed out of the river sands. When the Portuguese established themselves in India in the early part of the century they found that spices were brought there from the Moluccas by way of Malacca. A desire probably to go directly to their source induced the viceroy, Affonso Alburquerque, to occupy the latter place in 1511. Here they came directly in contact with the Javanese traders who brought cloves, nutmegs, and mace from the Moluccas and adjoining islands. Alburquerque sent out from Malacca some exploring parties to the north and east. One under the command of Antonio Dabreu was accompanied by Francisco Serrano, who, on his return, was shipwrecked and taken to one of the Moluccas, probably Ternate, as here he built a small trading house and remained for some time.[1] Fernando Magellan accompanied another expedition but where he went is not exactly known.

In October, 1517, Magellan turned up in Seville with a plan to interest the Spaniards in an expedition to take possession of the Moluccas, asserting that they were the principal islands where spices were produced. He alleged that three of them were two and one-half degrees and the other two, four degrees east of the line of demarcation in the eastern hemisphere, and therefore lay in the territory alloted to the King of Spain.[2] He said that he was a friend of Serrano, and apparently gave out that the latter was awaiting him there. He also claimed that he would follow a new route to them by which he would not pass the Cape of Good Hope.

The famous bull of Alexander VI of 1493 divided the New World, discovered and to be discovered, between Spain and Portugal by a line drawn from pole to pole 100 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. Not satisfied with the division, the two powers came to an agreement at Tordesillas in June,

1494, by which the division line was moved to the meridian 370 leagues west of those islands.[3] It was an easy thing to fix meridians in documents, but when it came to locating them on the earth's surface, everyone was at sea. The methods in vogue of determining longitude were of the most primitive description, giving room for wide differences of opinion. The Spaniards and the Portuguese were even unable to agree as to where the line of demarcation ran on paper. There was a dispute between them as to which of the Cape Verde group was the one from which the 370 leagues should be measured, and there was still another as to whether these should be counted on the Equator from the point where the meridian which passed through the islands crossed it, or on the parallel of latitude running through that island. Besides all this, there was no certainty as to the exact location of the Cape Verde Islands themselves.

In the middle of the sixteenth century it was generally supposed that this line crossed the Equator about forty degrees west of the meridian passing through Toledo, but some, as we shall see, considered it to run forty-two or forty-three degrees west of that place. Admitting in full the claims made later by the Spaniards, the line would have actually run about forty-seven and one-half degrees west of Greenwich, or about forty-two degrees and forty minutes west of Toledo. The extreme Portuguese claims carried it about three degrees farther east. Just where the line in the eastern hemisphere ran was, of course, at first entirely unknown. The Portuguese who measured by the courses and the distances run according to the logs of their voyages around by the Cape of Good Hope seem at first to have made a mistake by making these distances too great. From such calculations it is probable that Magellan derived the information he gave the Spanish King. The meridian of demarcation in the east was not west of the Moluccas as he said, but actually about five and one-half degrees east of them.

In a recently published work[4] Father Pablo Pastells attributes the repeated Spanish voyages to the Islands of the West to no other motive than the desire to take possession as soon as possible of those parts of the earth alloted to the King of Spain by the agreement made at Tordesillas. Father Pastells does not produce any document to support his assertion, and the failure so far to unearth the records of the consultations in the Council of the Indies, at which the projects to take possession of the Moluccas or Philippines were at different times entertained, leaves us in some doubt as to what was the real object to be attained. The continued reference, however, in all the accounts of the various expeditions, to gold[5] and spices would indicate that the riches of the East was what was sought, and in fact, trade for spices was the avowed purpose of the first and second expeditions sent out. A number of merchants were interested in Magellan's and Loaysa's enterprises,[6] and large cargoes of goods for trading were taken with the expectation of securing a quantity of spices, especially cloves, in exchange for them.

Magellan left San Lucar in September, 1519, and after passing through the

Strait of Magellan and reaching the Ladrones, now known as the Marianas, took a course due west, instead of one southwest, which he should have taken in order to reach the Moluccas, as he claimed to be going to them and knew where they were, or at least so he had said before leaving Spain. The only reasonable supposition which can be advanced for his avoiding them and going to the Philippines instead is that he feared that they were in the possession of the King of Portugal. When the survivors of the expedition finally reached them in November 1521, by way of Borneo, after Magellan had been killed, they found that a Portuguese squadron under the command of Tristan de Meneses had been in Ternate in 1520 and had taken away Serrano, leaving Pedro de Lorosa in his place. It is even probable that two ships under the command of Meneses or Garcia Enriquez had been there since. May 13, 1522, after the *Victoria* and *Trinidad* had left, Antonio de Brito came to Tidore with a powerful fleet to take permanent possession of them. It thus seems evident that the Moluccas proper had not only been discovered by the Portuguese, but that they had been occupied, in a fashion, fairly continuously by them, although apparently this had not been accompanied by any formal act of taking possession.[7]

After the Magellan expedition reached Tidore it was decided to send one ship back to Spain by the Cape of Good Hope and the other, the *Trinidad*, to Panama. The *Victoria* under the command of Juan Sebastian del Cano reached Seville September 8, 1522, with some twenty-six tons of cloves, a few other spices and some sandalwood. The *Trinidad* left Tidore April 6, 1522, under the command of Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa. He succeeded in reaching as far north as 42°, where a great number of large whales and many flocks of birds were seen. Having only water and rice, and lacking sufficient clothing to withstand the very cold weather encountered in that high latitude, the men fell sick and Gomez was obliged to return to the Moluccas, having lost thirty of his crew.[8]

The King of Portugal, before Magellan left Spain, had protested against the expedition as being directed to a part of the world belonging to him, and after the return of the *Victoria* he made some very lively representations to the Emperor about his breach of the obligations undertaken at Tordesillas, claiming that the Moluccas were in his own dominions. The result was a long and bitter controversy. Several conferences between commissioners of the two powers were held at Badajoz in the spring of 1524, at which, after an examination of sundry maps, the respective claims of the two powers were finally boiled down to the following: the Portuguese claimed that the Moluccas were 137 degrees and the Spaniards 183 degrees east of Sal, one of the Cape Verde Islands.[9] The actual difference in longitude between these places is about one hundred and fifty degrees, showing the error of the Portuguese to have been only about thirteen while that of the Spaniards was thirty-three degrees. The latter relied chiefly on a statement of Francisco Albo,[10] one of the pilots who

returned in the *Victoria,* that the difference in longitude between the western point of the Strait of Magellan and the first island in the Philippines reached was 106½ degrees. In reality this difference is 160 degrees, such an enormous error giving grounds for the suspicion that Albo was not sincere in his statement. This claim of the Spanish experts, which brought the line of demarcation in the East somewhat to the west of Malacca — some said one or two degrees and some said more — was adhered to for almost a hundred years, if not more, and even after repeated voyages had been made between Acapulco and the islands and between Lisbon and Malacca.

As soon as it was apparent to the Emperor that the Portuguese would not agree to his contention that the Moluccas were in his territory, he took immediate steps to hasten the construction of a fleet to be sent there under the command of Frey Garcia Jofre de Loaysa. A *Casa de Contratacion de la Especeria* was set up in Seville and merchants were invited to subscribe to the expenses of the expedition. Such unusual speed was employed that the fleet of five ships was able to sail from Coruña July 24, 1525. Not satisfied with sending out one expedition, two others were projected, and actually left Seville, the first under the command of Diego Garcia, January 15, 1526, and the other under the famous Sebastian Cabot, April 3. Both men were directed to pass through the Strait of Magellan, but neither ever reached it. In the meantime, the ships of Loaysa, reduced to four, had passed through the strait, but soon became separated. The *Santiago* took refuge on the coast of Mexico,[11] and one was lost. Of the others, the principal ships, one, the *Santa Maria del Parral,* arrived at the islands, lost her reckoning, and was wrecked, and the *Victoria,* the *capitana* or flag-ship, reached Zamafo on the Island of Gilolo in the early part of November, 1526, with about one hundred and five men, the rest having perished during the journey. Of these but few finally reached Spain, seven or eight years later.

The Emperor, wishing to support Loaysa in the struggle which he foresaw would ensue in the East with the Portuguese, directed Cortés, June 20, 1526, to send at least two ships to the Moluccas.[12] Cortés was building some vessels at Sihuatanejo, on the west coast of Mexico, not far from Zacatula, and as soon as these were ready he dispatched two of them and the *Santiago,* Loaysa's ship, October 31, 1527, under the command of Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron. Saavedra in the *Florida* sighted the Islands in February and arrived at Tidore March 27, 1528, after losing his other two ships and all but thirty of his crew. He found eighty of Loaysa's Spaniards entrenched under the command of Hernando de la Torre, Loaysa having died. It was at once agreed that the *Florida* should be careened and prepared for a return voyage to New Spain to secure assistance. June 12[13] she set sail with some seventy quintals of cloves, under the command of Saavedra, who attempted to return by a route almost directly east. Having sailed some two hundred and fifty leagues, he anchored at an island inhabited by negroes, which he named Pápuas (really New Guinea) and where

he remained thirty days, as the wind was contrary. He then ran along the coast another 100 leagues, and later turned north, reaching some islands in 7° North latitude.[14] The northeast winds were now so strong that he had to return to Tidore, reaching there November 19.[15] May 8 of the following year he again set sail, taking the same route as before, but was again obliged to turn north. On reaching a latitude of about 26°, he died, having given final instructions to sail up to 30°, and then to return to Tidore if the winds should not be found favorable to proceed to New Spain. The ship under the pilot finally reached 31°, but as the wind was always contrary it was decided to return to the Moluccas, which were reached December 8, 1529.[16]

In 1529 the Emperor borrowed 350,000 ducats from the King of Portugal and entered into an agreement with him at Zaragoza, April 22 of that year, to pawn to him, until the loan was repaid, whatever rights he might have in the Moluccas and other islands to the east thereof up to the meridian which cut the Equator 297½ leagues east of the Moluccas.[17] The essential details of this agreement are set out in the memorial of Urdaneta translated hereafter. It may be noted here, however, that there was a clause in the contract which prohibited the ships of the King of Spain or those of his subjects from entering, navigating, or trading in the islands, lands and seas included in the territory set apart in the pawn. It was provided that the King of Spain should not send any one to those islands or seas, nor give his aid or favor to any one to go there contrary to the agreement, and that if by accident any Spanish ships should discover any islands or lands within the said territory, such should belong to the King of Portugal, as if they had been discovered by his own vassals. It was further provided that the fleets of the King of Spain should pass through the waters of Portugal only on a direct course to the Strait of Magellan, and heavy penalties were provided for breach of the contract. In view of these conditions, if there had been any territory belonging to the King of Spain between the Moluccas and the line of demarcation in the Far East, it does not appear that there was any legal method by which it could be reached by Spanish ships; the route by the Cape of Good Hope was forbidden them, and so was the passage across the zone included in the pawn.

The controversy over the Moluccas was at an end, but now the jurists and politicians in Spain persuaded themselves that a field for legitimate exploration lay open to them in the territory between the Moluccas and the line of demarcation, which according to the Spanish experts ran west of Malacca. Those islands, afterwards known as the Philippines, lay in this zone, and it now became the chief object of the Spanish crown for some time to take possession of them. Several concessions granted to different adventurers, subsequent to the agreement at Zaragoza, could hardly have had any other object in view. The latest was the contract made by the Emperor with Alvarado in 1538. We have seen that Mendoza took over Alvarado's fleet and undertook to carry out his contract. The arrangements were practically completed be-

fore Alvarado died; Mendoza found everything prepared, ships, pilots, officers, arms, artillery, and in fact, everything except food. The commander finally sent, Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, was not one of Alvarado's followers, but an appointee of Mendoza and a relative of his by marriage. Most of the officers and pilots who finally accompanied the expedition, however, had come from Spain by way of Guatemala with Alvarado. The only important man he had brought from Spain who did not go was Urdaneta, whose biographers usually state, without any foundation, that Mendoza wished to place him in command, but that he refused.

The expedition consisted of the *Santiago* (the *capitana*), of which Gaspar Rico was the pilot; the *San Jorge,* with Alonso Fernandez the Tarifeño as pilot;[18] the *San Antonio,* pilot, Francisco Ruiz; the *San Juan de Letran,* pilot, Ginés de Mafra; the *San Cristóbal,* a *galleota* commanded by Bernardo de la Torre; and a *fusta* named the *San Martin.* The royal officials were Jorge Nieto, *contador,* Onofre de Arévalo, *veedor,* and Garcia de Escalante Alvarado, *factor,* all of whom had been appointed by the Emperor in 1538-1540 to these positions in the "Islands of the West."[19] Mendoza appointed Guido de Lavezaris, purser, to take charge of the trading goods belonging to Agustin Guerrero. Four Augustinian friars, Gerónimo de Santiesteban, Alonso de Alvarado, Nicolas de Perea and Sebastian de Reyna, afterwards known as Trassiera, and four secular priests accompanied the expedition. September 15 Mendoza issued a provision for his appointees, and September 18 his instructions to Villalobos,[20] which in general differ in few respects from those given to Diego Lopez de Zuñiga. No route to be followed was laid out. In one paragraph Mendoza says that the ships were well equipped and victualed, because, as the return voyage had not been discovered, it was thought that it must be a long one.

November 1, 1542, the expedition departed from Navidad and followed very much the route taken by Saavedra in 1527, passing a number of small islands, mostly near the tenth parallel of latitude. After sailing beyond some of these, which they named "Matalotes," a consultation was held to determine what route should be followed. It was proposed by the pilot who had been over the route with Saavedra[21] to steer for the north point of Mindanao in about 11°, so that the fleet could pass between it and the small island to the north and then continue on to Cebú and Mactan, where they expected to make a settlement. All the others said that they should follow the tenth parallel of latitude, and as this party was in the majority, this opinion was accepted. Thus they finally reached land February 2, 1543, in 7° 40′ in a bay which they named "Malaga," on the east side of Mindanao. The pilots calculated that they had covered about fifteen hundred leagues from Navidad. In the summer it was resolved to send the *San Juan* back to New Spain under the command of Bernardo de la Torre.[22] He left August 4, and after having taken on food at Tandaya sailed off August 26 to the northeast on his voyage. He discovered some islands, one a volcano, which lay just north of the Ladrones in 26°.

October 18, the pilots, Rico and Fernandez, calculated that they were in 30°, and 750 leagues in a straight line from Sarragan or Tandaya. Here they encountered a storm from the north and turned back, reaching Tandaya at a bay on the north side in thirteen days.[23]

Villalobos, who could not secure food and had lost most of his ships, proceeded to the Moluccas, reaching Tidore April 4, 1544. The Portuguese ordered him to leave but took no active steps to drive him away. A new Portuguese commander soon arrived and entered into an amicable arrangement with him, the understanding being that they would await orders from Spain and Portugal, or else from New Spain and India. Villalobos now thought it advisable to send the *San Juan* to make another attempt to reach New Spain, but this time by the south, as he believed that the sea would be found quieter there and a better voyage could be made. He placed Iñigo Ortiz de Retes in command and sent with him Father Gerónimo in order to give more ardor to the Viceroy in forwarding help. Ortiz left Tidore May 16, 1545, and rediscovered New Guinea, of which he took possession. He coasted along this island until August 12, when, finding the wind continually contrary, he resolved to try sailing to the north. The sailors began to complain, wishing to return, so on the 27th, after having sailed a short distance, the *San Juan* headed towards Tidore where she arrived October 3, having sailed altogether about six hundred leagues to the east.[24]

In October, 1545, another Portuguese commander appeared with a small fleet. Villalobos, aware of his false position in the Moluccas entirely contrary to his instructions, and despairing of receiving any aid from New Spain, surrendered, on the agreement to send him and his men back to Spain by way of India. In January, 1546, the Spaniards set sail with the Portuguese fleet and proceeded to Ambon, where Villalobos died of a malarial fever. July 11 the party reached Malacca. After staying there five months they were sent to Goa and finally reached Lisbon about August 1, 1548.

In 1544 the Emperor sent out Lic. Francisco Tello de Sandoval to Mexico to put into effect the new laws of the Indies. He was ordered to take the *residencia* of the Viceroy and the royal officials, and was given authority to send Mendoza to Spain if he should consider it necessary. Among the new laws was one which prohibited any viceroy from engaging in discovery. Mendoza afterwards said that two ships he was building to send to follow Villalobos with four hundred men were nearly finished when Sandoval arrived in March.[25] He complained bitterly of this order and claimed that although, as he had heard from Spain, the Portuguese, who had news of Villalobos, had stated that the island where he was located[26] was in territory pawned to them by the Emperor, such was not the case, as he was ready to prove. He also claimed that he had given proper instructions to Villalobos to avoid the territory of the King of Portugal, and did not believe that he had entered it.[27] Nevertheless, Villalobos was in that territory beyond any question. The breach of contract

with the Portuguese was clear, and as soon as they heard of his presence at Tidore, apparently in the fall of 1545, they protested to the Emperor, who, November 9 of that year, sent an order to Mendoza instructing him what action to take in case any of his fleet should return to New Spain, and complaining of his action.[28]

In a letter written by Mendoza in 1551 just before leaving for Peru he states that the King of Portugal had sent threats against him by the hand of Father Gerónimo, who had then evidently reached New Spain, and that some followers of his and persons in the Moluccas in whom he had confidence had treated with the Portuguese about running away with some ships and coming to New Spain. Not having been able to do this, they had left there the maps of what had been discovered on the coast of New Spain, so he suspected that before long some ship would come, as some Portuguese who were going about the islands near China in a kind of revolt had no other way out. It might therefore be, he surmised, that they would join the Spaniards to whom he referred and come to New Spain in search of him.[29]

The Emperor, in a letter from Innsbruck, of March, 1552, wrote that he had seen Mendoza's letter and read it carefully, but that he was too far away to go thoroughly into the matter. He thought, however, that it was not convenient at the time to stir up trouble about the Spice Islands, but if the Portuguese came to the ports of the South Sea it would then be time to talk about it. He also referred to the fact that the new viceroy, Luis de Velasco, had written him something about the matter.[30] This may possibly have been a letter written by the latter October 18, 1550, in which he said that he had talked with Mendoza about the affairs of the islands and had told him that the Emperor desired to have absolute knowledge whether the return voyage could be made. They had agreed that this was a matter of great importance but could do nothing, as they had strict orders to that effect.[31] On the whole, it seems probable that nothing more was done relative to an occupation of the Philippines until after the death of Charles.[32] His son, Philip, on succeeding to the throne, evidently embraced different ideas.

All the previous expeditions to the islands had been sent out and largely financed by traders, or by speculators like Cortés, Alvarado and Mendoza.[33] The government had furnished part of the funds for those of Magellan and Loaysa and afterwards repaid Cortés for what he spent on that of Saavedra.[34] A change of policy now took place; the government took over the venture for its own account. Just when it was decided to send out an expedition from Mexico to take possession of the islands is not known, as the documents have not so far been found. It appears from a cedula of September 24, 1559, directed to Velasco, that some time previously an instruction of some sort bearing on the matter had been sent to him.[35] When he had received this, he had solicited the opinion of various persons regarding the size and character of the ships, forces, and provisions to be sent, and the route to be followed. These, together

with a suggestion that Andrés de Urdaneta be asked to accompany the expedition by reason of his experience and knowledge of the islands, he had forwarded to Philip in 1558 by the hands of his son and Juan Pablo de Carrion, who had been with Villalobos, and after returning to Lisbon in 1548 had gone back to Mexico again. From Carrion's letter of September 11, 1564,[36] it appears that preparations had been made to begin building the ships in Navidad before he had left Mexico. The order of September 24 contained definite instructions to Velasco to prepare two ships of the size and build he should think advisable, and send them with the necessary force to discover the Islands of the West towards the Moluccas and bring back some spices as samples as soon as they had executed their orders. Velasco was also ordered to issue instructions to them not to go to the Moluccas, but only to other islands nearby, such as the Philippines and others outside of the pawn to the King of Portugal and inside the territory which belonged to Spain. Philip dwelt upon the fact that no time was to be wasted in trade but that a return voyage to New Spain should be begun at once, as that was the principal object of the expedition, and wound up by reprimanding Velasco for having communicated the affair to so many people.

All this is sufficient proof that the scheme had originated some time before. From the distinction made in this cedula between what pertained to the Kings of Portugal and Spain in the East, it appears that one of the results of the Villalobos expedition, which was supposed, very erroneously, to have reached the Philippines in a voyage not exceeding 1500 leagues, was to confirm the belief in Spain that not only the Moluccas but the Philippines lay in the territory of the King of Spain. As the Moluccas and a certain section lying to the east of the meridian passing through them had been pawned to the King of Portugal, it followed that there was something to the west of that meridian which was included in the possessions of the King of Spain. The precise relation between the situation of the Moluccas and the Philippines was not then known, but as a matter of fact, the latter all lie to the west of the meridian passing through the Moluccas, and therefore they were not included in the pawn to the King of Portugal. On the other hand, this strip of territory did not really fall within the domains of the King of Spain, because the line of demarcation ran considerably to the east of them, just as the Portuguese claimed. Nothing is said in the order about taking possession of the Philippines, but there can be no doubt that such was the real object of the expedition, this being implied by the use of the word "discovery" as well as by the subsequent actions of the commander. Discovery in those days meant "taking possession."

Philip also sent a letter to Urdaneta under the same date (September 24), reciting the fact that he had been informed that when he had been a civilian he had gone out to the spice country and was a good cosmographer.[37] He said that it would therefore be a great thing if he would accompany the expedition,

and charged him to do so and to follow the orders of the Viceroy. He also wrote a letter to the provincial of the Augustinians in Mexico requesting him to send Urdaneta and some other friars. These orders reached Mexico about May 11, 1560. Fray Agustin de Coruña, the provincial of the Augustinians, answered on the 22d that he would send Urdaneta and three others, as that was as many as the Viceroy thought advisable under the circumstances.[38]

Urdaneta was neither the captain nor the pilot of any of Legaspi's ships, nor, so far as can be made out from the documents, had he anything to do with navigating the vessels, but that he acted in an advisory capacity on the voyage is certain. The man himself had already had a very remarkable career, and everything goes to prove that he possessed great ability. He was born in 1508 in Villafranca in the province of Guipuzcoa, and in 1525 embarked with the expedition of Loaysa as a soldier. In 1536 he finally succeeded in reaching Spain, where besides answering a number of interrogatories addressed to him on various events of the expedition, he presented a long narrative containing a history of it. Later he said that when he came back from that expedition he was a captain, and an official of the royal *Hacienda,* in which office he claimed to have spent 1500 or more ducats which had never been repaid. He also alleged that he had spent all he had in preparations to join Alonso de Camargo's expedition to Chile. For some reason he did not go, but went out to Guatemala in 1539 with Alvarado, to accompany him on his contemplated voyage to the Moluccas.[39] Probably on account of Alvarado's death he remained in Mexico, assisting in putting down the Indian revolt in New Galicia.[40] Afterwards, he served as *almirante* in Mendoza's fleet to Peru. In 1552 he became an Augustinian frair, making formal profession March 20, 1553.[41]

The Viceroy wrote, May 28, that he would comply with Philip's orders, and was already building in Navidad a ship of 200 tons, another of 170 or 180 tons and a *patache.* He said that the provincial of the Augustinians had given Urdaneta a license to go and that he had accepted. In regard to the reprimand about having talked too much about the journey, he wrote that he had spoken about it only to those persons whose opinions were necessary, and to his son Antonio who had gone to Madrid to make a personal report, but that in a work where hatchets and hammers were necessary there could be no secret, and that as the ships were being made in the South Sea, the general opinion was that they were for no other purpose than for an expedition to the Islands of the West, although he had given out that they were being made for the trade with Peru and the security of the coast, and to give this a better appearance, had caused all the artillery, munitions and supplies to be carried to Acapulco, 100 leagues nearer Peru than Navidad. In this letter, the Viceroy reminded the King that it would not be possible to go to the Philippines without crossing the territory included in the pawn to the King of Portugal, and that they as well as the Moluccas were included in that pawn.[42] To back up his opinion he inclosed with the letter a statement by Urdaneta regarding the matter which

he said could be considered definitive, as he was the best and most careful cosmographer in the country. He adopted, however, the sophistical reasoning of Urdaneta on the subject. Urdaneta also wrote the King the same day a letter in which, after referring to his services, he said that although more than fifty-two years of age and in bad health he had disposed himself for the labors of the journey, confiding solely in Divine help.[43]

Urdaneta's opinion was that it was not possible to proceed to the Philippines without violating the pawn agreement of 1529.

> The Isla Filipina is not only inside the limits of the agreement and the pawn, but the point which makes out on the east side is on the same meridian as the Malucos, and about one hundred and fifty leagues to the north of them; therefore, the greater part of the island is more to the west of the meridian than the Malucos. The contract and agreement in the pawn is that from the Malucos toward the east at a distance of seventeen degrees, measured on the Equator, that is, 297½ leagues at the rate of seventeen and one-half leagues to each degree, a line should be drawn from pole to pole, and to the west of this line in that hemisphere, none of the fleets of Your Majesty nor your vassals can enter or make discoveries or settlements until the pawn or the sale which was made shall be cancelled.[44]

In order to get around this he suggested that as some Spaniards were held in captivity by the natives of the islands, and might have children whose souls were in danger, the King would be morally justified in sending the fleet there to make some pious efforts to ransom them. No trade for profit should be undertaken, but care should be taken that all the information available about what might be discovered should be obtained. A special effort should be made to ascertain the difference in longitude between New Spain and the Isla Filipina. Once the return journey had been clearly established and Philip's rights in the territory pawned had been redeemed, it would be wise to occupy those islands which clearly belonged to him, and to investigate Spain's rights in China.[45]

It seems likely that no action was taken in Spain on this memorial, as apparently the cosmographers, and certainly the jurists at the court, had persuaded themselves that the Philippines were neither in the pawn nor in the territory of the King of Portugal. Velasco was expected to proceed with the original business in hand, which was, namely, to "discover" the Philippines. That such must have been the case appeared in the sequel. February 9, 1561, Velasco was instructed by the King to follow his orders, and March 4 Urdaneta was similarly advised that the Viceroy would make the necessary provisions according to his instructions.[46] Sometime towards the end of 1560 Velasco appointed Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, a native of Guipuzcoa and a friend of Urdaneta, to command the expedition. Legaspi was an acknowledged *hidalgo* of more than fifty years of age and had been a resident of Mexico for twenty-two years, being at that time a widower with sons, a married daughter, and some grown-up daughters ready to marry. He was an honorable and virtuous citizen, of good habits, good judgment and natural common sense, and one who had always given a good account of himself in those matters pertaining to the royal service which had been committed to his charge.[47] Velasco in writing to

a similar effect, made the singular statement that "he could not have selected a person more agreeable to Urdaneta, who was the one who was to govern and guide the expedition, since they were of the same country, and relatives and friends." [48]

Urdaneta, in a long memorial, had called attention to the difficulties of fitting out an expedition of such magnitude in an out-of-the-way place like Navidad, and had proposed to remove the building of the ships to Acapulco, saying that more than two years had already passed in attempting to build them in Navidad, and that it would take another year to launch them. At the end he presented his views about the journey, translated herewith in full.[49]

The navigation, which, with God's aid, it seems to me we have to make from this New Spain to the west, should be at the beginning of October, 1561, or not later than the beginning of November. If we can get away by that time, we should sail to the west and southwest 600 leagues to the latitude of 14½° North and from this point directly west in search of San Bartolomé, which is located between 14° and 14½°.[50] It is necessary to endeavor to sight this island and anchor there in order to find out if it is inhabited, and in what part of it the watering-place is, as it is very important that there should be fresh water in this island, even if it be not populated, because it is 690 leagues, more or less, nearer New Spain than the Islands of Maluco. Here water and wood can be taken on the outward journey as well as on the return voyage, if that does not require another course. It would be a very wise thing to settle this island, which would be of much advantage, so that a stop could be made there, even though it be done with criminals who deserve death or perpetual banishment.

This Isla de San Bartolomé having been examined and water and wood taken, a course should be run thence west a quarter southwest one degree and one-half of latitude, that is, to 13°, and thence directly west in search of the Isla de Botalia,[51] one of the Ladrones. Sailing along the parallel of 13°, it cannot be missed. From San Bartolomé to this island it is about 330 leagues. The Ladrones are numerous; thirteen, they say, are inhabited. The inhabitants are naked and poor, they eat rice and have many coconut palms and salt. They fish with hooks made out of tortoise-shell and are crazy for things made of iron. In the canoes with which they navigate they have a counter-weight on one side and palm-mat sails like lateen sails. It is very important to examine this island or some one of the others in order to find out and make certain of the navigation which has been made up to that point, and how far it is to the Malucos and the Islas Filipinas,[52] as in the matter of San Bartolomé an error can be made by encountering some other island which might be in the same latitude but more to the east. Eleven islands of the thirteen are inhabited. They extend from Botalia towards the north. From the Ladrones to go in quest of the Islas Filipinas, you have to sail west a quarter southwest down to 11° or somewhat less, and when in this latitude at once take a course directly west until the islands themselves are sighted, the distance being a little less than 370 leagues from the Isla Botaa.

If, however, we cannot leave New Spain until after November 10, we should make our navigation from then up to January 20, or a few days thereafter, to the southwest directly in search of New Guinea,[53] until we are in the latitude of 25° or 30° S., if we should not previously discover the coast. If that coast goes on running down to the Antarctic Pole or in the direction of the Strait of Magellan as it is hoped it may, we should find it before we reach 30°, even although it does not trend east a quarter southeast as in the discovered part, but turns from there onward to the southeast. I consider that in the modern charts which have come to New Spain, that coast is laid down more than 100 leagues longer than has really been discovered, but allowing for all this, if it runs to the southeast from the farthest cape discovered to the east, we should fall in with it before reaching 30°. If we sail, however, to 30° and do not discover the coast of New Guinea, we should run from this point in 30° directly west as much as 200 leagues, given propitious weather, and then west, northwest and west to strike the last cape which has been discovered and which is placed in 5° in the account and the map I have of that coast. According to the particular part of the coast of New Guinea, the time at which we shall encounter it and the prevailing winds, we should continue sailing along it, discovering whatever appears, due respect being had to the fact that we must endeavor to reach the Filipinas at the latest by the beginning of November of 1562. It seems that if we leave Acapulco January 20, at the latest, or earlier as stated, with fresh favorable winds to carry us along, we should in a few days

cross the Equator, which is what we should endeavor to do so as not to have to pass it in the time of the Equinox, as at that time it is customary to encounter great calms under the Line, which an attempt must be made to avoid. Sailing along in south latitude at the time just stated, we should have plenty of time to discover the said coast of New Guinea and many other islands if there are any there.

If it should turn out that we cannot leave the coast of New Spain some time in January to sail toward the south as just stated, we should wait until the month of March or later, until we have good winds with which to sail on the side of the Arctic Pole or north, following the coast of New Spain, which trends toward the west-northwest. Given propitious winds for this purpose we should sail, although perhaps somewhat distant from the coast,[54] up to the latitude of 34° or more, where we should endeavor to examine the country on the coast which Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo discovered. Taking what was necessary of what might be found on that coast and having communicated with the Indians, although only by signs, about a big water beyond toward the land side, of which they had given information to Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, we should follow the coast in search of it, in order to see if that water might be sea and if the end of this land be there.[55] We should soon know if it is salt or fresh water and if God should be pleased that we discover what it is, we should take the direction from there towards the west on a southwest course down to 37° or 35° of latitude,[56] sailing directly west from this point and discovering what there is between this land and China, to a point close to the Islands of Japan, if we should not discover something sooner of such importance that we would be contented with it. From there we should make our navigation for the Islas Filipinas without running farther west. If it should happen that we could not follow this west coast of New Spain we should go up to a latitude of 37° and from there run to the west, as stated, as far as the meridian of the Isla Botaha, one of the Ladrones, and then take our course to the said Ladrones in order not to miss the navigation from there, but to go from there in search of the Filipinas; or we could go from the point which I spoke of in 30° odd in search of the Filipinas according to the point in which we should find ourselves. Thus we should make our navigation.

I have described these different courses in this manner in case we should not be able to leave in the beginning of November, at which time we should leave New Spain,[57] because if we leave here later, we shall not arrive there in time to comply with what Your Majesty orders and be able to prepare for the return, as it is necessary that we leave there with the first winds available for the return without waiting for the free and good winds for sailing here to begin, because these have always been found to last but a short time. For this reason we must leave there at such a time that when the good winds do begin they should take us if possible on this side of the Ladrones, and we should not wait in the ports of the Islas Filipinas for the good winds, which are those from the southwest, even if we have to make the first part of the journey by force of arms.

It will be seen that Urdaneta did not outline in this memorial the return course to New Spain afterwards followed by the *San Pedro,* but contemplated sailing in the direction of the Ladrones. It seems evident, then, that he did not expect to reach the northern coast of New Spain in 35° or 40° at that time. This seems still more probable from the fact that if he had he would have suggested hunting for the "Big Water" on that return trip instead of looking for it by repeating the experience of Cabrillo in sailing up the coast from the south. It is true that in speaking of the return route, he hinted at the possibility of taking another course than the one by way of the Ladrones, and it might be considered that the way back by the northeast was a secret which he did not wish to divulge at that time. There is nothing in the account of Cabrillo's voyage to indicate that he had heard anything about a large body of water. The only statements in his narrative which might be considered to relate to one are a reference to a river to the north, evidently some story conveyed by signs by the Indians on the Santa Barbara Channel, and the suggestion that somewhere between 41° and 43° there were signs of a large river opposite on the coast.

During the long delay of almost four years before the expedition finally departed, Urdaneta must have changed his ideas about the objects of the expedition, or perhaps, better said, he introduced some of his own to which he had made no previous reference. It appears that he now had the idea of settling New Guinea if it was found to be a good country, and if not, of looking for some small islands that Magellan had discovered in that neighborhood. A controversy was carried on between him and Carrion who insisted that as he had been on the voyage when New Guinea was discovered by Ortiz de Retes, and as during all the time between May and September only negroes had been seen and but little food and rice could be obtained to eat, the expedition should proceed to the Philippines. Urdaneta, however, resolutely stated that he would not accompany the expedition if it was to proceed to those islands. Carrion wrote that as Urdaneta was an intimate friend and countryman of Legaspi, the latter wished to please him, and as he had had no experience in such matters and knew nothing about navigation, he was unable to distinguish who was right, and followed the advice of the Father in everything.[58]

The Viceroy apparently had accepted, to a certain extent, the plan of Urdaneta, at least in so far that the expedition was to go in quest of New Guinea, but lacking the instruction he had drawn up, it is not known whether he contemplated making a settlement there or not. Our only official knowledge of the change of plan is derived from a letter of the Audiencia.[59] As Velasco had died July 31, this body was now charged with the government of the country, and as the expedition had not yet left, it fell to them to make final arrangements. They therefore drew up a set of instructions for Legaspi in which they changed what they stated was Velasco's previous instruction to proceed in search of New Guinea, to one ordering him to follow the route of Villalobos and take a direct course to the Philippines. The Audiencia founded their reasons for the change on the cedula of September 24, 1559, and that of February 9, 1561, in which it was declared that the Philippines were outside of the pawn, Urdaneta to the contrary notwithstanding. They also alleged that although the discovery of New Guinea might be important, especially if it were as rich as reported, yet it was not advisable to send an expedition there at that time, as it was not only a new route but was out of the way, thus creating delay in beginning the return journey; besides, two of the ships were so large that they would incur great risk in sailing along new coasts. From this it seems that the opinion of Carrion finally decided the day, although from a letter written September 11 he did not seem to be aware of the change.[60] The new instructions had already, September 1, been delivered to Legaspi, sealed, with an order not to open them until he was 100 leagues at sea.[61] He took the oath before the Audiencia to guard and comply with everything contained in them, and shortly set out for Navidad.

When the sealed document was opened, November 25, the friars said that if they had known about the change they would not have come on the expedition,

but in view of the orders of the Audiencia, of what Legaspi told them, and their loyalty to the King, they would conform to the wish of the *General*.[62] It seems strange that Urdaneta and his companions could have been deceived about the real object of the expedition; he certainly could not have forgotten the original orders of the King. Don Juan Suarez de Peralta, an eye witness to the preparations, wrote that the forces were raised with the cry that they were going to China, which induced many to go, as the country was known to be rich.[63] China in those days in New Spain meant China proper and the Philippines and surrounding islands, but it is possible that Velasco had given out that the expedition was going to the mainland of China in order, in compliance with his orders, to hide the real object as much as possible. The main motive for the secrecy observed was to prevent the Portuguese from finding out the destination, it being no doubt feared that if they knew this they would take some action in the Moluccas to prevent the occupation when the fleet arrived. It can hardly be believed that Velasco would have dared to side-track the expedition simply to please Urdaneta and in defiance of his positive orders. What seems most likely is that he deferred to Urdaneta's opinion and treated his plans to go to New Guinea as a mere subsidiary enterprise.[64]

The expedition consisted of two three-masted ships, the *San Pedro* (the *capitana*), of more than 500 tons burden, the *San Pablo,* of some 300, two *pataches,* the *San Juan* of about 80 tons, and the *San Lucas* of some 40 tons, and a small *fragata* towed by the *San Pedro*. The pilots of the *Capitana* were Esteban Rodriguez, chief pilot, and Pierres Plun, a Frenchman; those of the *San Pablo* were Jayme Martinez Fortun and Diego Martin. Juan de la Isla commanded the *San Juan,* and had his brother Rodrigo de Espinosa as pilot; the *San Lucas* was commanded by Don Alonso de Arellano and had as pilot Lope Martin. On board there were 333 person all told, including five Augustinian friars, Urdaneta (the prior), Andrés de Aguirre, Diego de Herrera, Martin de Rada and Pedro de Gamboa.[65] Sail was made November 21, 1564.

The voyage proceeded without any untoward incident, beyond a series of squabbles between the pilots and Urdaneta as to the distance traveled and the position of the ships. The Philippines were finally reached February 13, the first land touched being the Isla Samar.[66] A month later the fleet reached Bohol, where two parties were sent out on exploring expeditions. April 27 a move was made to the Isla de Cebú, where there was quite a good sized native settlement on the east side, and here Legaspi made his headquarters until 1571. Two days after the first land was reached, possession was taken by Andrés de Ibarra. Five days later Legaspi amplified the act by taking possession not only of that island, but of all those surrounding. Further acts of possession were taken February 23, March 8, March 14, April 15 at Bohol, and at Cebú May 8.[67] If any other evidence than that set out in the original cedula of September 24, 1559, were necessary to prove that the object of the expedition was to take possession of the Philippines, these acts would be sufficient.

The Spaniards received a very poor reception from the natives. In spite of all the secrecy practiced regarding the destination of the expedition, the Portuguese had found out about it and advised the commander in Tidore, who had organized a party which had gone to the Philippines and, having given out that they were Spaniards, had raided the native villages and carried off many of the inhabitants as slaves. As a consequence, whenever the Spaniards appeared the natives fled, carrying their food with them, so that it was almost impossible for the Spaniards to obtain any. Little gold was found, and that little was mostly in the form of ornaments. The only cinnamon discovered was on the north side of Mindanao. Altogether, the outlook was anything but cheerful. Legaspi, therefore, April 5, while the ships were at anchor at Bohol, called a council to consider the question as to whether or not a settlement should be made. All agreed that such should be done except the friars, who were not willing to sign the document, stating that they would not pass an opinion on the question. At the same meeting Legaspi asked the friars what ship or ships were the best ones to send back to New Spain in case a settlement should be made. They were unanimous in stating that only one ship should be sent, namely the *San Pedro,* as she was the best, swiftest and most seaworthy.[68]

The letter of Charles to the Council and the correspondence of Philip with Urdaneta and the Viceroy bear witness to the importance the government attached to the finding of a way back from the Philippines to New Spain. The instructions issued to Legaspi by the Audiencia provided for about every possible contingency which might arise; near the end, occupying Paragraphs Nos. 60 to 64, are those covering the return voyage, which he was ordered to undertake very shortly after reaching his destination.

> As you are aware that Fray Andrés de Urdaneta is going on this voyage by the orders of His Majesty, you will see to it that he comes back in one of the ships you send for the discovery of the return route, whether you return to New Spain with any ship or ships yourself, leaving behind some captain with forces, or whether you send some other person, you yourself remaining there. Besides faith in the Lord, confidence is felt that he will be the principal factor in finding the return route to New Spain on account of his experience, the knowledge he has of the weather in those parts, and his other qualities. It is therefore advisable that Fray Andrés de Urdaneta should come in whatever ships you send here, and that he shall be in the ship and with the captain he shall select. In this ship nothing shall be put, because in this way it is believed that Our Master, the Lord, and His Majesty will be served[69] and you will be at once aided with forces and whatever else is necessary.[70]

Indeed, the importance of the discovery of a return route could not be overestimated, if, as we may well believe, Legaspi was expected to make a settlement in the Philippines or their neighborhood. As Spanish vessels were debarred by the contract of 1529 from sailing around to the East by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, a colony in the Philippines could be supplied with reinforcements and munitions of war only by way of the Strait of Magellan or from New Spain. The former route was entirely too long to be of any practical use, so the only alternative was to send them from Mexico. Therefore, to be able to exist, the settlers in the Philippines must have access to that country.

Two expeditions from Spain and three from the west coast of America had

now reached the Moluccas. Five attempts to return to New Spain had been made, all unsuccessful from being undertaken with insufficient preparations and supplies, at inappropriate seasons or on impossible courses. Nevertheless, the very first, that of the *Trinidad,* affords evidence that the pilots correctly calculated the proper course to pursue, or else, as Herrera states, took that course because they could not sail east on account of the prevailing winds from that quarter. In the north Atlantic the prevailing winds in the Tropics are also from the east, while in the latitude of the forties they are from the west. It is not unlikely therefore that the *Trinidad's* pilots laid their course to the north and northeast with the expectation of encountering westerly winds when above the thirtieth parallel. Bernardo de la Torre had taken the same course and had returned with the conviction that this was the correct one to follow. When Villalobos' officers objected to his agreement with the Portuguese in 1545, Martin de Islares presented a written protest in which he insisted that the *San Juan* be again prepared for a return voyage to New Spain, saying: "I have a pilot, some soldiers and sailors who offer, as servants and followers of your worship, to make the voyage in this ship. It is a public and well-known fact that this voyage can be made, even you yourself have said so many times; the pilot who desires to go (Alonso Hernandez Tarifeño) asserts it and dares to undertake it as one who went before with Captain Bernardo de la Torre on the discovery of this voyage and as one who has had that experience. Captain Bernardo de la Torre also offers to go and says he will make the voyage, even as a ship's boy, as he knows what he has discovered." [71]

Fray Gerónimo de Santiesteban, Carrion, Escalante Alvarado and Ortiz de Retes, who had accompanied Villalobos, had returned to Mexico and must all have been well known to Urdaneta. He himself had been in the Moluccas and witnessed Saavedra's two unsuccessful efforts to return by sailing east and southeast. To attribute to him, therefore, as do most of his biographers, the wonderful idea that a successful return could be made by sailing northeast from the Philippines to some point not far distant from the American coast, and then running down to Acapulco with the northwest wind, is entirely erroneous. Urdaneta did not even have to speculate about the prevailing winds on the northwest coast, as Cabrillo had found out that those were from the northwest as high as he went, 43°. All that he may have contributed to the solution of the problem was a better understanding of the best season in which to set sail.

That Urdaneta did not work out the course to take is then apparent; his knowledge of it was no monopoly and, in fact, he was even not the first to discover it, if we can credit the account of the voyage of Don Alonso de Arellano. Even if this be rejected as fictitious, the fact remains that Arellano knew all about the proper course to take, because in his account the route he asserts he followed is in general that afterwards taken by the *San Pedro,* and as he reached Acapulco two months before the *San Pedro* he could have known nothing of her movements. The truth probably is that every pilot in Legaspi's

fleet and many of the officers knew all about the best way to return. Carrion later asserted that he laid out the course to be followed on both the outer and return voyages.[72]

Arellano was in command of a small vessel of some forty tons burden, called at that time a *patache,* and had a crew of about twenty men. A *patache* was a dispatch boat or tender for a larger vessel, and the *San Lucas,* as she was named, was no doubt intended to accompany the fleet in that capacity. It is even possible that Legaspi expected to send her back to New Spain. A few days after leaving Navidad, Arellano deserted the fleet with his pilot, Lope Martin, going on to the Philippines on his own account, and as the *San Lucas* was a much faster sailer than the other ships, he reached them some time before the rest of the fleet. From the attending circumstances it seems likely that this desertion had no other object in view than to make the return before Legaspi had a chance to send another vessel, thus forestalling him and gaining the credit for the discovery. As is now well known, the voyage west to the Philippines did not entail any great difficulties, but the design to return from there, in such a small vessel without adequate supplies and equipment, must be considered as one of the most matchless feats of daring in the annals of the sea.

April 22, 1565, Arellano set sail from the islands, taking a course to the north, as he said they had a northeast wind. The wind must have shifted to the south, however, because he later said that he sailed to the east and east-northeast. When 31° was reached, an island the size of a small house was discovered, so high he said that he doubted if there was a tower in the world higher. This could only have been the singular island known as "Lot's Wife" in lat. 29° 50′, and long. 142° 23′ E.[73] Already we see that his observation was one degree too high. At this point in the story we begin to encounter some of the wonderful things which were seen on this voyage, as he stated that there were some pelicans on this island larger than ostriches. The course generally was towards the north, until a latitude of 40° was reached. No mention is made of a change of the wind to the west; it is only stated that they sailed along the fortieth parallel, and at the expiration of eight days, when an opportunity came to make an observation, found themselves in 43°, having been, in their opinion, carried up by the currents. Arellano here mentioned the interesting fact that his map extended only to 40° and it was therefore impossible to prick his position on it each day when above that latitude.[74] He also stated that according to his map the coast of China ended very near New Spain, about 530 leagues from the island he called "Pago Mayor." Here on the fortieth parallel he thought they were about 300 leagues from the coast of New Spain, and close to the coast of China, because they saw birds and driftwood.[75] In the middle of June, it snowed until midday; it was so cold that the oil in a demijohn froze so hard that it would not run out, and came out like lard when some heat was applied to it. All kinds of curious objects were seen, black birds which gave out frightful cries such as had never been heard before, sea-dogs

which had feet and hands and fox-like ears, and barked, and porpoises the size of cows. They had trouble with rats, which gnawed through two of the water casks.

Finally, when they were in about 38°, they had a strong northeast wind for twenty days.[76] They made a course to the east-southeast, and when the wind left them they found themselves in only 27°. At this point the pilot estimated himself to be 100 leagues from the coast of New Spain, the wind being in the north. Arellano therefore ordered him to take a course to the east a quarter northeast, because of the variation the pilot alleged there was in the compass. As they were now nearing land, a good lookout was ordered to be kept, and finally on the daylight watch of July 17 this was sighted by the pilot.

> In seeing it we gave many thanks to Our Lord, Jesus Christ, for the mercy He had shown us. When noon came and we were near land, the pilot observed the sun in 27° 45′. The land was a point of a large *ensenada*, in which the Isla Cocones lies. He therefore gave orders to run before the northwest wind on a southeast course, as so runs the coast. Sailing along, this day at midnight a head wind from the southeast struck us, which was the reason we did not run on a reef in front of us. When day dawned we found ourselves close to it and gave thanks to Our Lady for the mercies she had shown us in giving us that contrary wind. Thus we went following the coast with favorable winds and with southeast winds which made us anchor near it. Three or four days of southeast winds having passed, the winds from the west came back again, so we went running along the coast until Saturday, July 28, being then as far on as the Punta de la California.[77]

Having passed this, the ship was assailed by terrific storms during which the men suffered severely. All were so afflicted with scurvy that they could scarcely manage the sails, and in consequence the vessel nearly foundered. July 31, they found themselves up the Gulf of California in 25½° and 140 leagues from Navidad, which they finally reached August 9. After the arrival both Arellano and Martin seem to have gone up to Mexico, where on November 22 they made a sworn declaration regarding their voyage.

The lack of precision about this account and the superabundance of marvelous stories related by Arellano create some doubt as to his veracity. As will be seen hereafter, the usual stories current about him are to a large extent fiction, and although he had manifestly deserted his chief, there is no record that he received any punishment. On the other hand, it seems that he never received any reward. In 1575 he was still seeking a gratification, claiming that it had been his lot to be the first to discover the route from China, as was recorded in the papers which he had presented to the Council of the Indies. He stated that during the three years he had passed in Spain on this business he had spent all his money, besides that of his relatives and friends, and that he had never received any remuneration. He asked to be appointed general of the Philippine navigation with a competent salary; something, he said, manifestly and justly due him.[78]

It is very difficult to make out just where he sighted the northwest coast. Even the reference to the Isla Cocones, certainly a mistake for "Cazones," is no help, as it is not known exactly where this island was supposed to be. It might perhaps be justly inferred from Arellano's remarks about his map, that

he had one on which the peninsula had been drawn from one like that of Domingo del Castillo, which purports to have been drawn in Mexico in 1541.[79] Of all the early maps showing the northwest coast this is peculiar in placing Cabo del Engaño in about 27½°. Between that cape and Cedros, two islands and the name Punta de Casones appear. Perhaps Arellano thought the point he saw was Cabo del Engaño. The latitudes on the Castillo map in this neighborhood are, however, at least one and one-half degrees too low, and consequently he was nowhere near Cabo del Engaño, unless his observation was much too low, something quite unheard of at that time. Nevertheless, his reference to the great bay would seem to indicate that he was referring to the one now known as "Sebastian Vizcaino." He was, however, undoubtedly farther south, and, allowing for a possible excess of one degree in the observations of his pilot, it seems most likely that his point was Punta San Hipolito, especially as the following night the *San Lucas* nearly ran on a reef, which could hardly have been any other than Abreojos in 26° 46′. Everything indicates that the map he had was not the same as those carried on the *San Pedro* on her return voyage. They undoubtedly showed Cabrillo's discoveries, and therefore must have extended as far north as 43°.

As soon as Legaspi felt that he had obtained a footing in the islands and was able to fit out a ship, he proceeded to comply with his peremptory instructions to send one back. The *San Pedro* having been chosen, he placed her under the command of his grandson, Felipe de Salçedo. Esteban Rodriguez, the chief pilot of the fleet, embarked on her in that capacity, and as second pilot, Rodrigo de Espinosa, otherwise known as Rodrigo de la Isla Espinosa. Fray Andrés de Aguirre accompanied Urdaneta. The only documents extant which furnish any details regarding the voyage are the logs of Esteban Rodriguez and Rodrigo de Espinosa. Neither contains much more than dry statements of the courses, distances and latitudes, although Espinosa occasionally entered a few of some interest. Urdaneta himself, in his unpublished story, had very little to say about it, if we may conclude that the following passage is all that he wrote on the subject:

> About the return from Zubu[80] to New Spain what there is to say is that we left the place where our friends remained, June 1, 1565, and September 18 saw the first land and the coast of New Spain, an island named "San Salvador" in 33° 50′. October 1 we arrived off the Puerto de Navidad and, not wishing to enter, passed on to the Puerto de Acapulco, as that is a better port and is nearer Mexico by more than forty-five leagues. On the return, what with contrary winds and sickness, we passed through great hardships. Sixteen died before anchoring in the port, and four others afterwards, besides an Indian of the Ladrones whom the General sent, and three other Indians from Zubu. Felipe de Salçedo, the grandson of the General, came as captain of the ship and carried himself very well in the discharge of his duty.[81]

As Rodriguez' log extends only to September 14, that of Espinosa is reproduced in facsimile in the Appendix from the original in the archives in Seville.[82] A translation follows, the beginning and end in abstract only, as such parts contain little of interest.

Translation

[Abstract from June 1 to September 18]

The *San Pedro* sailed from Cebú Friday morning, June 1, passed out through San Bernardino Strait June 9 and by the 21st had run 240 leagues nearly northeast from the point of the Philippines, which they named "Punta del Espiritu Santo." Here they passed a small island in 20° which looked like a ship at anchor.[83] July 1, they were in 24° 10′, still sailing with a southeast wind. July 30 they were in 37° 12′, and August 3 in full 39°. August 4 they encountered a contrary northeast wind and had to sail to the southeast, so that on the 8th they had dropped down to a little less than 34°. September 1, however, they were back in full 38½°. On the 3d they encountered a storm and lay to, as some of the navigators thought they were near New Spain. On the 4th they were in 39° 20′ [84] and that day Espinosa calculated that they were 118 leagues from land in 41°,[85] according to his chart, but according to that of Urdaneta they were 210, the difference being due to the fact that on his chart the land extended more to the west than on that of Urdaneta, both, however, showing the same difference in longitude between Navidad and Cebú.[86] On the 5th they were in full 38° 15′ and on the 7th, in 37° 20′. They now had a south wind and were sailing east and southeast. On the 15th they were in full 36° and Espinosa considered that he was only eight leagues west of the "Puerto de la Galera," as he called it, and 1545 leagues distant from Cebú. Sunday, the 16th, they were in 35° 36′ and had a north wind. On the 18th, at seven o'clock in the morning, Espinosa saw land on the starboard side.

[End of abstract]

Tuesday, September 18, at seven o'clock in the morning, while seated in the chair, I, the aforesaid pilot, saw land on the starboard side, because we were on a port tack. I at once ordered the ship to run with the wind astern.[87] The landmarks which this island has are the following: it is an island trending north-northeast, south-southwest, high in the middle and from one part and the other two slender points make out; on the northwest side about a league and a half distant there is a rock which appears above the water.[88] This island I named "La Deseada"; it is in latitude 33° 45′, and was about five leagues away when I saw it. We went on steering a course to the south, a quarter southeast. The same day I observed the sun and calculated our latitude to be 33° 15′ and therefore I say that the land which I saw is in 33° 45′.[89] From midday Monday up to the hour when I saw land, I made the run of the ship to be thirty leagues on an east-southeast course. This day we did not dare go to examine the land as there was much wind and the land was covered with mist.[90] We were therefore of the opinion that we should take a course south, a quarter southeast, in order to keep a safe distance from land, because, according to the location which I had marked on the chart I carried, there was an island in the latitude of almost 34°;[91] the others who had marked down their position

found themselves on land. This day I found myself distant from the port of Çubu 1,650 leagues.

Wednesday I observed the sun and calculated the latitude to be 30° 50′, and made the day's run to be forty-six leagues south, a quarter southeast.

Thursday I made the day's run to be thirty-six leagues, half south and the other half south, a quarter southeast; but making a correction of half a quarter for the variation of the compass to the northeast,[92] which we observed, it left the whole day's run south, a quarter southeast. This day we were of the opinion that we should steer to the southeast because we were east-west with the Isla de Cedros.

Friday I observed the sun and calculated the latitude to be short 28°. I made the day's run thirty-eight leagues on different courses; eight to the southeast, twenty to the east-southeast, and the rest to the east, a quarter southeast, as we were steering in search of land.

Saturday, the 22nd, I observed the sun and calculated the latitude to be 27° 40′. I made the day's run to be twenty leagues to the east and found that in steering to the east we had fallen off in latitude more than the variation in the compass to the northeast called for. That day, at eight o'clock in the morning, while a sailor named Andrea was at the tiller, he told me that he saw land. I went aloft and saw land which seemed to be an island, and marking it, I found it bore east-northeast. Soon it became covered so that I became doubtful whether it was land or not. At three o'clock in the afternoon while I was leaning on the binnacle,[93] I saw the land. I at once took the compass and marked its direction. It bore northeast, a quarter east, and even slightly east-northeast. It was high land in latitude full 28°. We were distant from it twelve leagues, and from midday to the time I saw it the ship had run four leagues, so that at midday it must have been sixteen leagues away. On the northwest side of it there was a stretch of high steep land like a table-mountain.[94]

Sunday, when it dawned, we saw the coast, which was high and has some ravines, and at the same time we saw the land we had seen the day before. I marked its position and it bore north, a quarter northwest. It is the highest land to be seen on the coast. I observed the sun and calculated the latitude to be 27° 20′. From where I made the observation there was a point, called the "Punta de Santa Catalina,"[95] bearing southeast a quarter east. It was four leagues distant from us at that hour, and must be in latitude 27° 12′, because from where I observed the sun the point bore southeast, a quarter east. From this point to the land we had seen the day before, the coast runs northwest-southeast, all bare country.[96] From the point in 27° 12′, the country is one of sand dunes, on top of which grow some shrubs which look like roots of wool.[97] In rounding the point, a large *ensenada* appears, and shortly you will see three *peñoles*, of which the one in the middle is the largest, having a nipple in the middle and another on one side. The one on the south side is smaller

and the one on the north side is the smallest.[98] The land close to the sea is high, but from these *peñoles* to the point behind it is low land, apparently sand banks. From the Punta de Santa Catalina the coast runs some thirteen leagues to the east-southeast and then another rugged point makes out, which is the one opposite the *peñoles*.[99]

Monday I observed the sun and calculated the latitude to be 25° 36′. From the time I made the observation to this hour the ship went fifty-one leagues, on a course southeast, a quarter east. When I made it we were about two leagues from land. From here the coast runs on about fifteen leagues, at the end of which you will see a high land which looks like an island, but I did not determine whether it was or not, as it was night when we reached it. To get away from this low country you have to steer from where I took the sun today, south-southwest to the rugged country which looks like an island. In these fifteen leagues you will find bottom in fifteen and twenty fathoms and all sand at two leagues from the land. Along the coast there are reefs, so do not approach it closely when you pass. This place which looks like an island I found to be in 24° 45′ [100] when I made an observation on the Pole Star, the *Guardas* being in the southwest.[101] At a matter of two leagues in the direction of the east-southeast there is another high land, seven leagues long. Then an *ensenada* opens out[102] and then a high land runs on for eight leagues to where a point makes out with some flat-topped cliffs which rise out of the sea.

Tuesday I observed the sun and calculated the latitude to be 24°, and when I made the observation I marked the point which shows the cliffs over the sea as bearing east-northeast a matter of eight leagues distant. The country behind to this point runs to the southeast. On doubling the point it is said that there is a port, and near by the low country begins.

Wednesday I observed the sun and calculated the latitude to be 23° 15′, being about three leagues from land. There was high country to the east, and in the direction of the southeast a low point ran out, about nine leagues distant, that is, a long third of a degree, in the direction that it bore, southeast, so that, subtracting this from the latitude which I observed, the point would be in 23° less an eighth.[103] Today the ship's course was east, a quarter east-southeast for fifteen leagues, and from where I pricked the fifteen leagues I went on to the southeast, a quarter east, to a latitude of 23° 15′, which is where I made the observation. Today I found that the ship had sailed thirty-six leagues. The coast runs northwest-southeast. The point above referred to is the end of the land of California and in the latitude of 23° less an eighth. The landmarks of this coast are the following: from a high land a low point runs out two leagues in a southeast direction to where the land ends; on this point there is a round hill like a loaf of bread which looks like an island, but it is all mainland; on the mainland side there is another hill like a sugar-loaf; the hill which is over the sea has a white spot which covers nearly half of it and it shows from the side of the sea a black top. The point I named "Cabo Blanco" on account of

this white spot.[104] This night the master died, and we buried him at sea off this cape. This night I checked the compass and found that it pointed due north. [End of verbatim translation.]

Thursday the 27th, the chief pilot, Esteban Rodriguez, died. October 1, the *San Pedro* was off Navidad. Salcedo told Espinosa to take the ship to Acapulco instead of entering that port, and she arrived there October 8 with only some ten to eighteen men able to work. Sixteen had died on the voyage and all the rest were sick.[105]

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The voyage to Navidad lasted exactly four months. The ship made about sixteen leagues a day, not far from the average such clumsy ships sailed those days on long voyages, if we accept Espinosa's estimate of 1,892 leagues as the distance.[106] No mention occurs in the narrative of the logs of wood, leaves and branches of trees which were usually encountered off the coast above 36° and afterwards came to be called "Las Señas,"[107] nor of the northwest wind, although it is certain that those with which they sailed south from 34° were generally from that quarter. It is clear that La Deseada, the island first sighted, was not the one which Cabrillo called San Salvador and which is now known as Santa Catalina, notwithstanding Urdaneta's statement.[108] The *San Pedro* could not have passed close enough to that island for Espinosa to describe it, without his seeing San Clemente afterwards. His description also fits either San Miguel or San Nicolas better than Santa Catalina. Although a positive identification of the island cannot be made, the circumstances attending its discovery distinctly point to its having been San Miguel.

In the instructions which the Audiencia gave to Legaspi, he was ordered to take the most extraordinary precautions to see that, when his ship came back to New Spain, no information regarding the expedition should leak out before his letters reached the Audiencia in Mexico and were read and digested. Private letters sent back on the ship had to go first to Mexico to the authorities, and no one evidently was to be permitted to go ashore except a messenger, until orders had been received from Mexico.[109] Exactly when Urdaneta and Salcedo reached the city is not known, but it could hardly have been much before November 1. Legaspi had sent a power of attorney to one Gabriel Diez, and November 7 Diez presented to the Audiencia an *Informacion* drawn up in Bohol, April 13, 1565, made for the purpose of showing that Arellano had deserted. From this it appears that Legaspi had correctly anticipated just what had occurred. On November 11, Diez presented a petition asking that Arellano be sent back to the Philippines to appear before Legaspi, stating that he understood that he was preparing to go to Spain with the license of the president of the Audiencia. On the 13th, he presented another petition, complaining that nothing had been done; on the 16th he presented his power of attorney, and on the 26th, another petition. November 22, Juan Yañez, the boatswain on

the *San Lucas,* made a declaration, and Arellano and Martin swore to theirs.[110] The records which have survived show no further action in the matter, but some short time afterwards, Arellano, Urdaneta, Aguirre and Melchor de Legaspi, Legaspi's son, all went to Spain on the same ship,[111] Arellano carrying with him a letter of recommendation to the King from the Dominican Order in Mexico.[112] Urdaneta and Aguirre also carried one from the provincial of the Augustinians, Fray Diego Rodriguez Vertavillo.[113] Some time in April, 1566,[114] they reached Madrid, where Urdaneta presented an endorsement of his valuable services, signed by the leaders of the expedition in Cebú, June 1, 1565.[115]. What passed at the Court or before the Council in reference to Arellano's case is unknown beyond some vague statements that he was sent back to Mexico as a prisoner. Urdaneta himself remained in Spain long enough to render an opinion on the situation of the Philippines, October 8, 1565. Shortly thereafter, he must have returned to Mexico, where he died, June 3, 1568. We have already seen that Arellano said that he remained three years in Spain seeking some remuneration and was alive in 1575, still looking for it. Martin, his pilot, does seem to have been in prison in Mexico for a time, but whether on account of his desertion or not is not known. In 1566, he was sent back to the Philippines as pilot of the *San Gerónimo.* Although the captain had orders to be on his guard against him, he was murdered by some mutineers, probably instigated by Martin, who was finally marooned by the faithful members of the crew on the Isla de Barbudos.[116]

Arellano has received very little credit for his enterprise, most of this having fallen to the lot of Urdaneta, largely due to the fact that the latter was an Augustinian friar and was lauded to the skies by the chroniclers of that order, who conveniently forgot about Arellano.[117] It may be noticed that in the contemporary documents Arellano was one of the few people connected with the expedition referred to as a "don," proof that he was a person of some consequence.[118] He himself claimed that he had not deserted Legaspi, but having lost the fleet during the night, had simply gone to the Philippines alone because he was unable to find the other ships. Whether this was true or not, it seems probable that he made no great effort to find Legaspi at the islands, but undertook the return voyage in the hope of securing a reward for discovering the route.

When land was sighted, September 18, Salcedo asked the pilots and the boatswain who had been marking down the course on the maps to calculate the distance run from Cebú, which was some fifty leagues west of Cabo del Espiritu Santo. Rodriguez estimated the distance to be 1,740 leagues, Espinosa 1,650, and the boatswain, Francisco de Astigarribia, 1,704.[119] At the point where this calculation was made, in 33° 15′, the ship was not far east of the longitude of San Francisco, so that the calculations were not greatly in error, especially that of Rodriguez. When the *San Pedro* was off Navidad, Espinosa estimated that she had run 1,892 leagues from Cebú, that is to say, 242 leagues

from La Deseada, according to his calculation at that point. Previously, on the 9th of July, Salcedo had the two pilots and the boatswain calculate the distance run on the outward voyage from Navidad to Cebú, Rodriguez' figure being 2,000 leagues, Espinosa's 2,030, and the boatswain's 2,010.[120] Espinosa in his opinion stated that according to an old map in his possession the distance from Navidad to Cebú was not more than 1,370 leagues. With these estimates may be compared that of Saavedra's voyage, from Navidad to the islands of about 1,850 leagues, and those found in the accounts of the expedition of Villalobos, which agree that the distance was somewhere in the neighborhood of 1,500 leagues. The actual difference in longitude between Navidad and Cabo del Espiritu Santo, the northeast point of Samar, is about 130 degrees, or somewhat over 2,200 leagues at the rate of 17½ leagues to a degree of the arc of a great circle. The distance from San Francisco, or Pt. Conception, to the same cape is about 1,750 leagues.

No sooner had Urdaneta, Aguirre and Melchor de Legaspi reached Spain with the dispatches announcing the occupation of the Philippines, than the old problem whether or not these islands were in the domain of the King of Spain came to the fore. Two questions were presented to the following persons: Urdaneta and the cosmographers of His Majesty, Alonso de Santa Cruz, Pedro de Medina, Francisco Falero, Hieronimo de Chaves and Sancho de Gutierrez. The first was whether the Moluccas, the Philippines and Cebú belonged to Spain or Portugal under the agreement made between the two Crowns in 1494, and the second, whether they were included in the pawn which the Emperor had made to the King of Portugal in 1529. Each of them presented a written opinion, all of which are extant except that of Falero.[121] October 8, 1566, they all joined in making a brief written statement that the Philippines, the Moluccas and Cebú lay in the domains of the King of Spain, but were included in the pawn.[122]

Santa Cruz discussed at great length the various distances to the Philippines from Navidad which had been reported by different pilots of the expeditions of Saavedra, Villalobos and Legaspi, and came to the conclusion that 1,900 leagues was the correct one, or roughly, 109 degrees. Deducting 6 degrees to arrive at the distance measured on the Equator, made the net amount 103. As he said that the distance from Navidad to the line of demarcation was 66½ degrees, Cebú was only 170½ degrees west of the line. Medina calculated that from the line of demarcation to Cebú was 168 degrees based on a distance from Navidad to Cebú of 100 degrees. Chaves estimated the distance to be 115½ degrees, based on his conclusion that it was 2,000 leagues less, a correction of some seven leagues. As he said the distance from the line of demarcation to Navidad was 66 degrees, Cebú was 181½ degrees west of the line and therefore lay in the territory of the King of Portugal. He declared, however, that he did not believe that the distance from Navidad to Cebú was 2,000 leagues, but preferred to credit Ptolemy and the Portuguese accounts which

proved that the Philippines and the Moluccas belonged to the King of Spain. Gutierrez made the distance from Navidad to Cebú 1,700 leagues, or about 100 degrees. From the line of demarcation to Navidad was 65 degrees, he said, making a total of 165 from the line to Cebú, still less than Santa Cruz. He added that he preferred to credit the map of Villalobos, which had been brought to Spain by Pedro Melendez and showed the distance from Navidad to Cebú to be only 1,500 leagues.

We now come to the opinion of Urdaneta.[123] Unfortunately, this document has been so maltreated that in some places it is not possible to make it out. One thing is clear however, and that is that Fray Martin de Rada, whom Urdaneta declared to be a great mathematician, astrologer and cosmographer and a man of great common sense, had taken with him at Urdaneta's request a medium-sized instrument by which he could verify the longitude. Before Urdaneta left Cebú, Rada had determined by an observation of a star that the town was 216 degrees 15 minutes west of Toledo by the tables of Alfonso,[124] which Urdaneta had corrected to 215 degrees 15 minutes by the tables of Copernicus. As Urdaneta claimed that the line of demarcation was 43 degrees and 8 minutes west of Toledo, this left Cebú 172 degrees 7 minutes west of the line of demarcation; that island therefore fell 7 degrees 53 minutes inside the territory of the King of Spain and was subject to him. Being apparently somewhat doubtful of this result, he then entered into a long calculation based on Portuguese maps and accounts of the distance around by the Cape of Good Hope, from which he concluded that the line in the East ran through the Island of Borneo, just as Santa Cruz had thought. In no place did he discuss the distance from Navidad to Cebú or vice-versa, his single remark on the subject occurring in one of the lost lines.

Medina and Santa Cruz made supplementary statements, July 16, 1567, to the effect that although the Moluccas and the Philippines were all in the territory embraced in the pawn, yet they did not wish their opinions to be taken to mean that such islands had been included in it, as that was a juridical question about which they had no knowledge. From this it appears that the Council of the Indies still had the intention of circumventing in some technical way the agreement of 1529, being evidently satisfied that the Philippines were included in the dominions of the King of Spain under the division of 1494.[125] At any rate, Legaspi was there and stayed there.

CHAPTER VI

THE VOYAGE OF ALVARO DE MENDAÑA

The success attending the Legaspi expedition was sufficient to stimulate the hopes of adventurers in another part of the world. This time an expedition set out from Peru in search of new lands to the west; at least such was the ostensible object. Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa asserted that he knew of some in that direction or southwest, which he must have represented to be very rich, as the *presidente* of Peru was induced to favor the enterprise. Two ships were prepared, and Alvaro de Mendaña, the *presidente's* nephew, was appointed to command them. Sarmiento himself was made *almirante,* and Hernan Gallego chief pilot. November 17, 1567, the ships sailed from Callao and in the following February reached one of the islands now known as the Solomon group. Sarmiento afterwards claimed that Mendaña and Gallego wished to go to the Moluccas, and indeed that seems not unlikely. The only other land to the west of Peru of which Sarmiento could have had any knowledge was New Guinea, and although that was said to be rich in gold, it was not nearly so rich as the world had been given to understand the Philippines were in the pamphlet translated in the Appendix to the previous chapter. Sailing south, they discovered a number of other islands, but found nothing in them of any value. The inhabitants were not overly friendly and soon became positively hostile. It was therefore decided to return to Peru. A council being called to consider what route should be taken, some were of the opinion that they should sail towards the south, but it was finally agreed to return by the north, and August 11 they set sail. A course to the north and northeast was taken, and October 16 the ships had reached a latitude stated to be 30° 20′. Here the *Almiranta* which Sarmiento commanded disappeared. The pilots of the *Capitana* calculated the ship to be about 80 leagues from the coast, while those of the *Almiranta* thought they were much nearer, Cabo de Fortunas lying to the northeast. A severe storm ensued, during which the *Capitana* nearly capsized, obliging Mendaña to order the mainmast cut away. All the sails were carried away by the wind and they had to replace them with blankets. October 31, they were in 29°. Here a northeast storm struck them and they fell down to 26° on November 4. The wind changing to the east, they took a north-northeast course with which they went up to 27°. Everything indicates that all this time they were endeavoring to get as far northeast as possible. They finally managed to reach 30°, where they had another cold northeast wind with snow. December 9 the wind shifted to the south-southwest, and on reaching 31°, December 12, a pine log was seen, some gulls, a duck and other signs of being near land.[1] The following is taken from Gallego's account:

On the 12th of December the wind from the south-southeast died out and

changed to the north, so light that it scarcely drew the sails from the mast. We were sheltered under the land which was to the north of us, although we were not in the latitude of it. It rained and the soldiers and sailors caught water for three days with their sheets. When the weather cleared up the wind came fresher, but we made little headway on account of our few sails and the many currents. The more we sailed the freer the wind kept getting, and a sea rose which took us on the bow. I saw that we were near land. After we commenced to observe the signs, the wind lasted until we saw land. At vespers of Nuestra Señora de la O, as I was at the side of the ship, I saw it and there were some who said it could not be, as they did not expect to see it.[2] Sailing all that night, two hours before daybreak, we were within a league of land close to two *isletas*[3] a league from the mainland in the latitude of 30° N. The day before we saw land we had fixed the needle to the north. Proceeding on our way, on a coast running southeast, we entered a bay which the soldiers had never expected to see, with no little thanks for the mercy the Lord had shown us in delivering us from such storms and necessities for food. The bay looked like a corral for branding cattle. We did not see the point on the outside on account of its great distance. Running along a northwest-southeast coast we found ourselves embayed. In order to double the point it was necessary to put the bow to the southeast [west?]. We anchored in five fathoms at the foot of a shoal of sand, and from there went tacking in order to double the point which extended out almost to where we had entered. We were three days with calms and northwest winds in this bay, which was named the Bahia de S. Tomé. It is in the latitude of 27° 45′.[4]

We departed from the point Thursday morning, December 23.[5] At this point of the *ensenada* are two large *isletas* called the Islas de Cacones, with very good channels. Between them and the bay there is a very good level bottom. The larger one is to windward, two leagues northwest of the point. The other which is close to the point is half a league south of it, and has some shoals on the southeast side which run out for two or three leagues.[6] We ran southeast along the coast until we reached the Tropic, although on the way we found many *ensenadas,* which we thought was California because we were not satisfied that the Punta de la California, where the Puerto de San Lucar is located, would be on the Tropic. Certainly you pass 23° 36′ before reaching the Punta de la California.[7]

Coming from the northwest towards the southeast there is a sand point which runs out east-northeast, and to the east-southeast of this, in the latitude of 23° 20′ N., is a very large river of sweet water with much fish in it.[8] After we reached this river on New Year's day, 1569, we were on the beach for twelve days.[9] We went ashore to take water on a raft made of casks, as we had no boat, the sea having destroyed it. We made another one of reeds, and with some casks we took twelve pipes of water which we put aboard together with much fish which we caught.

We departed from there on our voyage, as there were some warlike Indians about, having put on board a quantity of wood which we cut to make a boat for the ship. We arrived close to the Puerto de Xalisco, and as we were about to enter it the wind blew very hard. Since this wind was blowing on shore and we might be wrecked, and it was fifty leagues from there to the Puerto de Santiago, I stood out to sea in order to double Cabo de Corrientes which is in 21°. Continuing our voyage and course to the southeast, at the end of three days and a half, January 24,[10] we entered the Puerto de Santiago. Here we found some fishermen, and as I knew the country very well I was acquainted with its inhabitants and with the fisherman who was there.[11] The port is close to that of Natividad, six leagues to the east of it, is eighteen leagues from the town of Colima, and is in the latitude of 19° 15′. We discharged the wood we brought to make our boat. At the end of three days' stay we saw looming up, on the day of San Vicente, the *Almiranta* which had become separated from us and had remained behind. She was in great need of water and food. She had no boat as, like ours, it had been carried away during the great storm, and her main mast had been cut away. They did not recognize the country.[12]

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No land fall made by a vessel on the northwest coast in the sixteenth century is more difficult to identify than Mendaña's in 30°, as there are no topographical descriptions of the islands or the coast on which to rely. If the writer's interpretation of the ambiguous passage is correct, and the river reached January 1 was the Todos Santos, Gallego's observation for latitude there was almost correct. San Gerónimo is in 29° 48′, and if there were two islands there it would be certain that they were the Islas de la O, but as there is only one we are almost forced to conclude that these islands were the San Benitos in about 28° 18′, an error of about 01° 42′. This identification would appear plausible, as Catoira states there were three islands, which, as a matter of fact, is the number of the San Benitos. On the other hand, as the San Benitos are about fifteen miles from Cedros and Gallego states that the islands were only a league from the mainland, we are almost forced to reject this theory. In comparing the account written by Catoira with that of Gallego, it would almost seem as if there were an omission in Gallego's narrative, and that on the way south they actually entered the Bahia de Sebastian Vizcaino. The reference to the Cacones would indicate that Gallego had a chart similar to that of Domingo del Castillo, who placed those islands just north of Cedros and in about 27½°, but as Castillo placed the Punta de California on his map in about 22° and not in 23° 36′, as we would be justified in assuming that it was on Gallego's chart, this theory also appears untenable. The writer has not been able to find any early map on which the Punta de la California is in 23° 36′, most of them placing it too low instead of too high. About the only plausible explanation is that Gallego read the chart wrong and thought he would find the punta in 23° 36′ instead of 22° 36′.

Sarmiento, in his letter from Cuzco, refers very briefly to the return voyage,

simply stating that they sighted the coast of Cibola and Quivira in 30° odd. Many years later, in his account of the visit of Drake to the Peruvian coast in 1579, he claimed to have run along the coast from a cape he called Fortunas in 34°.[13] In view of the course taken by the *Capitana*, it is not likely that Sarmiento sighted the coast much farther north than she did. Nevertheless, in spite of the statements of both Gallego and Catoira that land was first sighted in 30°, it is not unlikely that the two islands first discovered were the Todos Santos, in 31° 48′.

CHAPTER VII

JUAN DE LA ISLA AND FRANCISCO GALI

About this time there occurred a revival of interest in the Northwest Passage, which was apparently due to a new fable which soon attained great vogue. The Strait of Anian, as it was called, seems to have been created in some roundabout way from the writings of Marco Polo, but it was undoubtedly based on a mixture of other fables current for some time and the intense desire to find a short cut to the riches of the Far East. After Urdaneta had given his declaration regarding the best method of reaching the Philippines, in the Memorial translated in Chapter V, he added the following story:

> In this New Spain information has been received that the French have discovered a passage into the sea west of this New Spain, between the land of the Bacallaos and that which runs from there toward the north, and that having entered this in a westerly direction at a latitude of 70° or more, and sailing towards the west on a slightly southwest course, they found a free sea through which they could easily sail to China, the spice country, Peru and New Spain, that is, to all those parts which can be navigated by the Sea of the West. On the return to France they followed the coast of the land of Florida on the north side, and found an outlet to the Sea of Spain and France in a lower latitude than that by which they had entered, as it was not more than 40° and odd, not reaching 50° where they disembogued. As Captain Pero Melendez has information about how this happened, according to the advices we have received here, and will give an account of it to Your Majesty, I shall say no more than that it is of great importance that an effort be made to discover from Spain if it be true, and that what is there should be seen.[1] If such a passage and a populated country be found, an endeavor should be made to make a settlement in the narrowest part of that strait, or in the place which seems most important, in order that the ships which have to pass from Spain to the west and from the west to Spain could make a stop there. From there also the entry of all foreigners who wish to navigate by that strait in order to pass into this Sea of the West, could be prevented.[2]

The first part of this story can hardly be anything but a variation of one afterwards related by Baltasar de Obregon.[3] According to him, a certain Juan Juarez in 1550 was aboard a ship which sailed from Ireland with a cargo of skins and tin. The vessel left her course and sailed to the northwest and at the end of many days, in April entered a river of salt water seven leagues wide, and even five in the narrowest part. They ascended this river 200 leagues to where, the ship having grounded on some shoals, the crew went ashore and found a half a league distant another river of the same size, also of salt water. Here they built four brigantines, provided them with artillery and went up this river another 200 leagues, where one morning they found some great settlements of Indians who had a king who wore a crown of copper. The king treated them well until a quarrel arose. A fight ensued and the strangers returned to their boats and went back to their ship. They finally came out on the coast of the Bacallaos and then sailed for Spain. Before reaching there they were captured by the Portuguese, and the captain and the pilot, who were Frenchmen,[4] were drowned, the rest being taken to Oporto. Juarez, Obregon stated, afterwards went to Mexico, where he related this story under oath to Luis de Velasco, the

viceroy. It is probable that Juarez was simply repeating in garbled form some story he had heard in Spain or France, the origin of which is now lost, as the statement is false on its face. Urdaneta seems to have combined this with another story which apparently arose from some misconception of what Giovanni da Verrazano had said about his expedition to the east coast of America in 1524, or had been fabricated from the maps which purported to show his discoveries.[5]

In 1558 Ramusio published in the second volume of his *Navigationi* probably all the information he was able to gather about the Far East. Among other documents, he inserted an account of the travels of Marco Polo. This version differs in many respects from those previously published, and contains one passage, which so far as known, had never before appeared in print. After describing the Port of Zaitum, he says:[6]

> Departing from the Port of Zaitum you sail towards the west, somewhat southwest, 1,500 miles, traversing a gulf named Cheinan. This gulf is so long that it takes two months to cross it, sailing towards the northeast. Towards the southeast it washes the entire part of the province of Mangi and on the other side [that is, northwest ?], Ania, Toloman and many other provinces which I have previously mentioned. Within this gulf there are an infinite number of islands, almost all well inhabited, in which is found a great quantity of gold of *paiola*,[7] which they collect from the water of the sea where the rivers empty into it. Besides this, copper [or brass] and other things are found and commerce is carried on with what occurs in one island and not in another. They also trade with those on the mainland, selling gold, copper and other things and buying from them what things are necessary to them. In the majority of these islands much grain grows. This gulf is so large and so many people live in it that it seems like another world.

Somewhat earlier in the account, Polo gives a description of Amù and Toloman, which he there says lie east of India.[8] Considering its connection with Toloman in both passages, it seems obvious that Ania was an error for Amù or vice versa. No mention of any strait in the neighborhood of Ania or Toloman occurs in the passage, and it might well be argued that these provinces did not lie northeast of Zaitum but northwest. Nevertheless, this somewhat ambiguous account was apparently sufficient, added to other stories in circulation in Europe at the time, to induce Giacomo Gastaldi, the noted Italian cartographer, to change the opinion he had propagated so sedulously for such a long time that Asia and America were connected, to one that they were separated by water. This new theory he advanced in a pamphlet published in Venice in 1562.[9] The strait, which he now imagined separated Asia from America, he called the "Strait of Anian." The first dated map on which the strait appears was published in Antwerp in 1564 by Abraham Ortelius, but the earliest one now known to show it with the name was Bolognino Zaltieri's map of Nova Franza in 1566.[10] On both these maps a short passage separating Labrador and Greenland is displayed, between 63° and 66° of North latitude, just where the entrance to the Northwest Passage had previously been supposed to exist. Both maps also show an immense open *Mare Setentrionale* which is connected on the west with the Pacific by the Strait of Anian. Both passages look easy to navigate, and the distance across the Northern Sea is only about 120° or perhaps 4,000 miles in that latitude. It is not to be wondered at,

therefore, that a revival of the attempts to reach the Far East by this route now took place. The new fable caught the popular fancy and fired the imagination.

Coincident with the appearance on the maps of the Strait of Anian was that of stories of passages through it. One of these was a now famous tale that Urdaneta on his return from the Philippines had come to Europe through the passage. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who was responsible for disseminating it, used it as his chief argument for the existence of a Northwest Passage.[11] Gilbert was so persuasive and his arguments seemed so convincing, that in 1576 the English sent out Martin Frobisher by this route on a trading expedition to the Far East, which of course never even reached the Northern Sea. Other Englishmen were more skeptical and in the following year financed an expedition to the Moluccas after spices, which was placed under the command of Sir Francis Drake, with instructions to proceed either by the Strait of Magellan or by the Cape of Good Hope. Drake reached the Moluccas, but his ship was already so full of captured silver that he brought back but few cloves. The way was opened, however, and succeeding expeditions finally achieved some measure of success, although this lay in India, a somewhat different goal from that first contemplated.

Not only were the English fascinated by the possibilities of this short cut to the East, but there is some evidence that the Spaniards also took some interest in the subject, as would have been only natural. They now had some new possessions in that part of the world and an easier access to them than by way of Mexico was a great desideratum. Among the companions of Urdaneta on his voyage to the Philippines was Captain Juan de la Isla,[12] the commander of the *San Juan;* and it is not at all unlikely that he had heard the story related by Urdaneta either directly from him or from someone in Mexico before he set out. July 27, 1567, he was sent back by Legaspi in command of the *San Juan* with dispatches for the King. He reached Acapulco November 16, and arrived in Spain June 5, 1568.[13] While there, he seems to have presented a memorial, in which after giving his opinion on various subjects, he writes: "If Your Majesty be pleased, it would be of great importance to endeavor to discover the coast from China to New Spain in order to know what there is on the said coast, or if there is some strait or channel which unites with and joins the Atlantic. If Your Majesty be pleased to order the said discovery, I will put into it my person and zeal, and with the help of Our Father I will go through with it in a short time and at a very little cost. I entreat Your Majesty to give this matter your attention, as it is one of great importance."[14]

In 1570 Isla returned to the Philippines and was at once sent back with more dispatches. While in Mexico, he had a *Relacion de servicios* drawn up, December 14, 1570,[15] and it is possible that at the same time he enlisted Martin Enriquez, the viceroy, in support of his scheme of discovery. He reached San Lucar April 17, and in July presented a petition to the Council of the Indies in

which he asked for a *repartimiento* in the islands[16] and the robe of the Order of Santiago. It is probable that at this time he renewed his offer to make a voyage to discover the coast of China and New Spain, and that the Council agreed to it, as when he left for New Spain he carried an order for 1,000 ducats as a reward for his services and for his expenditures.[17] At the same time, a cedula was issued to Enriquez to appoint him captain of such an expedition which should proceed from the Philippines.[18] In accordance with this order, Enriquez issued a set of instructions to him, February 1, 1572, of which No. 3 is as follows: [Translation] "From the port which you leave you shall go in search of the coast of China and coast along it toward the east until you reach the latitude of 50°, or 60°, or more, whichever the summer season will permit; and from that latitude you will take a course straight east in search of the coast of New Spain, taking note of what there is between one land and the other, as well as what there is on the coast of New Spain, not only of what you may discover anew but of what has already been discovered to the latitude of 41°."[19]

An inspection of the document indicates that trading was one of the principal objects of the expedition. Nothing is said in it about any search for a strait, although it might be considered, and perhaps justly, that the order to proceed as far north as 50° or 60° contemplated the discovery of one which it was thought might be encountered in that quarter. The real object of the King and Enriquez was no doubt an exploration of the northwest coast.[20] Although the mention of 41° as the highest point discovered would indicate that the Viceroy was cognizant of the discoveries of Cabrillo, this being the highest point on the coast he had actually reached, yet the seeming ignorance of that voyage in Mexico only a few years later might also indicate that all he really knew about it was this fact. Urdaneta had also referred to the same latitude as evidently the highest point discovered, and he, of course, must have known all about Cabrillo's voyage as he was in Mexico when it took place.

Isla never made the contemplated voyage. When he reached Manila, May 31, 1572, Legaspi, who had been ordered to give him a ship and some men early in 1573, had some doubts about the matter, probably due to the lack of an appropriate vessel, as he wrote that one called the *Espiritu Santo* might be made ready at that time.[21] August 21, 1572, Legaspi died and was succeeded by Guido de Lavezaris as provisional governor.[22] He did not favor the venture and refused to furnish Isla with a ship, claiming that the voyage was a dangerous one and the coast was not known, and that some Portuguese or other people might be encountered. As Enriquez justly observed, all this might be true, "but nothing of importance can be done without some danger." He then made some sarcastic remarks about Lavezaris' intelligence.[23] When this letter was read in the Council, a notation was made to send Enriquez an order to make a contract with some person who might desire to make a voyage of discovery of the coast of China at his own expense, and that before the contract be executed it be sent to the Council. March 24, 1574, Enriquez wrote that the voyage of dis-

covery had been abandoned, sending with the letter a note given him by one of the pilots of the islands, which does not appear in the records.[24] October 23 of the same year he referred to the King's order to make a contract for discovery of the coast of China, but said that he did not see anyone in Mexico willing to take on the business.[25] Nothing more has been discovered in the archives bearing on this project, and some time before July, 1576, Isla died.[26]

It is plain from the accounts of the proceedings in the islands in the early days, that there was great disappointment over the failure to find an abundance of precious metals and other articles of value. Legaspi found some gold ornaments among the natives, and 140 ounces of gold dust were obtained in exchange for silver *tostones*[27] at the rate of six of silver for one of gold. This gold-dust came from the north end of Mindanao where the natives washed out a little from the sands of a few streams[28]. Later some gold veins were discovered on Luzon and other islands, but the mining industry never became an important one. No spices or drugs were found and only small quantities of cinnamon.[29] Food was none too plentiful and the natives were unfriendly or even hostile. Altogether, it cannot be said that the situation of the Spaniards was a happy one. Their long-felt aspirations were now realized and the Philippines were occupied, but they had not found in them anything of sufficient importance to make life worth living in such a far-off spot. The only exportable commodity of commercial importance found besides gold was wax. The possibility, however, of exchanging silver for Chinese goods, of which many were found in the islands, soon became apparent. The appetite for silver was just as strong among the Chinese then as now, and as neither the islands nor New Spain produced anything else of importance they wanted, the only possible trade which could be built up was one of exchange of silver from New Spain for Chinese goods, in other words, a transit trade. Compared with prices in Europe, silks, porcelains and other such objects of luxury were incredibly cheap in China, and it therefore soon became possible to take to New Spain such goods purchased with silver, sell them there at much lower prices than European goods, and still make a huge profit.

When the Spaniards reached the islands, they found the local trade in the hands of the Mohammedans, who were settled on Luzon, where Manila is now located. The Chinese supplied them with arms and powder in exchange for gold. The trade was unimportant, as the islands produced very little the Chinese wanted. It was not until after Legaspi captured this Mohammedan settlement and fixed his residence there that the Spaniards came in direct contact with the Chinese traders. In the spring of 1572 three junks came from China to Manila and some to the other islands, but brought only some samples, as the traders did not know what they could sell to the Spaniards. These consisted of embroidered damasks and taffetas of all colors, silk twisted and untwisted, crude silk, gilt and white porcelain, sugar, spices, oranges, sweets, rock-candy, pepper, flour, licorice, musk, and other perfumes, quicksilver, iron,

copper, tin and brass, painted crockery and many trinkets and catchpennies.[30]

In 1573 two ships left the islands and reached Acapulco in safety. They carried 3,184 ounces of gold, 312 quintals of cinnamon, 712 pieces of silk, 11 tons of wax, 22,300 pieces of gilt china and porcelain, and a quantity of cotton cloth and cotton thread.[31] About one-third of the gold and nearly all the cinnamon belonged to the government. In addition, there was some jewelry made of gold and other materials for the King and an assortment of Chinese goods, earthenware, fans, parasols, inlaid chests, little boxes and all kinds of knick-knacks. When Enriquez, the viceroy, saw these goods he expressed his indignation in no measured terms; he said the silks were miserable, the brocades false and none of the stuff was fit to enter the country. He wrote that he had heard that in return for all this worthless material the Chinese took away from the islands 40,000 ducats in gold and silver.[32]

This was the real beginning of the Manila trade, as previously only a few small ships which carried a little gold, cinnamon and presents had returned from the islands. Even in 1574 the Chinese traders brought to Manila cargoes consisting chiefly of iron, wheat, barley, nuts and raisins,[33] but the trade very soon settled down to an exchange chiefly of luxuries, such as silks, damasks, china, and porcelain, for silver, and such it continued to be for centuries. For some time gold was an export of importance, and as time went on, the east-bound cargoes became more general in character, but Chinese goods still formed the bulk of them, in value at least. Of the products of the islands proper, wax and cinnamon were the only ones of any importance at first, but later large quantities of silk *mantas,* the familiar Philippine shawls, were sent to New Spain. Few details of the trade in the early days exist. Notwithstanding the disgust expressed by Enriquez with the character of the goods brought from the islands, which he continued to display even as late as 1580, as he was leaving for Peru, he himself states that he made every possible effort to encourage the merchants of Mexico to embark in the business.[34] He even went so far as to carry them and their goods to and from the islands free of charge, furnish them with food free, and admit their goods free of duty.[35] At first those merchants in Mexico who had the necessary capital were afraid of the business; the risk of loss both ways was tremendous, and there is little doubt that the quality of the first goods brought was very poor. It was soon found, however, that if a successful voyage could be made, profits up to 400 per cent. could be obtained on some of the goods, and therefore the business grew by leaps and bounds. During this period the production of silver in New Spain was increasing very rapidly, and it is likely that for a time what was sent to the islands was not noticed. As silver was the chief exportable product of Mexico, the mere exchange of this for silk and porcelain in limited quantities was not particularly harmful to the country, but by this means ever larger sums were diverted from Spain where they naturally would have gone to purchase Spanish commodities, or at least goods handled by Spanish merchants.

By 1585 the amount of silver shipped to the islands reached 400,000 pesos,[36] and a few years later nearly a million. These huge amounts, even larger than those shipped to Spain only a few years before, caused so many complaints in Madrid from the merchants that the Council evidently felt compelled to take some action, and recommended to the King, June 17, 1586, that a stop be put to the importation of Chinese goods into New Spain. Accordingly, two days later on the approval of Philip, a cedula was sent to the Viceroy to this effect, but giving him some discretion in the matter in case he should find too much difficulty in doing so.[37] The Marqués de Villamanrique, who was the viceroy at the time, wrote that there were so many objections to the order that he refrained from executing it, claiming for one reason that the trade was absolutely essential to the well-being and maintenance of the islands.[38] He contented himself with raising the freight from the islands to the same rate as that between Seville and Vera Cruz, and issued an order that half of the silver sent out should be employed in the purchase of gold to be returned to the country.[39] Numerous efforts were made in the succeeding years of the century to stop the trade entirely,[40] but nothing was done except to put restrictions on it, which availed little, as means were always to be found to evade them, the enormous profits which accrued to some few individuals who had capital and influence being sufficient to practically nullify every effort made in Madrid to regulate it.[41]

Not only was this trade a necessity to the settlers in the islands, but what perhaps was of greater importance was the maintenance of a dependable means of communication between the islands and New Spain in order to secure recruits of men and munitions of war to enable them to carry on the warfare in which they were almost continuously engaged. In 1580 Portugal came under the rule of Philip II, and this put an end to their contests with the Portuguese in the Moluccas, but the Japanese soon threatened to overwhelm them. Almost every letter or memorial from the islands addressed to the viceroys or the King stressed the necessity of sending more troops, and more guns and artillery. It was difficult to secure recruits in New Spain, and the government was obliged to send soldiers from Spain itself by the long route to Vera Cruz and across the country to Acapulco. The difficulties were aggravated by the frequent loss of vessels in the Pacific. Several ships containing soldiers and supplies had been lost, and disastrous return voyages were of frequent occurrence. In 1568 the *San Pedro* was wrecked on Guam, one of the Ladrones; in 1572 two ships, and in 1574 the *San Juan,* were obliged to return to Manila; in 1574 the *Espiritu Santo* was six months on the voyage, losing eleven men;[42] in 1578 the *San Juanillo* was lost; in 1580 a ship took seven months for the voyage, and February 29, 1584, the *Santa Maria de Jesus*[43] reached Acapulco dismasted, after a seven months' voyage, having lost her captain, master, pilot, and fifty-six sailors and passengers,[44] almost all from scurvy, that dread disease which attacked so many on these long voyages.

The *San Martin,* which had left Manila with the *Santa Maria de Jesus,* had arrived at Acapulco December 15, 1584. The Conde de Coruña, the viceroy, had died in June, 1583, leaving the Audiencia in charge of affairs until the appointment of Pedro Moya y Contreras, who was at that time archbishop, reached Mexico in September, 1584. It is apparent from several references to Philippine affairs, and especially to the navigation to and from the islands, in Moya's letters even while Coruña was still viceroy, that he took some interest in the subject. The failure of the *Santa Maria de Jesus* to arrive with the *San Martin* caused some uneasiness in his mind, and January 22, 1585, he addressed the following letter to the King, probably thinking that the various communications to Enriquez about an expedition of discovery gave him sufficient warrant to take the action he contemplated:

> When the ships come from China, they sight the coast of New Spain 700 leagues before reaching Acapulco, and from there sail almost in sight of land. Although it may be necessary to land to repair the ships, or to take on a supply of water or other things, they cannot do so as the ports on all that coast are not known, nor have they any place in which to take shelter from the contrary winds which ordinarily blow in that quarter. The same thing happens to ships which before reaching the coast encounter storms or have other necessities; they have to return to the islands from which they sailed, as there is no port on the coast. In order that all this may come to an end, and Your Majesty may have knowledge of all that coast which some say runs on to join the mainland of China, and others that it terminates in a strait called "Anian" which continues to and ends near Ireland, I have ordered two *fragatas* built to search for and discover all the ports, islands, rivers, mountains and settlements which there are or may be on all that coast, by what people of what languages it is inhabited and settled, what is their dress or mode of living, and what fruits and other useful things they have, taking the latitude of everything and finding out everything. For this purpose there is available a very good pilot and cosmographer.[45] As this business seems so important, I beg Your Majesty not to be displeased that it has been done without having consulted you, since, although some necessary soldiers are going who carry provisions for six or eight months, it will not all told cost I believe more than eight or ten thousand pesos. Besides what has been said, this voyage may have another result, namely that by this way and at less cost than by land it will be possible to communicate with and serve New Mexico while being settled, as, according to the account of Antonio de Espejo which I sent to Your Majesty in the *Flota,* it is understood to be very near the coast. All together, it is calculated to save souls with greater facility, which is the principal object of Your Majesty. Your Majesty will be duly advised of what may be done and what happens.[46]

Three objects are set forth in this letter, one an exploration of the coast for the purpose of finding a port in which to relieve the ships, another a chance discovery of the Strait of Anian, and lastly the possibility of effecting a communication from the coast with the discoveries of Espejo.[47] In the second of these we see the idea of Isla revived, but the Viceroy put little stress on this, speaking of it as purely incidental. Espejo had advanced somewhat far to the west, but had not reached within a long distance of the Pacific. Francisco Dominguez had already made a map of these discoveries, and one would think that he should have had sufficient data to be able to make one that was not misleading.[48] It may be noted that nothing more was said about the particular part of New Spain which the returning galleons first sighted, than that it was about 700 leagues before reaching Acapulco. No evidence has yet been discovered by the writer that up to 1584 any such ship had seen the coast above 36°. It is frequently asserted that these ships were accustomed to travel along

about the fortieth parallel until the coast of California was sighted. This, however, they seldom did even in later years, nor was there any reason for taking such a course. The first land sighted was usually the Isla de Cenizas, now known as San Martin, or the Isla de Cedros. What the ships actually did was to sail northeast from the islands until they reached a latitude seldom above 36°, and then take an east course until they encountered signs of land, where they usually also found a northwest wind which as a rule carried them to Acapulco in a short time. It would therefore seem that Cabrillo's Puerto de San Miguel (San Diego) was in a very appropriate situation, but either his narrative had been forgotten[49] or it was considered that a course from the islands reaching farther north would in the end require less time for the voyages.[50]

Moya at once gave orders to build his two small vessels, but only a few days elapsed after writing this letter until Francisco Gali, who had reached Acapulco from Macao December 17 in the *San Juan,* came to Mexico City. He undoubtedly at once presented the diary of his voyage and the map upon which he had marked down his position day by day. That diary is not at present to be found in the archives in Spain, although it may be considered certain that the Viceroy sent a copy of it there. It turned up later, however, in a strange place, and whether it had been captured by the Dutch, who at this time were especially active in their attacks on Spanish vessels, or obtained in Goa, can only be surmised. It was printed in a Dutch translation in 1595 in Amsterdam in Jan Huyghen Van Linschoten's *Itinerario.* As this was the first account of the return voyage published, except the brief one in the Barcelona pamphlet of 1566, translated in Appendix VI, and, aside from that, the only one in print for a long time, it has achieved a degree of notoriety out of all proportion to its importance. Gali was a soldier, a prudent man, an excellent pilot and a noted cosmographer, and had served the Spanish King all his life.[51] When he became connected with the Philippine navigation is not known; he may have piloted Ronquillo from Panama to Manila in 1580, or he may have gone out to Manila from Acapulco before 1582. His first appearance is in his own narrative, in which he states that he sailed from Acapulco for Manila March 10, 1582.[52] He gives quite an extensive account of his voyage, especially of that through the islands.

In the following year at the end of June[53] the *San Juan Bautista* left Manila with the dispatches destined for New Spain. For some reason she took a different route from the customary one, and sailed to the north, but one can hardly avoid the suspicion that it was intended to go to Macao, as it seems that there were some Spaniards on board the vessel who had come from Peru and desired to return there, taking a cargo of goods to be sold in that country. At any rate, she reached Macao with the excuse that a contrary wind had been encountered shortly after leaving Manila. The authorities in Manila, having been informed of what was going on, sent the *factor,* Juan Bautista Roman,

from Manila in March with Francisco Gali and Alonzo Gomez as pilot in a small vessel which reached Macao May 1, 1584. Roman demanded the surrender of the ship from the Portuguese authorities, but met with difficulties, as most of the Portuguese merchants there were interested in the proposed enterprise to Peru, and had already loaded on the ship a quantity of their goods. Roman finally secured the vessel, took her outside the port, executed the master and pilot, and then dispatched her for Acapulco under the command of Gali.[54] None of these facts is mentioned in his narrative by Gali, who gives the impression that he had been in command of the vessel since he left Acapulco. The following account of the voyage to Acapulco from Macao is reprinted from the translation of the document in the Portuguese archives as published by E. W. Dahlgren.[55]

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"I sailed from Macao July 29,[56] 1584, and when I had got outside the harbour, I steered towards SE. by E.[57] in order to pass the White Island [Piedra Branca]. After I had passed this island, I steered SE. for 150 leagues in order to double the Pescadores Banks and the beginning of Loo-Choo,[58] which is called Formosa, and I did this in accordance with the advice and instruction of a pilot[59] from Chincheo [Chang-Chow]. These islands lie in about 22°[60] and the depth is 30 fathoms; and although I did not see the islands, I determined from the altitude of the sun and the soundings that I had doubled them.

"After passing the island of Formosa I sailed E. by N.,[61] and in this direction I sailed 260 leagues. The pilot from Chincheo told me that these islands [Loo-Choo] are innumerable and that they have many good harbours; they are inhabited by people who have painted faces and bodies like the Bisayas people in the Philippines; they are dressed in the same way as those; and on the islands there is gold, and the natives travel to China and Japan in small vessels laden with gilded leather and gold-dust. He said that he knew this because he had been there nine times; which I believe because I had found him trustworthy in everything that he had told me. The easternmost and northernmost of these islands is situated in 29°.

"Beyond the Lequios Islands are situated the Japanese Islands which are 135[62] leagues in length and the most easterly is situated at 32 degrees. In order to pass these islands I steered E. by N.[63] the mentioned 135[64] leagues, and, according to the information which the man from Chincheo gave, I should find after having travelled 700 leagues from here four islands not far from one another,[65] which he said he knew because he had seen in Japan some small, broad-shouldered men with big hair-rolls on their heads; the articles they brought with them to be sold were gold in powder and cotton stuff and salted fish like tunny; and they said that they came from some islands situated to the east of Japan. From his account I understood that they were situated in a certain rhumb; he called them Armenicão,[66] and I found them not far from the

place which the Chinese pilot had indicated.[67] He also assured me that in all the Japanese islands there are good harbours, and that the country is very rich in all sorts of commodities, that the people are very intelligent, and that they have a great deal of silver, which they take out of the great mines that are to be found there.

"After sailing in the said direction E. by N.,[68] and having covered 300 leagues eastward from Japan, I came across a heavy swell, which came from N. and NW., an extensive open ocean, which however did not stop our progress and which did not become calm or go down, whatever wind was blowing; and I found the same to be the case always until I had sailed more than 700 leagues. When I found myself at a distance of 200 leagues from the coast of New Spain, this sea ceased, which seemed to me to be a sign that it was the strait that goes between the mainland of New Spain and Asia Minor and Tartary.[69] During these 700 leagues I also saw a great number of whales, tunny, mackerel, and bonites, fishes which usually haunt straits and currents, where they spawn; from which I concluded that it was a strait.[70]

"When I steered so as to approach the coast of New Spain, I sighted it in 37½°.[71] It is a high land, covered with trees and without snow. At a distance of 4 leagues from land I found great bunches of roots and leaves and canes and a number of seals, which made me believe that there must be many rivers and good harbours on the whole of this coast as far as the Port of Acapulco.

"From here I steered SE. by S. and SE. by E.,[72] according as I found the wind, as far as Cape San Lucas, which lies at the mouth of the Gulf of California,[73] in 22° lat. and 50[74] [500 ?] leagues from Cape Mendocino. On this stretch of 500 leagues along the coast there are many islands, which, though small, would seem to possess many good harbours. They are the following: Ilha de Santo Agostino in 30¾ degrees, Ilha de Cedros in 28¼ degrees, the island and banks of San Martin in 23 degrees,[75] and all these lands are inhabited, and in my opinion good, as I saw fire by night and smoke by day.

"From Cape San Lucas to the opposite side south-east-wards from California I steered 80 leagues SE.[76] to Cape Corrientes, which lies in 19¾ degrees;[77] and on this part of the way I saw in the north, at a distance of one league, three islands which are called Las Tres Marias, situated in the same direction, 4 leagues from one another, and each of them was 2½ leagues [long?] Here I found a strong current towards the south-east[78] throughout the whole distance of 80 leagues from California.

"From Cape Corrientes I steered SE. by E.[79] 130 leagues to Acapulco; and after I had sailed 20 leagues in this direction I found myself in Porto de Navidad, and after another 8 leagues in Porto de Santiago, and finally after 6 leagues in Praya de Colima. And the whole of this coast as far as the harbour is inhabited by peaceful folk."

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Gali brought with him three Portuguese, a Chinese Christian, and some goods from Macao, on which the Viceroy remitted the duties. After the Viceroy had consulted him regarding his discovery scheme, he wrote the King as follows, May 8, 1585:

I discussed this discovery with him, as he is a man skilled in cosmography and the art of navigation. He was of the opinion that better results would be obtained by making the voyage from the Philippine Islands, reconnoitering the Lequios, others near by, and the Japanese Islands, and going from there up to the highest latitude possible so as to be able to reconnoiter the coast of New Spain down to the Puerto de Acapulco with greater extension and latitude. This Your Majesty will see by the instructions given him, as I selected him as the individual most qualified and accredited there is here, and who in this matter can compete with the most chosen ones in Spain. So I am confident that it will turn out to be of service to Your Majesty, and to the great benefit of this great new world and its commerce, as it is understood that this discovery will not cost as much as 15,000 pesos. The ship and the two launches which have to be made in the Isla de Mindoro will be worth almost as much and can be useful on other occasions. In order that this discovery may be more completely made, and that Your Majesty may secure the results which are expected of the labors of Jayme Juan,[80] I persuaded him to go in company with Francisco Gali and so he has gone.[81]

In this letter it will be noticed that Moya speaks in high terms of Gali, and evidently accepted the latter's opinion about the islands to the east of Japan. In both his letters, he makes it plain that he is not acting on any instructions from the home government, and, indeed, that government disapproved the practice of spending money without authorization. Opposite the statement in his letter of January 22, apologizing for having taken the action without having consulted the King, there is a notation by the secretary of the Council of the Indies to advise the Viceroy that in the future he must go to no expense without having given previous account to His Majesty, unless the case should be so important that there would be danger in delay.

Among other persons consulted by the Viceroy in regard to this scheme were no doubt some of the passengers on the *San Martin,* and Fr. Andrés de Aguirre, who had just returned from Spain. The Islas "Armenicão," referred to by Gali, figured largely for some time in Spanish exploration in the north Pacific, and we now learn from Fr. Andrés what seems to have been their origin.[82] As his memorandum also possesses other points of interest, it is herewith translated in full. He addressed the Viceroy as follows:

Illustrious Sir: May the Holy Spirit ever dwell in the soul of Your Illustrious Lordship. The discovery that your Lordship orders to be made in order to understand the disposition of the coast, ports, and the qualities of the land and its people, that up to this time have been seen to the west of New Spain in the South Sea, as well as to continue the exploration of that coast and land from 41°[83] forward, is very important and necessary for the return of the ships from the Philippine Islands and all parts of the west, and to find out and know the disposition and quality of the land and its people and of the islands near that coast which are understood to be of great importance. Although the ships which come from the west each year to Acapulco sight that coast and travel more than 500 leagues[84] in sight of it, it is not known up to this time what ports or places of shelter it has. It is very essential to know this so that the ships which come in need of a place to repair, after having sailed 2,000 leagues without stopping in any port, can stop for repair and the provision of their necessities. It is of no lesser importance to pursue the exploration of that coast beyond 41° in order to find out its secrets, because it is considered certain that it is continental with the coast of China, unless a narrow strait they call "Anian" divides them,

which according to the notices, is in lat. 52°, the farthest discovery of the coast of China.[85] In that region and in that which lies between the Islands of Japan and the farthest discovery on our coast there are very rich islands, thickly populated with a civilized people, according to Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta who had a report from a Portuguese captain.

I saw and read this report while he and I were going to Spain to give an account to His Majesty of the success of the first journey that we made by his order, in which the Philippine Islands were discovered and settled, and the navigation to them and the return from them to New Spain was revealed. The father gave this story to His Majesty and I took a copy of it and kept it until leaving Spain in this *Flota,* the ship in which I came was lost and in it was lost the report and all it carried, and what His Majesty had granted and given me. That which the notice contained, in brief, is the following:

A Portuguese ship sailed from Malacca bound for the Japan Islands and loaded in Canton Chinese merchandise. Arriving in sight of Japan a west storm arose, so strong that the ship could not make those islands. She ran eight days before it with little sail without seeing land, the weather being very dark. The ninth day it cleared up and they caught sight of two large islands. They anchored in a good port at one of these, in which there was a large city inclosed by a strong stone wall. There were many large and medium-sized ships in the port. Soon after they arrived in port many well-dressed and well-mannered people went to the ship, displaying much friendliness to those on board. Learning that they were merchants, the lord of that island and city sent word to the captain that he and those of his people whom he wished might land without any misgiving that he might affront them; he even offered a good reception and told him he might bring a list of the goods he had in his ship as they would barter and trade to his satisfaction. The captain communicated this to his people and determined to send the clerk of the ship to the city with the list of the goods, and two traders, one a Portuguese and the other an Armenian who lived in Malacca. The lord of the land received them in his home, which was large and well built, and treated them with much liberality. Understanding by signs that the land was abundant and rich in silver and other things such as silk and cloth, the clerk and the Portuguese trader returned to the ship in order to bring the goods to a house they gave him for that purpose. The Armenian remained with the lord of the island, being treated with much hospitality, until the goods having been landed, and a great number of people coming with a great quantity of silver to barter, in a little more than thirty days they sold all their goods, making a great and rich profit, so that they all became very rich and loaded their ship with silver. While they were in the islands they learned that the lord of the island was lord of the other one which was in sight four leagues away, and of others near them, all rich in silver and thickly populated. The people were white, well built, well mannered, and well dressed in silk and fine cotton clothes, and were affectionate and affable. The language is different from that of the Chinese and Japanese and easy to learn because in less than the forty days that the Portuguese were on that island they understood the natives. These islands abound in good food, rice which is the bread they use, fowls like ours in great plenty, tame ducks and many pigs, goats, buffaloes, deer and wild boars, various kinds of birds and fowls, various kinds of good fish, and a great abundance of fruit of different kinds. The climate of the island is very good and healthful. These islands are in 35° to 40°. The longitude from Japan to them could not be learned because of their having run before the storm and on account of the weather being dark, but they sailed from Japan to the east.[86] Having finished their barter they returned to Malacca, giving them the name "Islas de Armenio" on account of the Armenian trader who was very highly regarded among the people of the ship.[87]

The Viceroy adopted Gali's suggestion, abandoned the construction of the two ships, and gave him the *San Juan Bautista* in which he had come, which drew little water and was said to be a good ship. He also gave him 10,000 pesos with which to fit her out in the islands, or else to buy a new one if she was unfit for the voyage.[88] No copy of the instructions given him has been found, but no doubt they were similar to those Enriquez had given to Juan de la Isla. It afterwards transpired that he was strictly enjoined not to go to Macao. Alonso Gomez, who had come with him as pilot, returned with him. In company with the *San Martin,* and carrying between them some 200 soldiers, some with their families, the *San Juan* set sail from Acapulco March 25. Gali probably

arrived in Manila before June 20, as on that day Santiago de Vera, the governor, wrote the Viceroy acknowledging the receipt of the order regarding him, and stating that he would comply although the *San Juan* was not serviceable; he would, however, see what the carpenters could do with her, and in any case would look for another vessel. Before the next summer, Gali was dead and Pedro de Unamuno, who had been nominated to succeed him in such an event, took charge of the exploration.[89]

CHAPTER VIII

THE VOYAGE OF PEDRO DE UNAMUNO

When Gali and the *San Juan* reached Manila an examination of the ship and of the *Santa Maria de Jesus,* which at that time happened to be there, showed that neither was in condition to make the voyage, so Santiago de Vera, the governor, ordered another to be built suitable for the purpose. Gali having died, and Pedro de Unamuno[1] having been appointed to succeed him, a rumor got abroad in Manila that he intended to go to Macao with some money he had, contrary to the secret instruction which Moya had given to Gali. The Audencia opened an investigation, and in view of this ordered him not to go there under penalty of death. The *fiscal* appealed from the decision, alleging that the instructions from Moya did not oblige Unamuno to go directly to New Spain, but the Audiencia confirmed its previous decision. All these proceedings involved delay, so it was not probably till the summer or fall of 1586 that Unamuno finally set sail with a ship and a *fragata.*[2]

Although the Portuguese in Macao had now closed the port to the Spaniards, a fact of which Unamuno could hardly have been ignorant, yet he soon turned up there, claiming to have been forced to do so by bad weather and a lack of supplies. It appears more probable, however, that he had gone either to buy goods at first hand, or to carry out some secret agreement with Portuguese merchants in Macao who were anxious to get their goods into New Spain. When he arrived, some one on board the ship advised the authorities that he had come contrary to his instructions, so they seized his ships and put him and his officers in prison. While their trial was in progress a new commandant, Jeronimo Pereyra, came from India and believing Unamuno's story, or pretending to do so, put some new judges in charge of the case, who liberated Unamuno and freed his ship, giving him permission to proceed freely on his journey.

Pereyra sent a ship to Manila to advise the authorities, as an act of courtesy, that Unamuno was preparing to leave May 10,[3] whereupon the governor sent Juan de Argumedo to Macao with a demand that the vessels be turned over to him. With this order Pereyra complied, and Argumedo took them to another island in the river, where he is said to have loaded them with goods, and then returned to Manila. In this predicament, without a ship, Unamuno was able in some way to purchase a small *fragata.* Whether he had the necessary funds himself, or obtained them from Portuguese merchants in Macao, or from Fr. Martin Ignacio de Loyola, is uncertain, but considering the anxiety of Father Martin to return to Spain, it is probable that he provided them in whole or part.[4]

Father Martin was a nephew of the great Ignacio de Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit Order, but was himself a Franciscan. He had previously made a voyage around the world, going out by way of Mexico to the Philippines in 1581 and

1582, and to China in June, 1582, returning by way of the Cape of Good Hope.[5] After visiting Rome, the King had sent him back with some companions by way of Portugal and the Cape of Good Hope, as commissary of the Franciscans in China. According to Pereyra, he had brought Father Martin from Goa to Macao, very likely in the latter part of 1586. Father Martin said that he was well received by the Chinese in Canton, who after he had learned some of the language gave him a license to reside in that city.[6] Although the Portuguese in the Indies had sworn fealty to King Philip some years before, there was much rivalry and bad feeling between them and the Spaniards in the Far East, which extended even to the religious orders. In the preceding ten years, the Spanish Augustinians and Franciscans in the Philippines had made several efforts to get a foothold in China, but had always encountered the opposition of the Portuguese religious orders and especially of the Jesuits, who considered the Chinese province to be peculiarly theirs. According to Father Martin, when the Portuguese found out that he had received a license to remain in the country, they made it so uncomfortable for him that he finally concluded that it would be better for him to return to Spain to make a report to the King of the situation, and to receive further orders. The fact was, however, that the viceroy of India had notified the Augustinians and Franciscans in Macao that he had received an order from the King that no religious persons could enter China or Japan except the Jesuits,[7] and it was for that reason that Father Martin returned to New Spain, taking with him Francisco Noguera and another Portuguese Franciscan who were then in Macao. He was so disgusted at the bad treatment he had received from his fellow Portuguese Franciscans on his voyage out to Macao that he was anxious to get away. To embark on such a long and perilous voyage in such a small vessel certainly evinced some grim determination. A *fragata* was a small single-decked three masted vessel sometimes provided with oars which could be used in case of necessity; they were usually of about twenty to thirty tons burden, but it is likely that Unamuno's was larger. He himself said that to come in such a bark, having to pass such a great ocean, seemed like temerity, but that he never took his life into account in anything that touched the service of his God and the King. He took with him beside the two Portuguese Franciscans a young Japanese boy, who, he said, had a story to tell the King.

Nothing appears to be known of Unamuno, a translation of whose account of his voyage follows. From the fact that he had been nominated to succeed Gali in the event of the latter's death, it might appear that he had accompanied him to the Islands from Acapulco, as Moya y Contreras would hardly have appointed anyone to command such an important undertaking unless personally known to him. For the same reason it does not seem likely that there was any truth in the accusations forwarded to Manila from Macao that he intended to run away to France with the two ships and their goods, or turn corsair.[8] It seems that the ship he took from Manila was armed and a fear was expressed in Manila that he might lie in wait for the galleon which was to leave for New Spain in that year,

and rob her. When he finally set sail he was accompanied only by Father Martin and his companions, Alonso Gomez,[9] his pilot, and a few soldiers and natives of Luzon, whom presumably he had brought from Manila. A translation of his account of the voyage follows, a facsimile of the original being inserted in the Appendix.

Translation

First, I cleared from the Isla Macarera[10] Sunday, July 12, [1587] at about midday, and sailed twelve leagues east-southeast, finding myself at about eleven o'clock at night far forward of the Isla de Leme, the farthermost of the Macan group, in full 22½°.

From Leme we stood away for the Babuyanes, steering east a quarter southeast, and after we had sailed ninety-six leagues on this course, Thursday, July 16, about midday we sighted the Islas Babuyanes, and took the sun. They are in scant 20½°.[11] We came in sight of them, sailing on this course, because the compass varied a quarter to the northeast. We corrected it according to its variation.

From the Babuyanes we stood away for an island, shown on some sea charts, called Rica de Oro, 450 leagues distant from them and in lat. 29° to full 31°, on an east-northeast course, and steering for the island, with varying winds, I sailed twelve days on various courses. On July 28 I came in sight of two small islands, each about three leagues in circumference, and separated from each other about a league and a half. They lie north-south a quarter northwest, east-southeast, in latitude 25½°, where we observed the sun that day. We circumnavigated the islands, examining them, and saw no harbor, trees nor signs of water; rather, from what we could see of them, we judged them to be of no value for any purpose, so we named them "Sin Provecho."[12]

From these islands we stood away that same night for the Isla de Oro, (which in the preceding paragraph has been stated to be 330 leagues from these islands)[13] on an east-west a quarter northeast-southwest course. Its southern part is in 29° and its northern in scant 32½°,[14] according to its position shown on some charts. We found ourselves in this latitude Wednesday, August 19, and searched for the island from east to west and in every other requisite direction. As we did everything possible and could not find it, it may be concluded that it does not exist.

From this latitude of 31°, we stood away on an east-northeast course for another island, shown on some charts, named Rica de Plata, sixty leagues distant from the one named Rica de Oro and its latitude. We steered east-northeast, in accordance with its position and direction as shown on the charts, which is lat. 33° to 34° from its southern to its northern part. Here we found ourselves on Saturday, August 22, and although we searched from east to west, making every possible effort, we could not find the island. Doubtless it does not exist, but somebody on hearsay ordered it drawn on his chart.

Sunday, August 23, at nightfall, we stood away for the islands called

Armenio, which, as shown on some charts, is twenty leagues from the above-mentioned Rica de Plata, in a northeast direction in lat. 34° and 35° 20′.[15] Here we found ourselves Wednesday, August 26, and carefully endeavored in every possible way to sight the island. It could not be found, and is believed not to exist.

From the latitude of this Isla de Armenio according to those who say it exists, that is, 35° 20′, we stood away east a quarter northeast and east-northeast for the country of New Spain, to make land in as high a latitude as we could and the weather might permit, in order to make from our landfall as extensive an exploration as possible. Keeping on these courses, on Monday, the last of August, we observed the sun in lat. 37° 12′. When we had sailed 140 leagues on these courses, our mainmast broke in two, as well as the foremast and bowsprit. After we had repaired them as best we could, in order to be able to navigate, we continued on these courses and went up to lat. 39° On Thursday, September 3, an east-northeast wind struck us, so we could not go farther north. The weather would not permit it, the masts were sprung, the vessel was small, and those aboard had little protection, not having come as well prepared to resist the cold and wet as was advisable. Therefore we dropped down to lat. 32½°, where we were on Wednesday, September 30. From this latitude, which we observed that day, we endeavored to go farther north, but because the winds were not favorable, it was hard work to gain any latitude.

Sailing on various courses on account of contrary winds, we managed with difficulty to make latitude full 35½°, where we were on Saturday, October 17, 1587, and that day land was sighted. As it was not clear, the land being covered with a thick mist, we were not quite certain that it was land which had appeared. That night, during the first watch, sailing east slightly northeast with a south-southeast wind, we came upon two very small islands near the mainland, about half a league to sea. We came so close to them (within an harquebus-shot) that had we not been keeping a good watch on account of the fog, we would have been lost.[16] We stood out to sea until the morning watch.

Sunday, October 18, on the morning watch, we put in toward land and as day dawned we discerned a high land to the south,[17], with some three pine trees on the highest part which serve as a landmark.[18] At the north [of this land] we saw the smoke of numerous fires at the foot of the hill in some pine woods near the sea. To the north of this a point of land extended about northwest-southeast, and within this point there was a large bay toward the east, which seemed to have harbors in it. We consulted those on board, especially Father Fr. Martin Ignacio de Loyola, commissary to China, and found that all were of the opinion that we should put into the bay and see what was there, since it was for this purpose that we came. We therefore stood in for the bay. On reaching it we saw to the east a long sandy beach middling wide, for which we steered, and there the vessel anchored in twenty-seven fathoms, bottom of fine sand mixed with mud. There is much thick grass around and near the ship,

growing out of more than fifteen fathoms of water. These plants are thick and have great leaves and stems, and are the same which sailors say they have seen a hundred leagues at sea floating like great rafts.[19] It is this grass, which grows along all this coast to beyond Isla de Zedros, in latitude full 28½°. It does not grow in rivers, as some have declared, but along the coast, as just stated. In this port there is an unlimited quantity of fish of different kinds, trees suitable for masts, water, firewood, and abundant shell-fish with all of which a ship in need could supply itself.

As just stated, we anchored in this port October 18, the day of San Lucas, and we therefore named it Puerto de San Lucas. While thus anchored, about two harquebus-shots off the beach, we observed the sun between eleven and twelve o'clock noon, and found the port to be in full 35½°.[20] After a little while we saw two Indians on land, on a slope at the base of a hill, whence they looked us over at their pleasure.

On seeing these Indians, a council was held of those on board and, all being assembled, it was considered what should be done, and whether some soldiers should land and explore the neighborhood of the harbor. All were agreed that the Captain with twelve soldiers and some Indians, armed with swords and shields, should land and look the ground over and make a reconnaissance of the vicinity of the port. Having left orders aboardship as to what was to be done, and having elected *alcaldes* and *regidores,* that there might be some one to take possession of the port and whatever else might be discovered, I landed with twelve soldiers with their coats of mail and harquebuses, Fr. Martin Ignacio in advance carrying a cross in his hands, and with some Luzon Indians with their swords and shields.[21]

When we had landed in the harbor, a consultation was held as to what direction should be taken, whether toward the place where the Indians had been seen shortly before, or toward the pine woods where some fires had been seen that morning,[22] as there were many trails leading in different directions. We decided to go towards the place where the two Indians had been seen, because the trail that way seemed to be the most trodden, and so we began our march in that direction. Having reached the top of the hill toward the east-northeast, we saw a good-sized river in a plain below,[23] and many beaten trails leading in every direction, but saw no sign of the Indians we had previously seen on the slope. Considering the diversity of the trails leading in every direction, it was agreed to follow one of them, which led southeast toward a high hill from whence what lay about could be seen. With Father Martin leading, his cross in his hand, we set off towards it, two of our Indians ahead as scouts. When we had marched a quarter of a league the Indians discovered people, and having reported that they had seen five persons, went after them. At the same time we hastened our pace in order to speak with them, and meanwhile decided to send Diego Vazquez Mexia, the sergeant, and another soldier with the two Indians to entertain them with pleasant words and show them peace and good

will, if they could overtake them. The sergeant went ahead with the scouts after the five persons and although he made every effort they could not be overtaken, for they were high up on the hill. They were naked and fleet, and although the rest of the party advanced at a good gait, they had time to get into a pine wood by way of another high hill. We found two bundles like baskets wrapped up in two deerskins on a steep slope along the trail to the hill. We found nothing in them but two deerskins, little pelts, like rabbit skins, cut and fashioned like a chain, and a few flowers like wild marjoram, which must serve them for food or drink, as no other seed was found. There were two women among the five persons they had seen, according to the report of the Indian scouts, for they carried two children on their backs. We took one of the two deerskins, leaving in its place two handkerchiefs with their other plunder. Our men were not allowed to take anything of theirs. This done, we went up to the top of the hill, where we halted and looked about to see what could be seen.

Viewing what lay around, we saw nearby another higher hill about three harquebus-shots away.[24] I ordered Joanes de Arrajeta and Cristobal Infanson to go with their swords and shields and two Indians and climb the hill, which was on our right hand, and from there to look about to see if there were any settlements or other indications of people, and to find out if there were any minerals in the hill. They went and looked in every direction as far as they could see, and prospected the hill for minerals. They then came down to where the rest of us were and reported that they could see no settlements, people, nor smoke, nor had they been able to find any mineral in the hill, but that there were many trails, among which was one that seemed to be the most trodden leading up river in an easterly direction.

The party having rested, we descended the hill toward the river, and coming to the bank tried the water which we found very good, as it came down between sandy banks. From there we went up a small hill towards the north, where the river formed a great lake.[25] So near was the sea that there seemed to be a bar and a harbor there, but when we reached the place it was seen to be the dammed-up water of the river, the outlet to the sea being blocked by a great quantity of sand. Nevertheless, there must be some discharge under the sand, otherwise the river water would soon cut away the sand. As it was already late, we returned toward the ship and when we came near, we found on and about a little hill a great quantity of very large pearl-oyster shells[26] and others of numerous shell-fish.

When we reached this hill, as it seemed to be a suitable place to take possession in His Majesty's name of the port and the country, seeing that I and the rest of the party had landed and traversed the country round about and the port quietly and pacifically, as in territory belonging to his domain, I did so in the name of King Philip, our master, in due legal form, through Diego Vasquez Mexia (one of the *alcaldes* elected for this purpose) in his capacity of *Justicia,* setting up a cross as a sign of the Christian faith and of the possession taken in His Majesty's name of the port and the country, cutting branches from the

trees which grew thereabouts,[27] and performing the other customary ceremonies. We then went aboard the vessel.

Having had supper, we consulted about what, with God's grace, we should do the next day, and whether we should go inland some distance to see if we could find any settlements or minerals, or signs thereof, seeing that there were so many trails leading in different directions. Having discussed together what it would be advantageous to do, Fr. Martin Ignacio and the other friars being present, and all agreeing, it was resolved that, whereas we had set out to make as thorough an exploration as possible and the season would permit, and whereas to-day, Sunday, October 18, the day of San Lucas, we had discovered this port, landed and taken possession of the country in His Majesty's name, and whereas there were so many well-beaten trails leading in different directions, it was advisable for the Captain with twelve soldiers, a friar and some Indians with their swords and shields, to go inland at dawn for four or five leagues by the best trodden trail (the one which led up the river eastward), and further, that it was advisable to see what the country promised, in order to report fully what there might be to His Majesty and to His Excellency, the viceroy of New Spain, by whom we, in his stead, had been sent upon this undertaking in His Majesty's name. The opinions of all having been taken, it was forthwith ordered to make all the necessary preparations so as to set out at any time after midnight.

Monday, the 19th, about two hours before dawn,[28] I set out on the expedition, with Fr. Francisco de Noguera,[29] and twelve soldiers and eight Luzon Indians with their swords and shields. At that hour I landed, having left orders on board as to what was to be done that day. We proceeded towards the river, and the order of march having been there arranged, and two Indians sent ahead as scouts, we followed the trail leading eastward which the day previous had seemed to us the most beaten.[30] Advancing as noiselessly as possible, when day dawned we had journeyed two leagues without having seen or heard anything of settlement, smoke, or person. We then drew aside towards the slope of a hill under some oaks and live-oaks[31] and other trees which were on a knoll nearby, and lying there in ambush, we watched all that valley as far as we could see until an hour after sunrise. We could not see any settlement or any people, but we did see two smokes up the river in some thick groves of black oaks, live-oaks, willows, and other high trees which are somewhat thick, resembling ash trees.[32] We proceeded thither as secretly as possible, the two Indians in advance as scouts, and when we reached the place where the smoke was we found that it was caused by the burning of two great black oaks. They were about an harquebus-shot apart, and seemed to have been burning about a month.

From here we set out up river towards the east, following the best beaten trail, and found many footprints of large, medium-sized and small persons, passing both up and down stream, all the sands of the stream being full of

them. The bed is of coarse sand, below which the water flows; almost everywhere one can cross dry-shod, the water flowing below except in places where it comes up like springs and forms pools of water.[33] The whole length of the river, from one end to the other, is very much shaded by willows and good-sized osiers, and other tall trees which resemble ash trees; there are many fragrant herbs, such as camomile, pennyroyal, and thyme. After marching about two leagues, sometimes along the bed of the river and sometimes outside of it, without seeing a settlement or people, except the trail, we came upon an old Indian camp northeast of the river, in which there were seventeen large and small dugouts, like Biscay charcoal pits, that is, a large round hole in the ground very well covered over with branches of trees. Judging from the size of the dug-outs, each could hold more than a dozen persons. They seemed to have been made about a month and a half before. Nothing was found in them excepting some poles, which seemed to be of elder, out of which they fashioned their javelins which have oak points hardened by fire. A little apart from the river in the other direction a hut was found among some trees, big enough for about two persons, built of sticks and covered with earth, and having only one small opening. Inside were dried grass and leaves. We supposed that this was for their chief. From these huts we marched half a league up the river, always following the trail, and then halted beside it on the southeast side in the shade of some willows. Here the men ate and rested and on account of the great heat we remained here until about three o'clock in the afternoon.

After the party had eaten and rested, it was resolved to continue up the river about a league towards a great gap which showed to the east[34] in order to see if we could discover in that opening any settlement, and that after having gone that distance, which it appeared would take us to the foot of a high hill, we should turn back towards the ship and spend the night in some convenient spot in order to return to her in the morning. We therefore marched towards the gap, and having shortly arrived at the foot of the high hill, we looked over the country as far as we could see from among some live-oak trees. We could discover nothing more than that the trail led on eastward, for we could clearly see it continuing on along the skirts of some hills to end, together with many others, in some high hills to the east. Finding that from the foot of the hill nothing could be seen, I ordered three soldiers and three Indians with their swords and shields to climb to the top of it and from there to look in every direction to see if they could see any settlement, people or fires, and also to ascertain whether there were any minerals in it. After a short time they came back to us and reported that they had not been able to discover any settlement, smoke or people, nor did the hill apparently have any minerals in it, but that they could see that the river continued eastward among some hills, and the trail and many others led eastward over the slopes of some hills.[35] Seeing that we could discover no settlements nor people, that the men were somewhat tired and that we had supplies for no more than that night, we marched towards the ship, realizing that

it would not be wise to advance farther into unknown territory with so few men, without supplies, and that it would be best to return towards the ship. This was the most advisable course in the opinion of all. Having marched about two leagues, we camped an hour before nightfall under three great black oak trees which were alongside the river at a good distance from the trail, and rested there that night with sentries posted in good order.

The next day, Tuesday, October 20, we proceeded down the river in broad daylight, not doing so at dawn lest the Indians, having seen us by chance, and spying at night, might have laid some ambush. Having marched down about a league and a half, we came upon a camp on both sides of the river, where there were more than thirty dug-outs like those found the day before.[36] Nothing was found in these but some little cord bags made like nets, in which there were some rope ends, very well made out of the bark of trees, some old baskets in which they carry their plunder, and a trough made out of a tree trunk, in which we inferred they grind roots or the bark of trees for some drink or food, as, except for a little seed like the flower of wild marjoram such as we found the first day, we did not see a sign of any seed. We also found some poles like those seen in the other dug-outs the day before. Having searched all around over an area in radius of a couple of harquebus-shots and found no sign other than those above described, we continued on our way, sometimes down the river and sometimes away from it. After we had marched about two leagues and crossed to the west side of the river, we halted at about ten o'clock in the forenoon, being then about a half a league distant from the ship, in order to allow the men to rest.[37] Half an hour having passed, we began our march towards the ship and after going about a quarter of a league halted to rest on a hill, as we were near her.[38] After the men had rested, we went on so as to come within sight of the ship. Marching in our order, when the vanguard was in sight of the ship, all the party being in view of each other, and we were descending the hill towards the beach, where we found the ship's boat and Joanes de Uranzu, on looking back towards the rear guard before those in advance had halted, we saw two Indians come running down a pine clad hill towards the other part of the hill where they were coming up to sight the ship. We turned at once to support them but before we could come to their relief some of them were wounded. We fired on the Indians with our harquebuses when we reached them, and made them retreat to the top of the hill.

At this moment, Juan de Aranguren and Juan de Mendoza came up with many arrow and javelin wounds, and immediately after them, Cristobal Ynfanzon with many arrow wounds. They would have been killed except for timely support. As Felipe de Contreras, who was also in the rear guard, had taken off his coat of mail, he was wounded by a javelin which passed entirely through his breast, so that he could not retreat. From this and other wounds, which he received on account of being disarmed, he died immediately, according to the report made by others of his company. With him they killed one of our

Indians with a javelin which he failed to ward off with his shield. As many Indians were again descending the hill, an order was given to look to the wounded and for the rest to close ranks. In view of their great number, and seeing that they continued to come down the hill, we endeavored to reach the beach in our order, as that was the best point from which to defend ourselves. Those who had been aboard ship and had landed to support us, together with those who were on land, joined forces in good order, and we had a fight and skirmish with the Indians in which some of them were killed and many wounded, only one of our men being wounded. They now retreated and separated into three bands, and we withdrew to our post, where it was decided that it would be well to be provided with a raft. In this we might all embark together, as, the ship's boat being too small to take us on board except in many trips, we would find ourselves hard pushed and unable to retire if they returned. The raft was made and shortly brought to land to where the ship's boat was. During this time the enemy attacked us on three fronts but withdrew with loss without wounding any of our men. It was about five in the afternoon when the enemy retired toward the hill where they had wounded our men, and set out sentries. Seeing that it was now late and the enemy had retired, we embarked on the raft and the ship's boat.

Monday, October 19, while I and the other soldiers were inland, Fr. Martin Ignacio de Loyola, Fr. Rufino,[39] Alonso Gomez the pilot, Demitre Cardia,[40] Miguel Sanchez, and others who had remained on board ship went ashore. They reported what had happened to them in the harbor with respect to the Indians. After we had left that morning, they landed to see if there was any settlement or people towards the southwest of the port where the night before a great fire had been seen which lasted almost all night, and also to get some wood and water.[41] While Father Martin, Alonso Gomez, Joanes de Uranzu, and others went in the direction where the fire had been seen to find out what it was,[42] Gerónimo de Vallejeda, the barber, remained at the river with some Indians, in order to wash, and fetch water and firewood. Twenty-three Indians came down from the pine clad hill, and three came half-way down the hill to see what our men were doing. Two came to the river to talk with Vallejeda, who carried only his sword. After some words had passed among those up the hill, he saw that matters were coming to a bad pass, but merely endeavored to get away from them with fair words, making a gesture with his sword, after they had taken some things from him which he gave them in order to pacify them. The other Indians now came down on them, and took from our Indians, who were washing, some clothes and the casks they had brought for the water. They went up the hill and having put this plunder in safe keeping, came back to watch what our men did. At this juncture, Father Martin and the others, who had gone to see what there was to the southwest, came up, and when the Indians saw the rest of the people coming, they comprehended that Vallejeda had deceived them by making signs that there were no other people about than he and the Indians and those

who were filling water. They tried to carry him off but failed, as they threw themselves into the water and those on board ship fired at them with their harquebuses, until Father Martin and the others reached the place where Vallejeda and the Indians were. When they arrived at the place where the Indians were on the flank of a hill, these began to raise a great outcry, making many gestures and jumping from one place to the other as if they were about to make an attack, our men in the meantime remaining at their posts without creating any disturbance.

As the Indians had previously made signs of peace, Vallejeda and another of our Indians were sent towards them with some biscuit, cloth, and other things which they had. Three Indians came half-way down the slope to them and wished to take them up the hill to where the others were, but our men were unwilling, so the Indians ate the biscuit, or part of it, and returned to their companions to report what had occurred, although all the rest were looking on. Shortly afterwards the Indians separated into three parties and attacked our men, showing every evidence of a wish to kill them, and shot many arrows at them, but without doing any damage. Father Martin would not allow any harquebus to be fired until it appeared that they were getting arrogant, and then they fired at them and wounded some, compelling them to draw back to the top of the hill. As it was now time to return to their respective quarters, the Indians went to their homes and our men to the ship. To the southwest where our men had gone they found a hut like those already described, and around it and farther distant from it many pearl oyster shells, big shells in large quantities,[43] from which it is inferred that there is much good pearl fishing here, and that these Indians come down to the coast to fish for them, the trails from the east being probably those by which they come and go, from and to the interior. The land on the coast is well suited for wheat and maize, better than we found inland.

Having gone aboard a council was held, after the men had had supper, to consider whether the next day we should land to fight the enemy, or continue on our voyage. It was resolved that it was better to continue our voyage, coasting along the land, and not go ashore after the enemy. The powder had burned the day previous while we were refining it, our men were badly wounded and medicine with which to treat them was scanty, and the unwounded men were too few to resist the enemy without powder or munitions; further, we had done in that port what was necessary to be done, and we could search for other harbors along the coast. It was therefore thought better to go and report to His Excellency on what had occurred, and so it was resolved to leave on Wednesday, October 21, before daybreak.

Having cleared at that time, we followed the coast with contrary winds until Friday the 23d, when in the afternoon, a west-northwest wind blew up with such thick weather that we could not see the land for five days, although we were always within two leagues of it, and even less. On account of this thick

weather and because the ship[44] was too small to venture in to explore for ports, we could not see whether there was any harbor on that coast. Wednesday, October 28, while coasting along about two leagues from land, we took a sounding in lat. 30° to get samples of the bottom, since we could not see the land by reason of the thick weather and the darkness caused by the fog. The lead showed ten fathoms and rocky reefs all along for more than half a league. As soon as we had left this vicinity we came into much disturbed white water, which seemed to be river water.[45] We took some soundings and found almost the same depth. Here we tried to see if there was a harbor, although that day and night and part of the following Thursday we could not see the land to inspect the character of it. As we could not land in the ship's boat, on account of its small size and the somewhat heavy sea running, and as the weather did not clear up, but the wind seemed rather to blow harder, it was resolved to come to Acapulco as quickly as possible, not only to report to Your Excellency on what had occurred, but because the wounded men were badly off for lack of medicine. Further, this coast from Isla de Zerros[46] to Acapulco was all explored a long time ago.[47]

We did not visit the Lequios Islands, Japan nor the Pescadores, as these countries had been explored; besides, the ship was small and carried no artillery, the men on board were few in number, and the people of Japan are numerous and warlike, possessing ships and artillery with which to attack and to defend themselves.

From the Babuyanes, in scant 20½°, to the Puerto de San Lucas, which has now been discovered in full 35½°, we sailed 1890 leagues[48] on various courses as the weather permitted, although on a straight course it would be about 1550 leagues. In this latitude and on this course it is good sailing, healthier and quicker than in lower latitudes. From the Puerto de San Lucas to Cabo de San Lucas in scant 23° it is 290 leagues, the course being south-southeast about half the way and southeast a quarter south the other half. From Cabo de San Lucas to the Puerto de Acapulco it is about 260 leagues, the course half the way being east-southeast and the rest of the way southeast a quarter east.

November 12, at the mouth of the Puerto de Valle de Banderas[49] in lat. 21° full near Cabo de Corrientes, we met a launch out of the port, which by the order of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, was patrolling the coast to warn the ships from China that the English Corsair was on the coast and to advise them of the damage he had done, and that he was then careening his ship in the Puerto de Mazatlan.[50] The instructions were to sail in search of these ships as high as lat. 25°, two degrees farther north than Cabo de San Lucas. That is a good point at which to receive the warning as time is given to avoid the enemy by standing out to sea. I notified the captain of the launch in His Majesty's name in the best legal form possible to proceed on his way with all diligence, since the matter was of such importance to His Majesty, bidding him sail by night with the land breezes and lie just off shore during the day, as he could

keep watch for the China ships from land. Besides, if the enemy's launch came along the coast reconnoitering, it would not find him in the daytime, for navigation is then impossible on account of the northwest winds and the currents. He would therefore get along better and would not be found by the enemy if their launch came out on a scouting expedition. A supply of biscuit, rice and other things which we carried was given him, stocking him in this manner for more than a month and a half, not counting the maize and other provisions which he brought for his own provision. We entered the Puerto de Acapulco Sunday, November 22, whence we wrote Your Excellency and reported at length on the events and hardships of our voyage.

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Pedro de Unamunu.[51]

Two days after reaching port, Father Martin indited a letter to the Marqués de Villamanrique, the viceroy, in which he alleged that all the cargo belonged to a Portuguese in Macao, to another on board the ship, and to the young Japanese boy. He complained of the treatment accorded Unamuno in Macao and charged that the voyage of discovery had been hindered by his having the ship taken away from him. He brought with him a letter from Pereyra, in which he also absolved Unamuno from any blame for having gone to Macao. Unamuno himself also made a complaint about the action of the authorities at Manila. December 10, the Viceroy wrote the King of the arrival of the vessel,[52] and sent with the letter copies of those of Father Martin and Pereyra, an account of the voyage written by Unamuno and the pilot, Gomez, which has never been found, and a certified copy of another by Unamuno. He also enclosed a copy of a part of a letter from Dr. Santiago de Vera, which must have been written about June, 1586.[53]

One of the points of greatest interest to be determined in connection with this voyage is the identification of the Puerto de San Lucas. Since the translation was first published in the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society the writer has made several trips to the coast in the neighborhood of 35½° to see if it was possible to trace on the ground Unamuno's expedition into the interior. The result has been to convince him that the Puerto de San Lucas was what is now known as Morro Bay, but the efforts to identify the route he took on shore have not been so successful, owing to the uncertainties of the narrative itself. The principal factors in identifying the bay are the high land to the south (the San Luis range), the small islands just south of Pt. Buchon, and the sand point which runs out to the north, inside of which the bay is located. It is true that the point does not trend to the northwest, but at present slightly east of north, but the compass needle may have varied sufficiently to the east to make it appear that the point trended more to the west. An examination of the bay speedily develops the conviction that it was once of considerable size, although now almost filled with sand. The process of filling is still in progress, and can be seen duplicated at other points on the coast. What has occurred, no doubt,

has been that a long sand-bar was formed which gradually extended towards the north until the entrance of the bay became very narrow, as it now is, and then the wind carried the sand in behind the bar. The topography of the east side of the bay agrees well enough with the account in the narrative. There are, however, lagoons at the mouths of two creeks, Los Osos and Chorro, and only one is mentioned in the narrative, so far as can be made out. The description of the valley which the party ascended corresponds better to that of Chorro Creek than it does to that of Los Osos Creek, but in the text the statement is made that the lagoon was seen by ascending a hill to the north. The inference of course would be that the lagoon was to the north of the hill, but it is possible that they might have seen it to the south when they were high enough up hill. If this interpretation be accepted, there could be but little doubt that Unamuno landed just south of the present town of Morro.

His failure to mention Morro Rock, certainly a very conspicuous object in the landscape at Morro Bay, or in fact anywhere between Pt. Buchon and Pt. Cayucas might well be urged as negativing the theory that he had been in Morro Bay, and the fact that the Indians in San Luis Obispo Bay when Cermeño was there some eight years later displayed an acquaintance with Mexicans would give some weight to the theory that Unamuno had been there. The topography, however, of the shore of this bay and that of the country just inside does not correspond sufficiently closely to Unamuno's description to make this at all likely. Very probably he simply forgot to speak of the Morro. Whether he went inland from Morro Bay or San Luis Obispo Bay, however, he must have reached the vicinity of the City of San Luis Obispo.

The search for a port had been but little advanced by this voyage. To San Diego another port farther north, San Lucas, had been added, but for some reason no more attention was paid to Unamuno's discovery than to those of Cabrillo. No later reference to him or his voyage has been found. The instructions issued to Vizcaino do not mention it nor do any of the subsequent reports on California which were drawn up from 1620 onward. The viceroy Velasco even as early as 1594, in writing about sending out Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño on another voyage of discovery, does not refer to any previous voyage. It can, however, be inferred from the excuses which Cermeño made for his excursions into the interior, that he had definite instructions not to go inland just as Vizcaino received later. The experience of Unamuno in encountering hostile natives seems to have been remembered even if nothing else connected with his voyage appeared to the officials to be worthy of notice. The Puerto de San Lucas does not appear on the charts of the Vizcaino voyage, or on any others examined.

The reason for the immediate lack of interest in this discovery can probably be found in the attitude of Villamanrique, who was not in sympathy with the objects of these voyages. May 10, 1586, in answer to a letter from the King in which the schemes of Moya y Contreras were referred to and information requested of their outcome, he wrote as follows:

The coast of Spain is known on the side of the South Sea as high as 42°,[54] as ships coming from the Philippine Islands have made land in that latitude, and from there as far as the Puerto de Acapulco. Along all this coast it has not seemed advisable to make any settlement, for the reason that no ship has been in danger there because of the absence of one. According to the relations given to you of the voyages which the Marqués del Valle made to California and Francisco Vasquez Coronado to the cities of Cibola, most of the people on that coast are savage and poor, maintaining themselves by fishing. As making a settlement there now would bring some inconveniences and none appears from not having made one, it will be well not to treat about it if Your Majesty would now be served. When the ships which leave the Philippines turn back, it happens from near Manila from which they leave and before they make northing, because, when once they have made some, the southwest winds, which near that port are those which make them return, are fresh and favorable to come to these kingdoms. Respecting the idea of communicating from that sea and coast with the discoveries in New Mexico, it appears, according to the map, that this is a country between the seas, and up to the present it is not known whether it be nearest the North Sea or so near the South Sea that this can be done from there, as Your Majesty has been informed.[55]

CHAPTER IX

THE VOYAGE OF SEBASTIAN RODRIGUEZ CERMEÑO IN 1595

As soon as Luis de Velasco became viceroy[1] he took up the subject of the Philippine trade with vigor, and in that year sent home several long reports thereon with his recommendations, which, so far as the movement was concerned, were, briefly, that the government employ more vessels. In the course of a general letter, written May 25, 1591, he stated that the navigation to and from the islands was giving him great concern, and especially the return voyage, as it was very long and there were no ports on the coast where stops could be made in case of necessity. In this connection he recalled the voyage of Gabriel de Rivera, whose ship had arrived at Acapulco January 18, short of supplies and with the crew sick. He was desirous of obtaining knowledge about the ports on the coast and their position, and would endeavor to obtain the information by means of a voyage south along the coast, if this could be done without cost to the royal treasury.[2]

October 5, 1593, Velasco acknowledged the receipt of a cedula about his scheme, in which he was ordered to have the reconnaissance made, but he now answered that there was a difficulty, namely, the lack of funds. He wrote that there was a man willing to undertake the task under certain conditions, the principal one being that he should have the right to take along money with which to trade in the ports he might discover, but as he was somewhat suspicious of this proposal and feared that it might lead to great inconveniences, he had not acceded to it. He thought, however, that by limiting the quantity of money to be carried, and prohibiting trading in any port which might be discovered, even if forced there by bad weather, something might be negotiated, and he asked the advice of the Crown on the matter. On the 17th of January, 1594,[3] the King wrote a letter ordering the voyage of discovery to be made. April 6, 1594,[4] Velasco acknowledged the receipt of this, and said that he had bought the *San Pedro* to make the reconnaissance, which would serve in case no other ship in Manila should be available, and had ordered Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño, who was going out as pilot on the flagship to make the voyage. He had offered him the privilege of carrying on the ship he was to bring back a certain number of tons of freight, so as to earn the freight money, and said that he had advised the governor of the islands to that effect and had asked him to furnish Cermeño with what was necessary. He stated that although Cermeño was a Portuguese he was very skilled in navigation, and that, besides, there were no Spaniards in the profession to make the discovery.[5]

The vessel in which Cermeño sailed left Acapulco March 21, 1594, but for some reason, when he reached the Philippines the *San Pedro* was not used for the

voyage of discovery, and Luis Perez Dasmariñas, the governor, made a contract with Pedro Sarmiento, a well-known Philippine captain, to furnish the *San Agustin,* a small vessel of not over two hundred tons burden, no doubt giving Sarmiento the privilege of shipping some goods in her. Four vessels left the islands that year for Acapulco, and in the following year a scandal arose about some frauds in the shipments on them, it being charged that more had been embarked than appeared on the registers in order to evade the small export duty on goods. In a letter about this, from Manila, June 16, 1596, it was stated that the *San Agustin* carried one hundred and thirty tons of cargo.[6] In 1609, Sarmiento claimed that his loss amounted to 50,000 pesos,[7] from which it is evident that a considerable portion of the cargo belonged to others. A launch was put on board in pieces, all ready to set up when the northwest coast should be reached.

Cermeño was probably the same man as a Sebastian Rodriguez, a pilot on the *Santa Ana* when she was captured by Thomas Cavendish in November, 1587. No other information about him has been found, unless he was the same Captain Sebastian Rodriguez who appeared as a witness in Manila in 1625. A set of instructions issued to him has not been found, but that he carried one is stated in his narrative. One of these, no doubt, prohibited him from going inland, evidently to avoid the possibility of a recurrence of the trouble experienced by Unamuno.[8] His voyage is said, in his account, to have been for the discovery of Cabo Mendocino, and in the *Declaracion* this is styled the "New Discovery." It appears from his statements that this cape had been located in some latitude south of 42°, and that the coast north of it trended north a quarter east, and in the other direction southeast. The trend of the coast from Pt. St. George in 41° 46′ fulfills these requirements, but the close correspondence of its latitude to that to be deduced from Cermeño's general statement of his position, does not allow for the excess of one-half a degree or more in his observations farther south. Furthermore, the reef off Pt. St. George is more extensive and extends farther into the sea than the one he describes as being off Cabo Mendocino, and the distance from Pt. St. George to the next point visible to the north is nothing like twenty leagues. The writer's deduction from the narrative is that on some previous expedition, Pt. St. George had been sighted at sea to the northeast somewhere in about lat. 41° 30′, and no land being visible beyond, had been supposed to be, as stated in the *Declaracion,* the end of the coast, that is, where it turned east as some of the cosmographers at that time expected it would do. His description of the coast which he first approached corresponds to that north of Rocky Point, and in no respect to that of Humboldt Bay or farther south.

Instead of inserting here the full account of Cermeño, the writer has thought it will answer every purpose to present translations of the *Declaraciones,* prefixing an abstract of Cermeño's own account of his voyage up to November 4, the day on which the first *Declaracion* begins. The facsimiles will be found in the Appendix.

Translation

[Abstract of Cermeño's own account from July 5 to November 4]

We left the Puerto de Cabite in the Philippine Islands July 5 in the morning, and anchored that night at the foot of the Frayle. The next day we made sail with a southwest wind, and in the afternoon it began to blow so hard that it was necessary to take shelter at the Isla de Marivelez.[9] The next morning we again set sail with the wind off the land, and before nightfall arrived at the Isla de Fortun, and by midnight had rounded the reefs of Tuley. The following day we anchored at the Isla de Mindora, as the ship was leaking badly. Here we remained until the 14th,[10] when we again made sail with the southeast wind, and before night rounded the Islas de Baco. On the 16th we had left all these behind us. On the 17th we were at the Isla de Cibuyan, and on the 19th at that of Ibalon,[11] where we remained until the 27th, when we again made sail. We shortly encountered a southwest wind, passed Cabo Espiritu Santo, and continued in an east-northeast direction until we were in 17° North. Thence the course was north and then northeast to 22°. From this point we had trouble with the currents and made latitude very slowly, so that we finally fell back to 18°. August 13 we encountered a hurricane from the north and a sea on the beam. A few days later, on the 17th, we saw some islands which are called the Volcanoes of Japan,[12] and saw smoke from one of them before we saw the island. From these islands we still continued northeast in a general direction until we were in short 28° on the 26th. Up to the 30th, when we found ourselves in 30½°, we were sailing with a west and southwest wind in a northeast direction. From August 30 to September 6 we sailed in different directions, but generally northeast, and on the 6th were in 34° 10′. On the 10th we were in 36°, on the 12th in 37°, on the 26th in 39½°, and on October 2 we were in 40°. Still continuing in a northeasterly direction we got up to 41°, where on the 16th we encountered a northeast wind, but the wind soon shifted to the northwest and we continued with a favorable wind, and on the 22d were in full 42° with a smooth sea. Sailing still towards the east, we again encountered an east-northeast wind and a sea on the beam until the 25th, when the wind again turned favorable, and we continued our voyage to the east a quarter northeast until the 29th, when we found ourselves again in full 42°.

[End of abstract.]

Declaracion

In the ship, *San Agustin,* which arrived at Cabo Mendocino on the new discovery of the coast of New Spain Saturday morning, November 4, 1595, before me Pedro de Lugo, scrivener of the King, our master, and the witnesses, Sebastian Rodriguez Sermeño, captain and chief pilot of this new discovery for the King, our master, in virtue of a royal provision dispatched for that purpose by Don Luis de Velasco, member of the Order of Santiago, viceroy, governor and captain-general of New Spain, declared: That in compliance with this provision he had been dispatched from the Puerto de Cabite of Manila by Don Luis Perez

Dasmariñas, governor and captain-general there, in the ship *San Agustin,* the property of Captain Pedro Sarmiento, who offered it for the purpose of making the discovery, as is recorded in the documents executed in the matter and which he has in his possession and to which he refers. Having set sail from that port, July 4, of this year, he had come prosecuting his voyage and a straight course and had gone up to the greatest latitude which the weather permitted.[13]

Having reached the latitude of 42° on a coast trending north-south and where the end of the land bore north a quarter northeast, the highest latitude reached, he went in pursuit of his voyage until the present day, November 4, when he came in sight of land, the coast of New Spain.[14] Approaching this as much as he could on that day, until he came within two leagues of it, a little more or less, and having cast the lead for the first time, he found seventy fathoms[15] of water. He went on casting the lead in this manner until he found himself in eighteen fathoms of water and about half a league from land.[16] As night was coming on, he ordered the sails taken in and the ship remained beam to the sea[17] until the following morning, the 5th of the month, when he hoisted them and went following along the coast. The night before, when he sighted land, he saw on it some smoke and fire. Proceeding, he saw that the coast was very bold and dangerous because of a heavy surf caused by the many small islands and reefs near land.[18] It was thus impossible for the ship to approach nearer shore. Coasting along about the same half a league from land a reef was discovered which might be about a league at sea.[19] This which was Cabo Mendocino[20] was rounded, and the ship again approached land as before. Having ordered two men to the tops to look about to see if there were any reefs ahead, a point of land was discovered with two small islands off it.[21] This appeared to be a port as it made a small *ensenada.* While entering this, the men in the tops saw some great dangerous rocks where the ship would have to anchor.[22] Shouting this out, the ship bore away and stood off to sea away from land, as night was coming on. While sailing, a heavy wind and sea came up at about ten o'clock, which made it necessary to lay the ship's beam to the sea. This was done with so much labor in the ship, that in the whole course of the voyage no such great storm was encountered as blew that night and until the following day, the 6th, when sail was made in the direction of land, with only the lower foresail and without the bonnet, both the ship and the men suffering greatly on account of the strong gale and the heavy sea.

In view of the great danger in which the Captain and Chief Pilot was putting the ship and the men, as she was very small and was almost open, making it necessary to devote two out of three watches to the pump, and terrorized at the danger of the day before while entering the port, the pilot, master, and boatswain made a written demand on him to run with the wind and proceed on his voyage to Acapulco as it was impossible to prosecute the discovery by reason of the ship's being in such a badly battered state, as is on record more fully in the said demand which they made before Alonso Gomez, the scrivener of the ship.

Notwithstanding this, Captain Sebastian Rodriguez kept on approaching land and the weather kept improving.

Being now near land, like the day before, he went on following the coast. He ordered some men to the tops to look about and see what was ahead. About midday a point of high land[23] was discovered which revealed a great *ensenada,*[24] in which he entered, sounding with the lead from forty fathoms down to five where he anchored with the ship. This can be taken to be the depth of the whole bay, as after doubling the point this depth of five, six and seven fathoms and no more was never lost. The bottom is clean and of fine sand. The ship anchored in the bay and port about a quarter of a league from shore.[25] Along all the coast which the ship followed after discovering land until she anchored, there were many fires near the sea, and many forests of pines inland from which it may be concluded that it is inhabited by people.[26]

On the day on which the ship anchored in the bay, about four o'clock in the afternoon, many Indians appeared on the beach and soon one of them got into a small craft which they employ, like a çacate[27] of the lake of Mexico. He came off to the ship where he remained quite a time talking in his language, no one understanding what he said. Some cotton cloth[28] and silk things were given him and a red cap. He took them and went back to land. Early the next morning, the 7th, four other crafts like the first came out from land to the ship, and in each one was an Indian. They came alongside where they remained some time talking in their language. Captain Sebastian Rodriguez gave each of them some cotton cloth and taffetas and entertained them the best he could. They went ashore and the Captain at once embarked in the ship's boat with twenty-two men, seventeen being harquebusiers with their arms. Accompanying him were Captain Francisco de Chaves and his ensign, the sergeant and the corporal and three men with shields. These went ashore with the Indians and landed on the beach of the port near some of their underground habitations, in which they live, resembling caves and like those of the Chichimecos[29] Indians of New Spain. They are well-made people, robust and more corpulent than the Spaniards in general. They go naked without covering and with their private parts exposed, but the women cover theirs with straw and skins of animals. Their arms are bows and arrows.[30]. They wear their hair long and have no beards; any one who has any removes it. They are painted on the breast and on certain parts of the arms, but the paint is not so decorative as with that of the Chichimecos.

On the same day that the Captain went ashore with his men, he asked all to witness that he took possession of the land and port in the name of the King, our master. He gave it the name "La Baya de San Francisco,"[31] and the Reverend Father Fray Francisco de la Concepcion[32] of the Order of the barefoot Franciscans, who comes in the ship, baptized it. The Captain, with his ensign, Juan del Rio, carrying the banner, and the sergeant with the men in order went marching to a village which is about a harquebus-shot from the beach. Here all the Indian men and women, perhaps fifty all told without counting children,

were looking on with great fright[33] in seeing people they had never seen before. They were all very peaceable and their arms were in their houses, it not being known up to that time that they had any. They produced a seed the shape of an anise seed, only a little thinner, and having the taste of sesame, of which they make the bread they eat. Their food consists of crabs and wild birds, which are in great abundance near where they live, and many deer, as these have been observed going about. They are beyond comparison the largest that have been seen as will be apparent from the horns which were found, of which the Captain carries a sample.

As the Captain with his men was proceeding the same day from the settlement, about half a league distant inland a band of Indians appeared who approached in a warlike manner, for as soon as they saw the Spaniards they performed a caracole and skirmished in a circle, like the Chichimecos, with loud howls.[34] Shortly, one of them who carried a tall banner of black feathers began to advance towards where the Spaniards were, and having looked them over stopped to view the men. Two Indians, of the friendly ones who were being treated well, talked with them and soon they lowered their arms, put them on the ground, and came towards the Spaniards.[35] The one who carried the banner brought and delivered it to the Captain and all the other Indians approached in an humble manner and as if terrorized, and yielded peacefully. He made much of them, embracing them and giving them some of the taffeta sashes which the Spaniards wore. So the Spaniards came up to them, embracing them and they took their bows and arrows and gave them freely to the Spaniards. They all had their faces painted and annointed in black and red. The Captain and the Spaniards went on until they reached a hill from which the Indians had come down, in order to see if there was any other settlement. On arriving at the top they saw coming an Indian man and a woman who was carrying a child. The Indian had some acorns for his food. These, without showing any fear or running away, came up to the Spaniards and the Captain made much of them and entertained them. The Indian treated the Spaniards to his acorns and the Captain declared that no one should do them any harm or take anything away from them. This done, they returned, going around the whole hill and down to the beach with all the men. Here he fixed his camp and made an entrenchment for defense and to put in hand at once the launch which had to be made for the discovery,[36] having journeyed this day about three leagues. Here Indians from nearby kept coming and the chief talked a long time. When he had finished the Captain made much of them, giving to each pieces of cotton cloth and silk. They remained a good while and then went away without doing anything. All were naked like the rest.

November 15, the Captain embarked in the ship's boat with eight armed Spaniards, and I, the scrivener, went with them. He went up an arm of a river, one of three which empty into the bay and port, to discover what was in them. This one makes a bar on which at high tide there were about three fathoms of water, and from the shoal[37] outside to the anchoring place the

distance is two harquebus-shots. One of the rivers is large and enters the land about three leagues.[38] The mouth is narrow and near it there is a settlement of Indians of the same class as those above mentioned.[39] A little farther on there is another of a few people near the water and at quite a distance from these there is another of naked Indians who had their dwellings on a hill. They did not appear to have any arms. This river in places may be about a league wide and in others a half a league. On the west side there are two branches of a half a league each, and on the east side one about a quarter of a league from the bar.[40] On entering this, there is on the right side sweet water which comes down from a copious river, at the entrance of which Indians are settled with their women, well-made people and robust as has been stated. Water good for drinking purposes can be found by digging down a little in any place where there are sand-banks near the sea.

November 30, the ship *San Agustin* having been lost with the food supply in her, the Captain left the camp with eleven Spaniards and some Indians and slaves with their arms on an expedition inland to hunt for food to sustain those who had survived the wreck, as there was nothing to eat. Having journeyed three leagues[41] they found three villages of Indians of the same class and character as those above described, who were settled somewhat apart from each other on an arm of a river of sweet water on the banks of which there were many trees bearing acorns, hazelnuts of Castile, and other fruits of the country, madrones, thistles[42] and fragrant herbs.[43] From here they brought that day and on another day, December 2, a quantity of acorns and another round fruit like a hazelnut, and a quantity of thistles with which the men were sustained and which was to be taken in the launch.

Friday morning, December 8, the day of the Limpia Concepcion de Nuestra Señora, Captain Sebastian Rodriguez departed from the Puerto y Bahia de San Francisco which is in 38° 40′,[44] the islands outside being in 38½°,[45] in the launch which he built for the discovery named the *San Buenaventura*. He passed close to the islands on the mainland side about a league away.[46] This day he sailed about ten leagues, and that night lay to without sailing. The next day, Saturday, December 9, he went sailing along the coast until sundown, when he anchored in order not to pass behind a point after nightfall. All this coast up to here trends northwest-southeast. No observation was made of the sun because it did not appear, as the day was cloudy and there was a strong wind. He sailed a great deal, perhaps twenty-two leagues,[47] without discovering in all this distance anything worth noting down. In going along very close to land, frequently only a musket-shot from it, all that may be seen is bare land near the sea and pine and oak timber in the high country.[48] No smokes or fires appeared. After departing from this port on Sunday morning the 10th, he made sail with favorable weather and discovered a very large *ensenada*[49] which bore to the east and southeast, all a bold coast. This day he observed the sun at midday in 37°.[50] From the mouth of the *ensenada* the land bore to the south.

From morning he sailed seven leagues and anchored behind a point[51] in order not to run before the wind. Monday, at dawn, the 11th of the month, he made sail and traveled twenty leagues. All the coast trends northwest-southeast, is bold and high, and of bare ranges all of a kind, without any point or place of shelter where one could stop.[52] This day, in the morning, as the launch was going along very close to shore, only some two harquebus-shots away, some five or six leagues along the coast some small islands were discovered close to land without any shoal.[53] In all this there were no trees, except a very few on the heights. From these, barrancas,[54] water channels and ravines come down.

Tuesday, December 12, having run with the launch all the night before as there was a good moon and no place where he could anchor, he went sailing from point to point across an *ensenada*, of which the whole could be seen, southeast a quarter south to where off the southeast point of the *ensenada* is a small island which bore southeast from inside the point.[55] He ran this coast that day so close to land that many people could be seen on shore on some cliffs[56] where they had their huts. Near sundown he anchored in front of some villages where they had many *balsas*[57] on land. He spoke to them, shouting out from the launch that we were Christians. One of them responded and said "Christianos," and at once came running down to the shore, and taking a *balsa* and getting into it came alongside the launch where he was received by the Captain and given some cotton cloth and taffetas. Shortly many other Indians came out in the same kind of crafts and were asked by signs to bring some food which was lacking. They went ashore and very soon came back bringing a quantity of bitter acorns and some acorn mush in baskets shaped like medium-sized plates. They gave this in exchange for some cotton cloth and pieces of silk for which they asked and which were given to them. With this they were very contented and exclaimed "Mexico, Mexico."[58] In appearance the people are quiet and peaceable, and were not seen to have any arms. No one went ashore, as it was impossible to do so on account of the reefs and the surf. The people who were assembled seemed to number about three hundred. They were naked and not so large or robust as the first ones. Some have long beards and their hair cut round, and some are more painted with stripes on their faces and arms than the Indians first seen. The land appears to be good and fertile, as it shows verdure and has acorn trees near the villages. They are people who asked for something to be given to them. They are fishermen and there is fish and some shell-fish with which they sustain themselves.

Wednesday morning, the 13th, sail was made with much difficulty from this port, where they found themselves short of food. The seamen and passengers were sick and weak, as there was nothing to eat except a small quantity of bitter acorns which to be eaten had to be roasted. All with much feeling piteously asked and demanded of the Captain to give over prosecuting the discovery and to keep on going with the launch without stopping anywhere until a land could be reached where there was a supply of food, in view of their necessities

and the risk of all losing their lives. In spite of all this he diverted them all as best he could with words, and as there was nothing more to eat than what has just been mentioned, the men killed a dog on the launch and ate it, and if there had been more the same would have happened, in view of the great hunger from which they suffered. This day he crossed a great *ensenada* with a heavy sea,[59] and steering towards a point which bore south, passed it during the first night-watch. Then the coast trends northwest-southeast and when morning of the 14th came, two islands were discovered.[60] The wind was from the east and he went running along the outside one to the south-southeast. The island trends northeast-southwest,[61] and has a small island[62] a league northwest of the outside point with a passage between them. Then between one island and the other there is an opening of a league and a half.[63] Anchor was cast at the outside island on the southeast side.[64] A small boat came alongside with two Indians rowing. They came to the launch and brought some twelve fish[65] and a small seal and presented them. They were given in exchange some pieces of woven silk and cotton which they took so that they should bring more. The little boat came back with three Indians and brought nothing. Fishing with lines was resorted to and some thirty fish were caught which were soon eaten in view of the number of men, who numbered more than seventy, and their great hunger. The Captain at midday observed the sun at this place on the outside island and found it to be in 34° 12′.[66]

At midnight of the same day, sail was made, as the land seemed to offer no help of any kind of food, as it was bare and broken and had no port. He ran until ten hours after nightfall, when he reached the other island, as it was a good night with a clear moon. This trends east-northeast to west-southwest. The first island may be about three or four leagues long and one wide, the second may be about seven or eight, and is the last and nearest to the mainland, with about two leagues of channel between.[67] Soon a large *ensenada* appeared, across which he sailed towards the south-southeast where the point bore, the coast running southeast a quarter south. That night fire appeared on these islands. All are fishermen, the land is broken like the first, and all the coast is clean. There are some small islands close to the shore.[68] The coast is bold and the Indians are well made and robust, of good size and go naked. The crafts in which they sail are like the board boats of the Philippines.[69] From the last island to the point above mentioned across the *ensenada* is about sixteen leagues.[70] It was not reached during daylight, and as the night was good and no port was found in which to anchor, he went running along the coast near land until morning.

Saturday, the 16th, an island was discovered named San Agustin.[71] The wind turned southeast and he anchored at the island, which trends northwest-southeast. A settlement was seen near the sea, and a craft from it came alongside. Some Spaniards went ashore to see if they could find anything to eat and to take water, which was lacking, but on account of the heavy surf breaking on

shore this could not be done. Those who went brought back some cakes made of a very yellow root resembling the sweet potato, which are cooked under the sand.[72] This made some of those who ate them very sick. On Sunday, the 17th of December, the wind kept coming from the southeast which made it necessary to go with the launch to the other side of the island, to anchor in the shelter it afforded. In the place where some Spaniards went ashore many wild onions and tunas were found, and near the water among some rocks a very large fish which had been killed with two wounds.[73] On this more than seventy people sustained themselves for eight days, and if it had not been for this fish all the men, in view of their condition, ran much risk of losing their lives from the great hunger from which they suffered. Not having any water to drink, on the night of that day the wind blew so hard that the launch dragged its anchor more than four leagues along the coast. Returning from there the next day and following the coast of the island, a small *ensenada* suitable for fragatas was discovered, from which a very large stream of water was seen coming down a ravine. Here water was taken, and here he remained two days until the wind calmed down. He then went to where there were more than thirty Spaniards who had been left dressing the fish where it had been found and they were taken on board. The island is of broken land and measures about twelve leagues in circumference.[74] It trends northwest-southeast and is bare and the color of ashes.[75] The northwest point is in 31° 15′. The water found is in the middle of the island, where all which may be necessary can be taken.[76] All around the island the water is very deep, so much so, that you can come close to land, and at a little distance away from it bottom cannot be found.

Friday morning, December 22, having taken on board the men who were on shore, the launch departed from the island and went sailing with a northwest wind along the coast. As there was great want and lack of food, and all the men were sick and thin from not eating, the launch sailed by night, and also with the moon and kept along the coast which trends from northwest to southeast. The wind blew so hard that for this reason and on account of the demands which the passengers and seamen made on the Captain, it was necessary to run before it until the Isla de Cedros was reached.[77] Passing this by on account of the great hunger which the men were suffering, the Captain came to land in the launch on the coast of Compostela, a league from the Puerto de Chacala,[78] where from a ranch some corn and sun-dried beef was brought to aid them, and with which the men relieved their hunger. This was on the 7th of January of this year [1596]. Here the Captain disembarked and the sick who came on board remained there. He despatched the launch from there to Acapulco.

All this, I, the scrivener, certify to, being present as witnesses Don Garcia de Paredes, Andrés de Porras, and Juan del Rio, the ensign. Sebastian Rodriguez Sermeño, before me Pedro de Lugo, scrivener of the King. For this purpose I here make my sign in testimony of the truth.

Pedro de Lugo, scrivener of the King.

In the port and bay of the new discovery of Cabo Mendocino in the camp of Santa Fe, November 30, 1595, before me Pedro de Lugo, scrivener of the King, our master, Captain Sebastian Rodriguez Sermeño, the chief pilot of the discovery, declared: That by reason of the loss of the ship *San Agustin* which he brought, while at anchor in the said port, and which Captain Pedro Sarmiento offered to the King in the City of Manila, without having been able to save any of the food supplies or other property on board as is recorded in the investigation made this day,[79] and for the further reason that there are almost eighty people to feed and no food to give them nor to carry in the launch which is being finished and in which they have to go, and as he has news that there is food near the camp with which they can be supplied, and having taken the opinions of those persons whom he had to consult,[80] it was agreed that it was advisable for the good of all and for the service of the King to go in search of food, leaving in the camp in his place as lieutenant, Captain Francisco de Chaves, a person worthy of full confidence, to give the orders and commands necessary to finish the work lacking on the launch and other things which might occur during his absence, and twenty armed Spaniards to remain with him, guarding the launch and the camp, all of whom should obey him and follow his orders as if he were the captain himself. He took with him to hunt for the food and bring it back Don Garcia de Paredes and the pilot, Juan de Morgana,[81] who offered to go with him, Juan del Rio, his ensign, Sergeant Juan Gutierrez, Corporal Francisco Rolon, Francisco de Bolaños,[82] Juan Bautista, Francisco de Cea, Sebastian Perez, Gonzalo Hernandez, Pedro de Chaves, four slaves of the Captain whom he offered to take for the service of the party (leaving behind the other three who were sick), and seven Indian ship boys, part of those on the ship, all equipped in the best possible manner with their arms to defend themselves. Thus the Captain departed from the camp with all these men with this design, for it was advisable so to do for the well-being and maintenance of all the men in the camp. Sebastian Rodriguez Sermeño thus arranged matters and signed this before me, Pedro de Lugo, scrivener of the King.

After this had occurred, Captain Sebastian Rodriguez returned from his search for food for the men he had in his camp, having discovered on the day he set out a place near it from which he could bring a quantity of acorns and other things with which he could relieve the necessities which at present all the men lacked, as they had nothing to eat. He found it in a settlement of 150 Indians who at once declared themselves to be friends and made peace. Where they were settled there were a number of trees which bear acorns and other foods and fruits with which they could sustain themselves. He decided, December 2, to send out to bring in this food, and for that purpose appointed Juan del Rio, his ensign, who should take with him fifteen Spaniards with their arms to bring all the food they could, besides the Indians and Negroes sent along for the same purpose. Thus he provided and ordered and signed with his name, and as it was deemed advisable for the Captain himself to go to carry out what was

agreed to in this *auto,* he went personally. To this I certify, Sebastian Rodriguez Sermeño.

Before me, Pedro de Lugo, scrivener of the King.

In the port and bay of the new discovery which was named "San Francisco," Captain Sebastian Rodriguez Sermeño, chief pilot of the discovery, on December 6, 1595, declared:

That he had twice gone inland some four leagues to hunt for and bring back food for the maintenance of the men under his charge, who were without it by reason of the loss of the *San Agustin,* from which nothing could be saved, and had discovered three separate settlements of Indians — men, women and children. They were in their houses, which are similar to low caves, on the bank of a branch of a river of sweet water where there were a number of trees bearing acorns and another fruit, the vedona,[83] the shape of a hazelnut, and hazelnuts like the Castilian. There were other trees bearing fruit, thistles, and odoriferous herbs like those of Spain. The land is well fitted and appropriate for growing any kind of seed which may be sown in it, by reason of the quality of the soil and the temperature[84] as without any artificial aid it produces what has been noted. Since it is advisable that those persons who accompanied him and saw it should declare what they know about it, and in order that there may be a record of this and of the character of the country seen and discovered, and an *informacion* about it should be received, he therefore so provided and signed it, Sebastian Rodriguez Sermeño.

Before me, Pedro de Lugo, scrivener of the King.

In the Puerto y Bahia de San Francisco of the new discovery of the coast of New Spain, on the 8th of December, 1595, before me, Pedro de Lugo, scrivener of the King, our master, Captain Sebastian Rodriguez Sermeño, chief pilot of the discovery, in order to draw up an *informacion* provided for in the *auto* preceding, caused to appear before him Juan del Rio, his ensign. Having taken the oath before God and by the sign of the cross, in due form, on which he promised to tell the truth, and being questioned in accordance with the tenor of the *auto,* he declared:

This witness went with Captain Sebastian Rodriguez inland the first time with twelve other Spaniards and some Indians with their arms to hunt for some food to sustain the men who had survived the wreck of the *San Agustin,* as the whole food supply had been lost in her, not a thing being saved, and having traveled inland some three or four leagues, they discovered in a little valley some trees bearing a quantity of bitter acorns. From there he saw some smokes among some trees, and all being in accord they went towards them. Having reached the place where the smoke was, they found a number of Indians settled, perhaps [100?][85] altogether, men, women and children. Some of them had bows and arrows. While they were with them, twenty other Indians came up, who were

settled on the beach near where the launch was being built and the camp. These had left because some wood had been taken from them, which they had gathered up from what came from the ship. They had taken up their bows and arrows to defend themselves from the Captain, Don Garcia de Paredes, and Juan de Morgana, the pilot, who had gone to take the wood away from them. Some people coming up on our side to help them, the Indians fired some arrows at the Spaniards and one of them planted an arrow in the breast of a Spaniard which wounded him. They then fled, and the food which they had, about a sack and a half of dry, bitter acorns, was taken away from them. If it had not been for this, all the men would have suffered and died. These twenty Indians are those who took the Spaniards to their settlement nearby, where they gave them some of the food they had, acorns, a fruit the shape of a hazelnut, and other things to eat. These settlements are on the bank of a lagoon of fresh water. This witness went about inspecting the quality of the land and its character, and saw not only on the bank of the lake but in the little valleys many trees bearing acorns and many other kinds of food, on which the natives lived, hazelnut trees, like those of Castile and many herbs, such as thistles and other fragrant ones like those of Castile. He saw a great number of partridges[86] and a great quantity of deer horns. One of these which he measured was sixteen palms from tip to tip, with a number of points.[87] The country appeared to him to be well adapted to sow and reap any kind of seed, as it looked like the country of Castile and was of good character. About a league before reaching the camp on their return, the Captain discovered a stream of very good sweet water on the shore of the sea.[88] This witness drank of it and it was good. This is the truth and what he knows under his oath; he affirmed and ratified it and declared that he was forty-six years of age, a little more or less, and did not sign because he did not know how.

Before me, Pedro de Lugo, scrivener of the King.[89]

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The launch under the command of Morgana arrived at Acapulco January 31, with only four sailors, five Indians, and a Negro. The officials visited the boat, finding nothing on board and the men almost naked. Morgana gave under oath an account of the voyage and the loss of the ship, stating that a Franciscan and other persons on board had been drowned when she struck and went to pieces.[90]

The rest of the party having disembarked at Chacala, must at once have gone to Compostela, nearby, from where the officers or such as were able to travel, went to Guadalajara, where an investigation of the affair was made by the Audiencia. It is probable that at that time the various *autos* which had been made during the voyage were presented. Included in these were no doubt the *Declaracion* just translated, one made about the wreck and the various written demands on the Captain, now lost. After the officers reached Mexico City, the Viceroy conducted another and found the officers were blaming each other for the disaster. He examined Cermeño in the presence of the master and the boatswain, who he said were both very expert, and although they agreed in some

matters, they differed in others. On the whole, he felt that Cermeño had not failed to comply with his obligations, but if after further investigation anyone in particular seemed to be to blame he wrote that he would punish him, although he felt very sorry for their sufferings and the loss of so much property. He was of the opinion that Cermeño had crossed the bays from point to point, and most of those where a port might be found at night, due, however, to the hunger and sickness which had made them hasten the voyage. On the whole, he considered that the intention of the King had not been complied with, and all thought that the voyage of discovery should not be made with a loaded ship on the return voyage from the islands, but upwards to the north from the coast of New Spain.[91]

In addition to the letter of the officials at Acapulco regarding the loss there is extant a letter from the Audiencia dated Mexico, March 5, 1596, stating that the vessel was lost in 28° [38°], that twelve were drowned, and that all the goods were lost.[92] Rivero, one of the *oydores,* wrote the following day that seven men were drowned.[93] Bolaños, who was probably either the master or the boatswain, afterwards accompanied Vizcaino, and in his *Derrotero* states (speaking of Pt. Reyes and the bay) that there was a very good refuge from the south and southeast winds in a corner at the southwestern part of a small bay, formed by the eastern extension of the point. He adds that the *San Agustin* was lost in the bay and that this was caused more by the fault of the Captain than by bad weather.[94] It is to be regretted that the *auto* made after the loss has not been found.

CHAPTER X

THE ANTECEDENTS OF SEBASTIAN VIZCAINO'S VOYAGE OF 1602

The failure of Cermeño to secure definite results was a great disappointment to the officials in Mexico. Although he stated in his account that he had made a careful inspection of the coast with the launch on his voyage south, the Viceroy came to the conclusion after questioning him and his pilots that he had simply crossed the bays from point to point, and that in reality he had seen very little of the coast, attributing this, quite justly, to the privations which the crew were suffering and the necessity of reaching some port in New Spain as quickly as possible, where food could be obtained.[1] It was felt that no satisfactory results could be secured by attempting to explore the coast with vessels from the Philippines loaded with goods; better success was looked for by sending them out empty from Acapulco. November 26, 1597, the Viceroy again broached the subject, in a letter to the King, expressing the opinion that the object sought by the Cermeño expedition was still of great importance. He recommended that another effort be made, this time from Acapulco with small vessels, and suggested that if agreeable to the King the exploration of the outer coast might be joined with a reconnaissance of the Gulf of California and the pearl fishery, but if this should not be thought advisable the task might be divided between two parties. For this work he declared that he considered one Sebastian Vizcaino entirely competent.[2]

The Council of the Indies, after hearing this letter read, recommended that an expedition be made with a single small ship from Acapulco and that the commander should not mix up in the affairs of the Gulf of California, except possibly in passing.

The affairs referred to were the attempts to open up the pearl fisheries on the east side of the peninsula, and incidently to explore the gulf, which had been in progress for some time. Although some small vessels must have crossed the gulf from the Sinaloa shore in search of pearls after the return of Cortés, little record remains of their proceedings.[3] The issuance in 1573 by Phillip II of a new set of ordinances governing discoveries made it necessary thereafter to secure a license to prosecute such an enterprise. In 1583 Hernando de Sanctotis, one of the King's accountants in Mexico, obtained a license from the Audiencia, which was just then ruling the country, to construct a small vessel and a launch in Navidad for the purpose of carrying on trade to California. In the following year the viceroy, Moya y Contreras, evidently confirmed and amplified this license and extended it for a period of ten years, one of the conditions being that Sanctotis and his associates should pay to the Crown the twentieth part of the pearls found. All other persons were prohibited from

embarking in the business within four leagues of them, once they had selected a place in which to carry on a fishery. The license carried a proviso that Sanctotis and his associates had to secure the approbation of the King within a period of three years. April 29, 1587, the King issued an order confirming the license, in which it was recited that the petitioners had already spent 15,000 ducats in preparation for the voyage.[4]

August 14, 1587, Thomas Cavendish, while on his raid on the west coast of Mexico, entered Navidad and burned two new ships of 200 tons burden each which were on the stocks under construction. It subsequently developed that one of these belonged to Antonio de Castillo,[5] one of the partners of Sanctotis, who afterwards claimed in judicial proceedings that they had spent 40,000 pesos in the enterprise. Whether this disaster put an end to it is not known, but the company seems to have sent one or more expeditions to California either before or after this, as it was subsequently alleged that they found some pearls which they had not registered.[6] After Luis de Velasco took up his duties as viceroy, he was evidently approached by a new set of promoters who wished to embark in the pearl fishing business. About June, 1592, Sebastian Vizcaino and several others presented a petition to him asking for a license for twenty years to resort freely to the ports on the gulf and enjoy the fishing of pearls and other things, during which time no other person was to be allowed to go to or traffic in such places, or fish north of Navidad.

This is the first appearance on the scene of Sebastian Vizcaino, a man destined to occupy the most prominent place in the exploration of the northwest coast during the ensuing twenty years. In all the numerous petitions and memorials presented by him at different times, nothing appears regarding his age or his early life. In his *Relacion de servicios* of 1603 one of the interrogatories put to his witnesses was whether they knew that in 1567 he had gone to Portugal to serve in the campaign with his arms and horses at his own expense, as being a *caballero de quantia hijodalgo y notoria calidad*.[7] None of the witnesses knew anything about it, and it seems certain that he would have had documentary proof if he had gone in any other capacity than in the militia. If one can judge from the opinion the Council rendered on his petition, he filed no such documents, nor any others bearing on his life before his appearance in these schemes. It seems probable that he was born about the year 1550, the son of one Antonio Vizcaino, who either then or later lived in the town of Corcho in Spain. As one of his witnesses he produced Francisco de Bolaños, who testified that he had known him in Mexico about eighteen years, from which it appears that he had been in that city as early as 1585. Bolaños also testified that Vizcaino had gone out to the Philippines in 1586 and had come back in 1589. This statement is borne out by the letter Vizcaino wrote to his father June 20, 1590. He had just returned from Manila, that is, at the end of 1589, having evidently gone there in 1588, as he states that he was on board the *Santa Ana* when she was captured November 14, 1587, and had lost

a great deal of treasure and commodities.[8] It is apparent from his letter that he was a merchant and not a sailor or soldier, and indeed, in some of his memorials he so states, in addition to which we have the testimony of the viceroy, Monterey, to the same effect. At the time we encounter him he was married and had a boy named Juan, who, according to his statement in 1596, was then seven years old. From the curious story he told in his account of his voyage, about offering to put his boy in pawn for 2,000 *pesos* in Culiacan, which he said the boy's mother would pay, it seems probable that his wife had some property, and that he must have been married as early as 1588. On the whole, it is likely that he came to Mexico some time about 1585 with some little money with which he set himself up in the business of trading with the Philippines, making voyages there on his own account. His name indicates, of course, that he was a Basque himself or of a Basque family, and that he was not an *hidalgo*.

The first result of this petition was to bring on a lawsuit with Sanctotis. Vizcaino evidently had the support of the Viceroy, perhaps by reason of his more favorable proposition, perhaps because of his persuasive manner, or more probably by reason of the inability of Sanctotis and his partners to proceed with the enterprise. The suit went on for some time before the Audiencia, the main allegation of Sanctotis being that he was entitled to the contract because he had spent 40,000 pesos, and that of Vizcaino that he was making a better offer. Finally, July 9, 1593, the Audiencia in affirming a previous decision in favor of Vizcaino, tacked on a proviso that if Sanctotis should tender to Vizcaino the ships and supplies he had ready, the latter must receive them at an appraised price when his contract should be made. A contract was now drawn up which is embodied in a cedula issued by the Viceroy, November 16, 1593.[9] Vizcaino and his partners were allowed four years for investigating the pearl fisheries, before or at the end of which they must select a district of ten leagues long on the coast of the peninsula where they could continue in the business for the following sixteen years without interference from any one. One-fifth of the pearls taken out and of any silver or gold acquired, no matter how, was to be paid to the King, and one-tenth of the fish caught was to be delivered to him free, salted and barreled at some designated port on the coast. Artillery, ammunition and other supplies, and a small vessel, if not necessary in Acapulco, were to be lent to him, and various other privileges were granted.

Sebastian Perez de Castillo was appointed by the Viceroy at the instance of the partners to command the expedition. They took over the material belonging to Sanctotis, and fitted out a ship called the *San Josef*, which departed probably early in 1594. What happened on this voyage is not known beyond the fact that the *San Josef* returned, as the captain was accused of an unnatural offense. He was brought back to Mexico City and criminal proceedings were instituted against him, during the course of which he died.[10] The result of this abortive effort was to cool the ardor of the adventurers, most of whom wished to give up the enterprise, but a suit having been brought against them, the

criminal judges who tried the case on appeal ordered them to comply with their contract. A lack of funds now became manifest, the different partners being unable or unwilling to put up more money. Vizcaino and the Viceroy were determined, however, to go on with the project and had most of the defaulters arrested.

Some accommodation must have been made of the differences, as on October 14, 1595, Velasco made a new contract with Vizcaino and his partners.[11] Very little change was made from the former one, in fact, none in the principal features. Vizcaino wanted the *San Bartolomé,* a Philippine ship belonging to the King, then in Acapulco, but his request for her was denied. He now began to raise a force, but before he had gone very far the Conde de Monterey, who had succeeded Velasco as viceroy, wrote the King that for leadership in an affair which might come to be of considerable importance, he considered that Vizcaino had insufficient character or property, and that if the soldiers were entrusted to such a man, whom he characterized as of little quality and of less resolution and capacity, they might mistreat the natives. Nevertheless, he said, in view of the fact that Vizcaino's concession had the force of a contract, to suspend the proceedings in the present state of the affair would be unjust, especially as he did not suffer from notorious defects which could give the King a proper excuse to cancel his contract.[12] Meanwhile, Vizcaino's partners had been called up and ordered to comply with their parts of the contract. Some did so and others stated that they could not.

When the Viceroy's letter was read in the Council, May 27, 1596, it was decreed to write him to take away from Vizcaino the command of the expedition, and to request him to recommend some other person to whom it could be given who would carry out the enterprise with more satisfaction and with greater hope of success,[13] but before these orders reached Mexico, Vizcaino had departed. He left Mexico May 12, 1596, with his force and set sail from Acapulco June 15. He had two small ships and a large one of 500 tons burden, carrying altogether 230 seamen and soldiers and fourteen horses, arms, ammunition and supplies for them, twelve pieces of small artillery and food for eight months. With him were Fray Francisco de Balda and four other Franciscans. In 1593 he had intended to take Jesuits, and no explanation of the change appears, but quite likely it was due to the intervention of the new viceroy, who may not have been so favorably disposed towards the Jesuits as Velasco had been. In later years, the Franciscans claimed a preferential right to evangelize the Californias, going back for a precedent to the days of Cortés, who had Franciscans with him.

September 3, Vizcaino reached the peninsula in a large bay which he stated was in 24° and was capable of holding an infinite number of ships. This was probably Bahia Ventana, which faces the south end of the Isla de Ceralvo. The country was found to be extremely rough and arid and the natives to talk a language which Vizcaino said "was so barbarous that it sounds more like the

bleating of sheep than the speech of men." Possession was taken, the port was called "San Sebastian," and the province "Nueva Andalucia." A town was laid out which was named "San Felipe." The place did not seem, however, to be favorable for settlement, so it was decided to try farther north. The Bahia de la Paz was soon found and, on examining the country for a suitable place in which to make a camp, remains were found of Cortés' old town. No sooner had a landing been made than some of the soldiers became alarmed at the wretchedness and sterility of the country, and wanted to go back to New Spain. Vizcaino persuaded them to remain while he made a reconnaissance of the coast with a hundred men and the two small vessels. A town was laid out, the port was named "La Paz" (stated to have been in 25°), and October 3, Vizcaino departed.

In view of the obvious inaccuracy of the latitudes ascribed to the various places he mentions in his narrative it is very difficult to trace the route followed by him on this expedition. Some men whom he finally landed to get water got into a fight with the natives. The ship's boat on leaving the shore with the second party was upset and nineteen of the soldiers were drowned. After that misfortune, which apparently happened at San Bruno or Loreto, the party returned to La Paz October 18. On the 21st, more than half of the camp, most of the munitions and food and many of the arms were destroyed by fire. No food could be obtained from the natives and, as part of what had been brought had been previously lost, not enough was now left to continue the expedition with the entire force. Besides this, all were so cast down by the numerous calamities which had occurred that they insisted on returning. Vizcaino therefore sent the greater part of the men and all the women back in the *San Francisco* and the launch, while he decided to make another attempt to ascend the gulf with the other vessel. October 28 they all left La Paz. Vizcaino himself, after encountering a series of storms and reaching what he referred to as Cabo de San Antonio in 29½°,[14] finally returned to Salagua December 7, with his ship so full of water that she was nearly submerged.

It can be seen from the foregoing brief extract of Vizcaino's own account of the voyage, that the enterprise was a total failure. He had not a good word to say for the country nor for most of the men who accompanied him, but he professed to have found numberless Indians whom he thought would easily receive the Holy Evangel. He claimed that when they saw the image of the Virgin they fell on their knees, put their hands together, and raised their eyes to heaven, and he also declared that when he departed from La Paz they made demonstrations of sorrow at his departure and asked by signs when he would return. He left with them and with those at San Sebastian large crosses, and asserted that they gave him to understand that they would not take them away before he returned. The Viceroy was not at all pleased with the accomplishments of this expedition, although he seems to have accepted as the principal cause of the unfortunate outcome the excuse offered by Vizcaino[15] that he had

begun the voyage at the wrong time of the year. On the whole, he thought that Vizcaino had proceeded with more wisdom than might have been expected.[16] It is plain from remarks in some of his letters, and the subsequent actions of Vizcaino himself, that Vizcaino had found better indications of pearls than he gave out when he came back.

During the rest of the year, Vizcaino was busy negotiating with the Viceroy for authority to make a new effort, offering to start in March, 1598, and take divers to fish for pearls, five small ships, 150 men and 8 pieces of artillery. He began by asking for a loan of 35,000 pesos, but by November had reduced this to 15,000. His various petitions were forwarded to Madrid and the last sent in November was accompanied by another proposal from Gabriel Maldonado. Maldonado petitioned the King to cancel Vizcaino's contract, as he had not found out anything definite about the pearl fishery, and to commit the enterprise to him. He bettered Vizcaino's proposal by offering to equip an expedition, and, in case a real pearl fishery was found, to conquer and pacify the country at his own expense. He had some advantages over Vizcaino, as he was highly connected in Spain, and had been in the pearl fishing business for ten years or more at the Isla de Margarita and the Rio de la Hacha. The Viceroy said, in sending the petition, that he did not see the justice of cancelling Vizcaino's contract after he and his partners had spent so much money and had refused, with the approval of the Audiencia, to give Maldonado a license, although he still had no great opinion of the capacity of Vizcaino. He stated that in the opinion of himself and the Audiencia, "the lack of success in the past voyage did not appear from the accounts to have been brought about by the incapacity of Vizcaino, who rather had displayed some moderate talent and more spirit than could be ordinarily expected of a merchant in such an enterprise, but was due to ignorance of the seas, and to having undertaken the journey without having given proper thought to the burden of the ships, and with an unnecessary number of men and an insufficient supply of certain kinds of food."[17]

As previously stated, the Viceroy was now anxious to send a small expedition up the outer coast and wished to appoint Vizcaino to command it. His suggestion to divide the task of exploration between two parties seems to have arisen largely from his desire to allow Maldonado to try his luck up the gulf. As Vizcaino could not go on without funds and the Viceroy did not feel that it was just to take his contract of exploration away from him directly, he suggested purchasing Vizcaino's ships and supplies. In this way, no doubt, he considered that the King would be at liberty to give Maldonado a chance. It was probably due to the death of the King shortly after these various proposals were considered in the Council August 30, 1598,[18] that no definite order to proceed with the expedition seems to have been sent to the Viceroy until September 27, 1599.

The document has not yet been found, but from the letters of the Viceroy and the instructions given to Vizcaino it is clear that it embodied the substance

of the Viceroy's recommendations. In complying with this order, Monterey consulted persons experienced in the matter, and an agreement was reached that the voyage should be made in 1601. Having commenced to make the necessary arrangements, he was advised that it was too late in the year to set out. He therefore called a new council and this, after viewing some papers and accounts he placed before it, made a recommendation to postpone the voyage until the year 1602. As the expedition was so important and promised such good results, the council also thought it inadvisable to make it with a single ship only, as this could easily be lost in sailing through seas and places never before seen or reconnoitered, with the result that all the expense incurred would be lost, and even the desire to undertake the enterprise again, but that it should be made with two ships, and a launch which could make soundings of the ports and bays, and that they should take fifty or sixty sailors, as the voyage would be long and arduous. As this seemed good advice, the Viceroy accepted it, and at once gave an order to proceed with the necessary preparations.

As there were no ships available for the purpose in Acapulco at that time, the Viceroy ordered a search to be made for one in the ports of Sonsonate and Realejo, and appointed for the purpose Captain Toribio Gomez de Corbán, recently arrived from Spain, who brought papers and very honorable certificates of the service he had rendered His Majesty in sixteen years. Gomez and another soldier left on this mission in July, 1601, so that they could be back by November. In the meantime, the Viceroy ordered the launch to be built in the port and appointed Vizcaino to command the expedition, because, he said, of all men in the kingdom he was one of the most conversant with that coast, was a diligent person, worthy of confidence, and possessed some moderate talent. Besides these qualifications, he would leave behind some property, a wife and a son. The Viceroy now gave him an order to enlist the seamen, but very few came forward, since the voyage would be one of hardships. There was also a disinclination to enlist owing to the fact that only sailors were to go. It was therefore necessary to permit him to raise the standard and enlist soldiers also, although with the precise understanding that all should be sailors as well, and that only those should be enrolled who would go and were very expert. It was also found advisable to order an increase of three pesos above the fifteen ordinarily given to each soldier at the time of enlistment in raising forces in New Spain.

Considering how long the journey was expected to last, it seemed to the Viceroy very necessary that unofficial persons of reputation and position should go along, so that in case any hardships or difficulties arose they might put on a good face and keep up to their obligations the rest of the men, who in similar cases usually looked on such persons as very important. The Viceroy therefore ordered six old experienced soldiers, worthy of confidence, to embark with Vizcaino, giving them the title of *entretenidos*[19] for His Majesty. He at once picked out three for this duty, namely, Captain Gomez, and Captain Alonso

Esteban Peguero and Ensign Pascual de Alarcon, who had distinguished themselves while serving in Flanders and Brittany. These were to give counsel to Vizcaino, and he ordered Vizcaino to do nothing except with their approval. Later he appointed Francisco Benitez to serve him in a similar capacity. It was also considered necessary that a cosmographer should go, to make a map of what was discovered, and he also was to have a vote in the conferences with those above mentioned. As Captain Gerónimo Martin Palacios, a person distinguished in this art, had arrived in the *Flota,* the Viceroy ordered a search made for him. He had a title as cosmographer from the *Casa de Contratacion* in Seville, dated at the end of March, 1595, and also a cedula dated at the end of December, 1600, in which he was recommended to the Viceroy as having served twenty years as sailor, pilot, and master, in the *flotas* and fleets of the King.[20] The Viceroy therefore made a contract with him.

By Christmas all the force had been raised, and the food and everything necessary was ready. They now only awaited Captain Gomez, who wrote that he had not obtained such good dispatch as expected, and that difficulties were arising from the lack of ships to be purchased and in other matters, and that he would have to leave somewhat late with only one ship. This induced the Viceroy to order the force which had been raised to leave Mexico, and to endeavor to make the voyage with a good vessel which had reached Acapulco from Peru and with some *fragata* then in that port.

On March 2 peremptory written orders were issued to Vizcaino forbidding him to enter the Gulf of California while on the outward voyage, but permitting him to do so on his return if he had time and the fleet was in proper condition.[21] On the 18th, a set of twenty-five instructions was given him to govern his conduct while on the voyage.[22] These differ in almost every respect from those previously issued to commanders of exploring expeditions, being largely devoted to the method of holding councils, to sailing directions and to a continual insistence on the purpose of the voyage, which was to examine the coast in detail, make soundings in the ports and ascertain their landmarks, take the sun every day and the north star every night, examine the ports for pearls, and make maps of the discoveries. Vizcaino was not allowed to do anything of importance without consulting his council, in which he had no vote except in case of a tie, being obliged to follow the opinion of the majority. Two councils were provided: one for questions of navigation, consisting of Captains Gomez and Palacios, Pascual de Alarcon and Peguero, the pilots and the masters; and the other a military one, consisting of Captains Gomez and Palacios, Peguero and Alarcon. He was directed to be very cautious if Indians were encountered, and to treat them well, and was forbidden to allow anyone to go inland to look for them, as that was not a necessary part of his business. If the ports he found already had names on his map, he was not to change them, but otherwise he was to name them after the saints or some of those on board.[23] He was especially charged to make use of the services of Captain Palacios, whose

business it was to make the maps. If any difference of opinion arose in the council regarding any matter which came up for discussion, each man was required to state his opinion in writing. That these provisions were carried out will be seen in the issue. Little seems to have been left to the discretion of the commander. While such councils were the rule on board ship in those days, they usually acted only in an advisory capacity; the fact seems to be that the Viceroy had very little confidence in Vizcaino's judgment.

The force arrived at Acapulco on March 10, and before they could get ready, Gomez entered the port after a voyage so long and stormy that the ship was in need of much repair. This caused a delay until May 5, when Gomez' ship and the one from Peru, which the Viceroy had ordered purchased as it was appropriate for the purpose, set sail, together with the launch. All thought that the departure was in good season.[24] The ships were well equipped and carried more than enough food for a year, the longest time that it seemed likely the voyage would last. The seamen were well chosen, and the Viceroy hoped for the discovery of some good port and shelter, so greatly desired, where the ships from China could be relieved and their voyage assured. Besides this, he had an expectation, he wrote, of other news of importance.[25]

Just before sailing on the 5th of May, Vizcaino addressed a letter to the King stating that he expected to leave at five o'clock in the afternoon with the hope that with the aid of the Lord he was about to render a great service to His Majesty.[26] The Viceroy nowhere mentions the terms of the contract he made with him, but inasmuch as no profit could possibly be expected to be derived from the expedition, there is no likelihood that he had any interest in it. Nevertheless, in 1603 he produced some witnesses who testified that he had paid part or all of the expenses of the soldiers who had been enlisted in Mexico, for a period of ten months before they reached Acapulco, and made this one of the foundations of his claim for a reward. Vizcaino's old company nowhere appears in the transaction, nor did he himself refer to it except once, when he was seeking a new concession in 1597; in fact, he forgot about it later, and one would imagine from reading his *Informacion* of 1603 and his subsequent memorials and petitions, that he never had had any partners. He took to himself the entire credit for his expedition of 1596 and even claimed to have paid the entire expense of it.

The objects of the expedition would appear to be very plainly set forth in the correspondence. As Father Antonio de la Ascension later asserted, however, that there was another and the real one, not mentioned in any of this or in the instructions, namely, to look for the City of Quivira or some strait which was supposed to enter the South Sea north of Cabo Mendocino,[27] it may not be amiss to see what foundation there may have been for this statement. Hernando de los Rios Coronel had written the King from Manila, June 27, 1597, proposing to take possession of Formosa. His letter was forwarded by Luis Perez Dasmariñas, the governor of the islands, who took occasion to eulogize the

writer, saying there was no one in the islands who surpassed him in his knowledge of mathematics and in his disinterestedness. Coronel had gone there about 1588, and was probably the first man of scientific attainments to reach them after Jayme Juan.[28] At the time of writing, he was busy composing a book on the use of the astrolabe.[29] After setting forth his scheme for the conquest of Formosa, he enlarged on the great expense and the loss of many men in sending reinforcements to the islands by the way of New Spain or India, and outlined two other routes by which this could be done, one by the strait named "Anian," an account of which he said he had found in the islands written by Fr. Martin de Rada, and the other by way of New Mexico, as he expressed it.[30] He backed up his arguments with the following stories:

A Basque named Juanes de Rivas, a good man and native of San Sebastian, told me that while on a voyage to the whale fishery in Terra Nova, he gained information that in the year 1545 some Bretons, after sailing northwest a hundred leagues from the Punta de Breton, which is about eighty leagues west of the Punta de Bacallaos, in 49° or 50° (he said 52°), fell in with a strait by which, according to the story, some Portuguese had gone to India and China, and back again from Ucheo[31] to Lisbon, which they reached in forty-five days. Believing that the King would reward them, they gave him an account of it, but he put them in prison and the pilot and master died there. One of these Portuguese who was in the ship came to New Spain afterwards and went with Francisco de Ibarra on the discovery of Nueva Vizcaya. Ibarra decided to go and look for this strait, but they fell out. The Basque and the Portuguese became friendly, and conferring with each other about what each one knew and had seen, they said that from the Cabo de Breton you go to the northwest until you strike the mainland, then following the coast down towards the southwest, in which direction it runs, the entrance is struck, which, although seemingly very small, is very large and deep. Getting out into this China Sea, the coast of which runs towards China in a west-southwest direction, they said that on the side of the strait towards the South Sea [some letters lost] of the north, there are many small islands, although a better statement would be that they were on the north side coming from China. Besides this landmark, by following the coast the strait cannot be missed. They gave as landmarks that on the left side the Chinese shore is very high, with pine trees, and on the other side it is very low, but also wooded. They said that in the strait the wind was of no service, but that the currents draw them into it and take them out. They said that the so-called "Islas de Bacallaos" is all one island (unless, perhaps, there are some small islands close to it), to the Cabo de Gata,[32] which is in 62°, where there is a deep passage to enter the great bay. They said that the Punta de Bacallaos is in 50°, and that the coast runs along from this island to the Cabo de Breton, about eighty leagues, and that what is called "Cabo de Breton" on the maps is the large island itself, and is nearer the Punta de Bacallaos than the Cabo de Gata.

It can also be inferred that these seas communicate with each other, because those who sail from these islands see on the coast of New Spain a great number of whales in the latitude of 42°, which must enter by that strait. Therefore, by this way Your Majesty can place what force you wish [some letters lost]. Although this navigation on account of the high latitude seems to entail some difficulty, there is none, because leaving [some letters lost] in March when they reach this latitude it is hot, and [some letters lost] the seas are calm and the winds are from the northeast, which are those required, and you can come here with much ease. . . . .

The other route and sailing is by way of New Mexico, in the latitude of 45°. Of this, a friar of the order of San Augustin, intelligent in cosmography, the prior, who died in the convent here,[33] gave me an account, saying that at the time when Don Luis de Velasco, the elder, was governing New Spain, a Basque gave him in his presence an account of it, stating that he had seen, while on a journey with a French corsair, that they entered an arm of the sea above the coast of Florida during a storm, and having sailed many days towards the west found the arm of the sea to end in the latitude of 45°. They then saw a half a league from there another arm of the sea.[34] They built a brigantine, and sailing through this they fell in with a well-populated city, whose inhabitants gave them whatever they needed, and made some houses of boards for them on the beach. They remained there until, on account of some incivility of a soldier to a woman, they were ejected from the country and returned. From this it is inferred that the two seas are close together in that place,

and if Your Majesty would order New Mexico to be pacified [some letters lost] the navigation from here would be easy, keeping ships in both seas. Padre Sedeño, rector of the company of Jesus, who died about two years ago, also told me about this, and said that while he was in Florida, Pedro Melendez had communicated with him about it many times.

These two discoveries would be very easy to make from these islands, and at little more cost than from Spain, as the entrances from there are difficult to find, while from here they cannot be missed, nor does any impediment offer. The first year that Gomez Perez Dasmariñas came here as governor, he treated with me about sending me with a ship to discover this strait, but because of the expedition which he decided to make to Maluco, he postponed it, and as he was afterwards killed so unfortunately, everything came to a stop, but I believe that if he had lived he would have advanced the affairs of these parts very much, and would have served Your Majesty well in view of the valor and zeal which he displayed.

The first of these stories was very old, it may, in fact, have originated before 1540. The second is obviously the same, with variations, as that of Obregon related in Chapter VII. Coronel's letter, having presumably left Manila about July 1, must have reached Mexico early in 1598 and been forwarded to Spain in the spring. It therefore should have been in the hands of the Council by the summer of that year. Philip II died September 13, 1598, and was succeeded by his son, known as Philip III. It seems not unlikely that while the Council was considering the matter of a new voyage up the northwest coast the arrival of Coronel's letter with a circumstantial account of two possible passages between the North Sea and the South Sea, apparently based on good authority, induced a search to be made in the archives for any documents bearing on the matter. Father Antonio de la Ascension states that a sworn *Informacion* was found which had been given to Philip II by some foreigners, very evidently the story related by Obregon, which had been reduced to legal form by Viceroy Velasco and sent to Spain. In his account Father Antonio relates at some length a story which is substantially the same as Coronel's second one, making it evident that he had either seen a copy of Coronel's letter, or else one from the King in which that information was embodied. No mention was made of the scheme in the opinion of the Council of August 30, 1598, which would indicate that they either paid no attention to Coronel's letter or that it had not then been received. It is therefore impossible to estimate what influence, if any, his stories had in bringing the King to order the expedition to be made, but everything goes to show that if a search for his strait was one of the objects of the expedition, it was a very minor one.

In answering Coronel's letter, the governor of the Philippines was ordered to consult experienced persons about whether it was advisable to take possession of the Isla de Armiñio, but nothing was said of hunting for any strait, although that was stated to be a matter of importance.[35] In the instructions issued by the Viceroy to Vizcaino we look in vain for some indication that he had any such object in view, although these must be in substance the orders received from the King. It might possibly be inferred from the permission given Vizcaino to pass beyond Cabo Mendocino as far as Cabo Blanco, if he had time and good weather, and even beyond Cabo Blanco to a distance of more than a hundred leagues from Cabo Mendocino, that he was to search for some

strait. Such an order may even have been given to him verbally, in conformity either with something contained in the cedula of September 27, 1599, containing the orders to send out the expedition, or in some subsequent letter. The question must remain unanswered until either the cedula or some such letter be found.

It is plain from Vizcaino's instructions that the Viceroy had no direct knowledge of the coast beyond Cabo Mendocino, and although he speaks of maps, it is likely that they were not Spanish but foreign ones. Cabo Blanco was referred to by him as being in 44° of latitude, and he ordered that if the maps should be found to be incorrect and the coast should turn to the west at Cabo Mendocino, Vizcaino should then reconnoiter it. The maps he had must therefore have shown the coast as turning from Mendocino towards the north or the east, and in the account of the voyage there is evidence that the coast was expected to turn northeast at that cape. Cabo Mendocino had first appeared on Ortelius' map of America of 1587 in about 54°, and on this map the coast is shown turning northeast and then north to a Rio de los Estrechos in 59°.[36] Cabo Blanco is first shown on Peter Plancius' map of 1592, not in the latitude of 44°, but four distinct ones in 30°, 34°, 40° and 55°.

CHAPTER XI

FATHER ANTONIO DE LA ASCENSION'S ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF SEBASTIAN VIZCAINO

An account of the expedition for the discovery of the Californias which *General* Sebastian Vizcaino carried into effect in the year 1602 by order of His Excellency the Señor Conde de Monterey, the viceroy of New Spain, written by the reverend father, Fray Antonio de la Ascension of the Barefoot Order of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, one of the three friars who went on the journey.

CHAPTER I AND PROLOGUE, *in which is treated the purpose His Majesty may have had in ordering this discovery to be made.*

That famous saying of Valerius Maximus that each thing to be done well has to have and keep its method is very celebrated among all savants. Method I call the conformity to be observed between what is to be done, the reason and purpose of it, and the power employed therein. This is what Horace extolled, saying, "Secure is that power which employs its force with method," that is to say, undertake nothing except what you can accomplish. In order that all may know the authority which His Majesty our king, Philip III, has to order this discovery to be made, it will be advisable to refer here to a conclusion which the bishop of Chiapa, Don Fray Bartolomé de las Cassas, draws in his *Tratado Conprobatorio del ynperio soberano y principado universal que los Reyes de Castilla y Leon tienen sobre las Indias,*[1] in which he states: "the kings of Castile and Leon have a very just title to the supreme, universal or high empire of all that part of the globe we call Oceanas Indias, and are justly the princes, sovereign, supreme and universal lords and emperors over the native kings and lords of those by virtue of the authority, grant and gift not simple and mere, but according to due form, *ydest obinter possitan caussam*[2] which the Holy Apostolic See of Alexander VI sanctioned and gave in the year 1493 to the Catholic monarchs Don Fernando and Doña Isabel. This and no other is the juridical and substantial foundation on which is predicated all their title." In virtue of this over-lordship our king, Philip III, as a true son of such a most Christian and wise father, Philip II, and grandson of such holy forefathers, and having the same zeal as they for the good of the souls under his charge, always endeavors by all ways and means possible to advance and amplify his empire and Christianity over all this new western world.

Having at his charge this new world and the other kingdoms which his father left him, he found among his father's secret papers a sworn declaration that some foreigners had given him in which it is stated that they had seen and discovered some notable things, on passing through the Strait of Anian, where they were driven in a ship by the great force of continual winds from the coast

of the Bacallaos in what we call "Tierra Nova." In this they relate how they passed from the North Sea to the South Sea by this strait, and that, while searching for shelter from the storm, they entered a copious river, on which they came in sight of a populous and rich city named Quivira,[3] well filled with civilized, courteous and very literate people wearing clothes, and well fortified and surrounded by a wall. It was in the latitude of 40°, almost on the same parallel and in the same neighborhood as Cabo Mendocino, which the ships come to sight in sailing from the Philippines to New Spain. Other particularities were contained in this declaration worth finding out and even investigating. All this moved His Majesty to make every effort to find out about such a famous city and discover its situation.[4]

Besides this, the president and the *oidores* of the Royal Council of the Indies advised His Majesty that the ships sailing from the Philippines to New Spain encounter great storms before they come in sight of Cabo Mendocino and in that latitude, and that inasmuch as that country was not explored and the ports on that coast are not known, the ships ran a great risk and were obliged to return to Japan, where the *San Felipe* was wrecked in 1596. Great riches belonging to His Majesty and to private persons were lost in this, although out of the wreck followed the martyrdom of the saints of Japan, whom Taicoçama, the emperor of Japan, put to death at that time.[5] Other ships had also encountered great storms on other occasions. In order to avoid such losses it was thought advisable to explore all the seacoast from there to the Puerto de Acapulco so that once the ports situated on it were found, the ships navigating along it might find relief and shelter.

His Majesty was also advised that there was information that the Kingdom of California, that is, the land from the Cabo de San Lucas called "La Punta de la California" to Cabo Mendocino, was a long country well inhabited by Indians and other nations, and contained great riches in pearls, silver, gold and amber, and that the Marqués del Valle, Don Fernando Cortés, after having conquered Mexico and its provinces, had gone to the Californias in the year 1535 with the intention of conquering and pacifying that country for the purpose of enjoying its reputed riches. As he had news that Don Antonio de Mendoza had come to New Spain as viceroy, and in order to settle the matter of his status,[6] he had returned to Mexico with his force without accomplishing anything, his preparations for the conquest having cost him a great amount of money. The Viceroy afterwards endeavored to accomplish the same thing at his own expense, and placed his plan in operation, but it did not have the desired effect, because of the great difficulty of sailing along that coast on which the northwest winds are continuously contrary. Those who went therefore returned to New Spain with their ships broken and with great loss, without having settled any matter of importance.[7]

For these and other fitting reasons His Majesty ordered the Conde de Monterey, Don Gaspar de Zuñiga y Açevedo, viceroy at that time of New Spain,

to have this exploration from the Puerto de Acapulco to Cabo Mendocino made with all care and diligence at the expense of the royal treasury, and to have all the ports, bays, islands, and rivers found on that coast examined and full note taken of what there was in the country.

CHAPTER II, *in which is treated how and in what order the Conde de Monterey made the necessary dispositions for this voyage.*

That great and most eloquent orator Cicero, in his book *Del Perfecto Orador,* says *"In rebus magnis memoria que dignis consilia primum deinde acta postea eventus spectanctur,"* which turned into our common language is "seasoned and prudent counsel is advisable in the execution of great affairs and business deserving of eternal memory, first to see if the affair should be undertaken, then to see how it can be done opportunely, and thirdly and lastly, to provide what is necessary to prevent failure." This maxim the Viceroy followed to the letter, and desirous of doing properly what His Majesty had ordered with such earnestness, he, as a wise and discreet man, conferred about it not only once but many times with persons of experience and discretion, who His Excellency was confident would tell him what was most advisable to be done to carry it out in the best manner and to best serve the King, our master.

The Viceroy having decided what was to be done, in what manner and in what season, and with what ships and what number of men the voyage should be made, ordered everything to be prepared with the greatest care and diligence. He at once appointed *General* Sebastian Vizcaino as *general*[8] and commander for the voyage and Captain Toribio Gomez de Corbán as *almirante*,[9] persons of experience and worthy of even greater positions and dignities by reason of the good service they had rendered His Majesty on other occasions. He did not expect less of them on this, as *General* Sebastian Vizcaino was the person under whose charge lay the pacification and conquest of the Kingdom of California, having spent the greater part of his property and that of his outfitters in the voyage he had made in 1596 to that kingdom to conquer and pacify it for His Majesty. He had come back on account of troubles and unfortunate occurrences without having accomplished anything of importance. He was therefore the person who knew most about that coast, and besides, was acquainted with those seas, as he had gone to the Philippines and returned from them before undertaking that expedition. As he was so much interested in seeing that the exploration be thoroughly performed, he received this appointment.

Captain Toribio Gomez de Corbán was given the position of *almirante* because in sea affairs he was very well versed and expert, having served His Majesty many years on the coasts of Spain and France in the cruisers of the Navy and had come with an express order from the King to be employed in this expedition. The Viceroy was compliant, and as soon as he had appointed him, gave him instructions to go and fetch the ships which seemed necessary to make the journey, and which it was understood he would find in Realejo on the coast

of the South Sea in the jurisdiction of Panama, assigning Ensign Sebastian Melendez and Pilot Antonio Flores as his companions to assist him in bringing the ships to the Puerto de Acapulco. The Viceroy also sent an order to the royal officials in the Puerto de Acapulco to have a *fragata*[10] and a longboat constructed, and to make other dispositions needful for the voyage. He sent Ensign Juan de Açevedo Texeda, a very careful and vigilant man, to see that these orders were carried out and to assist in what was committed to his care. This done, his Excellency ordered *General* Sebastian Vizcaino to set down what was necessary for the voyage — seamen, soldiers, supplies of food, tackle, arms, ammunition and tools — all of which the *General* did, as a man who already knew what might be needed, asking for everything which seemed essential for such a difficult and painful voyage as the one to be undertaken, as it was considered that at least a year would be required to make it.

In order that this fleet should not go without ecclesiastics to administer the sacraments to those who accompanied it, the Viceroy determined that three religious persons, priests, preachers and confessors of the Barefoot Order of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, should go, inasmuch as His Majesty himself had so ordered by a royal order which the friars of the Order presented to him. These had come to New Spain at the expense of His Majesty for the conversion of the Indians of New Mexico, when the Marqués de Villamanrique came out as viceroy.[11] Other friars had afterwards come to the Indies from Spain on other occasions for the same purpose. In 1597 fifteen others had come to go to the conversion of New Mexico, but when they reached Mexico twelve friars of the Order of San Francisco were already with the governor, Don Juan de Oñate, and in his army which was on its way to conquer those provinces. This prevented the going of the newly arrived friars from Spain to these conversions, the Viceroy promising to send them on the first conquest which might offer.[12] As this now occurred with the proposed discovery of the coast of California, the Viceroy in the name of the King asked the provincial of the Barefoot Carmelites, Fray Pedro de los Apóstoles, to give him three friars, priests and confessors, to accompany the expedition, and to take possession of that Kingdom of California, in order to undertake their conversion at once. The Provincial communicated this to his *difinadores*.[13] All agreed to it and appointed Father Fray Andrés de la Asumpcion,[14] who was a *difinador* of the province and prior-elect of the convent of Salaya; Father Fray Antonio de la Ascension, who had accompanied him from Spain, chosen for that purpose; and Father Fray Tomás de Aquino, all religious persons of great virtue, of very exemplary life and of good letters. For what might arise, they named as superior, Father Andrés, and in default of him, Father Antonio, and in default of both, Father Tomás. In order that the laity should have them as their superiors in spiritual matters, the Inquisitors of Mexico gave them a substitute of authority for such cases as might occur, and the Archbishop of Mexico on his part gave them full authority to act as his deputies and the parish priests of the Spaniards who were going on the expe-

dition. The Viceroy ordered everything needful to be given to them in the way of vestments, ornaments and books, and this was done.

That nothing necessary or important for this voyage should be lacking and that it should have a happy result, he appointed prudent and discreet men of great experience in matters of sea, land and war as companions and counsellors of the *General* for matters of difficulty or doubt which might arise, whom the *General* should call together and consult in such cases, conforming to the opinion of the majority. Those appointed were the *almirante,* Toribio Gomez de Corbán; Captains Alonso Esteban Peguero[15] and Pascual de Alarcon,[16] old soldiers of Flanders and Brittany, where they had served His Majesty many years in honorable positions of much confidence; Captain Gerónimo Martin Palacios, who went as cosmographer on this expedition to survey the country, and to make a map and drawing of all that might be discovered, setting down clearly and with precision the ports and the latitudes; the pilots and masters of the ships and their assistants; and Ensigns Juan de Açevedo Texeda, Martin Galeote[17] and Sebastian Melendez, all good soldiers and sailors who had served His Majesty very well on many other occasions.

His Excellency also ordered a company of two hundred old soldiers to be raised, who knew how to handle arms well and assist in the work of managing the ships, and who should be good sailors. As ensign of this company he appointed Juan Francisco Suriano, and as sergeant, Miguel de Legar, very good soldiers. These directed the men and the soldiers, who formed the best and most splendid company that had ever been seen in New Spain. The force having been raised, the Ensign and Sergeant were ordered to take it to the Puerto de Acapulco, where they were to embark on the ships at that place.

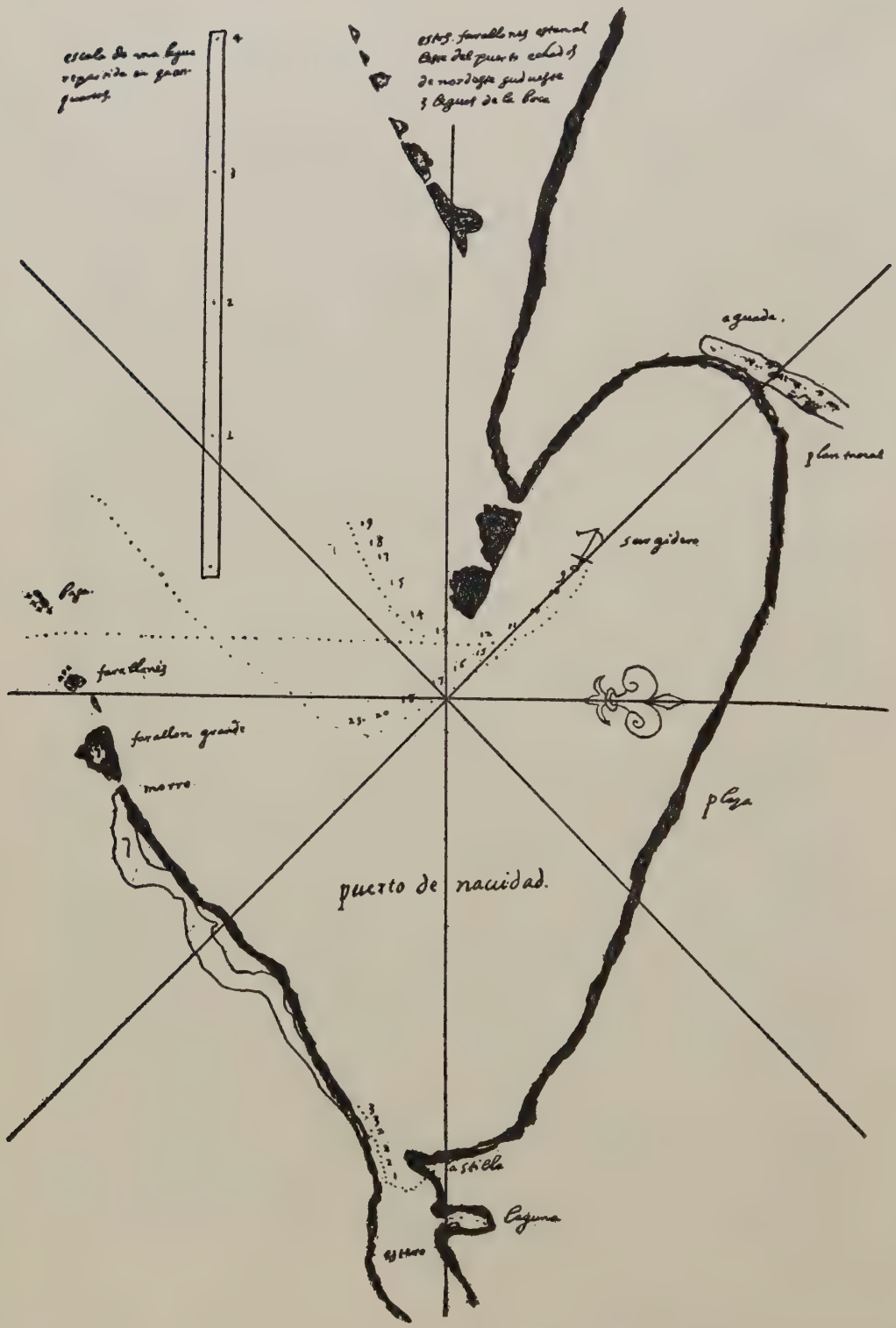
These things being thus arranged, the Viceroy ordered Don Francisco de Valverde, factor of the royal treasury in Mexico, and purveyor of the royal fleets, to send to Acapulco at once all that was under his charge and to pay the soldiers, as they were going at once, as already ordered. The time having now come for the *General,* the friars and the captains to leave, the Viceroy had all of them called together in the palace and made them a very discreet harangue, putting in the hands of all the business on which he was sending them, and charging them to maintain peace and unity, and obedience and respect to their superiors, especially that which all had to have for the friars, on whom he had fixed his expectations of the good success of the voyage. With this he bade farewell to all, giving them loving embraces, and they left Mexico all together, March 7, the day of Santo Tomás de Aquino, and reached Acapulco on the 20th[18] of the same month in the year 1602.

CHAPTER III, *in which is treated of the force which embarked in the fleet and in what ships, of who went in each one, and of how they departed from the port and commenced their navigation.*[19]

When the *General,* the friars and the captains reached the Puerto de

Acapulco they found there three small ships fit for the voyage, namely the ship *San Diego,* of two hundred tons burden which was the *capitana,* another smaller one called the *Santo Tomás,*[20] and the *Tres Reyes,* a *fragata.* The *General* at once gave an order to have them well cleaned and made ready for departure. When the yards were already aloft a letter arrived from the Viceroy giving the rules to be observed during the voyage, and assigning each person to the ship in which he was to go: in the *Capitana* the *General,* and with him the Father Comisario, Fray Andrés de la Asumpcion, and Father Fray Tomás de Aquino; the cosmographer Gerónimo Martin Palacios; Captain Pascual de Alarcon; Francisco de Bolaños,[21] the chief pilot, with his assistant Esteban Rodriguez, who was also master of the ship, and the ensign of the soldiers, Juan Francisco Suriano. In the *Almiranta* were to be the *Almirante* and with him Father Fray Antonio de la Ascension, to whom His Excellency wrote, begging and charging him in the name of His Majesty to undertake the office of cosmographer, as he knew him to be versed in this science;[22] Captain Alonso Esteban Peguero; Ensign Juan de Açevedo Texeda, and Pilot Juan Pascual,[23] with his assistant, Baltazar de Armas, the pilot, who was also master of the ship. In the *Fragata* were to be Ensign Sebastian Melendez, who acted as commander, Ensign Martin de Aguilar Galeote, and Pilot Antonio Flores, who was also her master. This order was obeyed to the letter, and so each one stowed his provisions in a convenient place and all made ready for the voyage. While they were finishing the necessary preparations, the friars ordered everybody, large and small, to confess and receive holy communion, so that the voyage might be made with all who were going in the grace and good favor of God, Our Master. This done, the *General* issued a proclamation for all to go on board according to the prescribed arrangement.[24]

When all had embarked, a piece of artillery was discharged to sound "weigh the anchor," and the *Capitana, Almiranta,* and *Fragata* at once spread their sails to the breeze and commenced their voyage, departing from the Puerto de Acapulco, May 5, 1602, Sunday, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the day of the glorious martyr San Angelo of the Order of Nuestra Señora del Carmen. The *Capitana* towed a longboat for the ordinary service of the voyage with which to survey the ports, bars, bays and *ensenadas,*[25] and for other occasions which might arise.[26] The fleet now being on the high seas, two leagues from the port, the voyage was commenced, following the coast of New Spain which trends to the northwest, that is, between the west and the north. Along the coast of the South Sea the northwest wind usually blows, and so this wind very shortly was contrary and opposite to the course of our navigation, and thus it continued. In order to make some headway on the course which had been taken, as the northwest wind was strong, it was necessary to sail on the bowline, sometimes heading out to sea and at other times to land, an insufferable labor. If the currents of the sea are not favorable, instead of going ahead you lose what you have gained, but Our Lord was pleased that the currents should be favorable

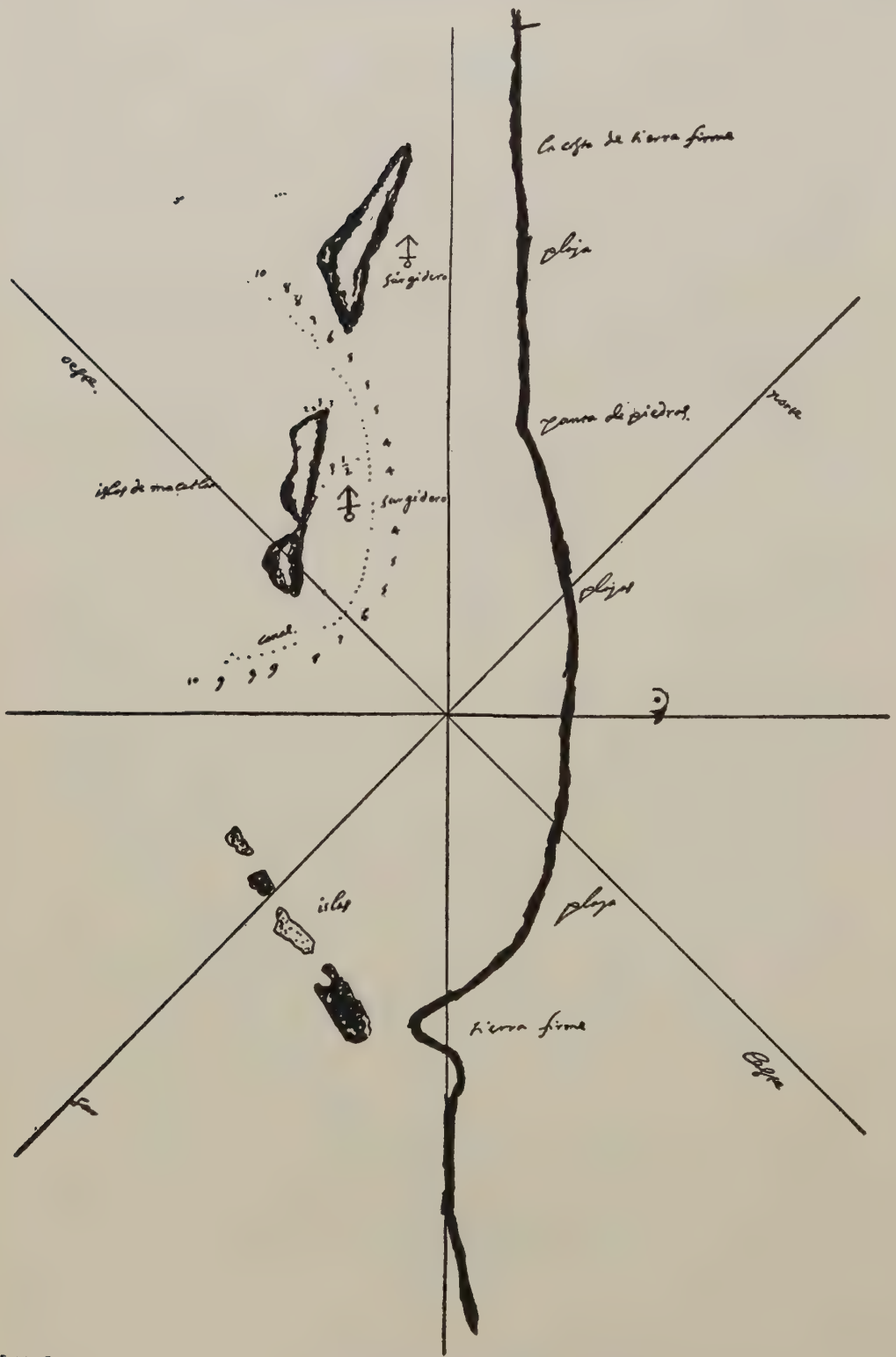


No. 1. Puerto de Navidad

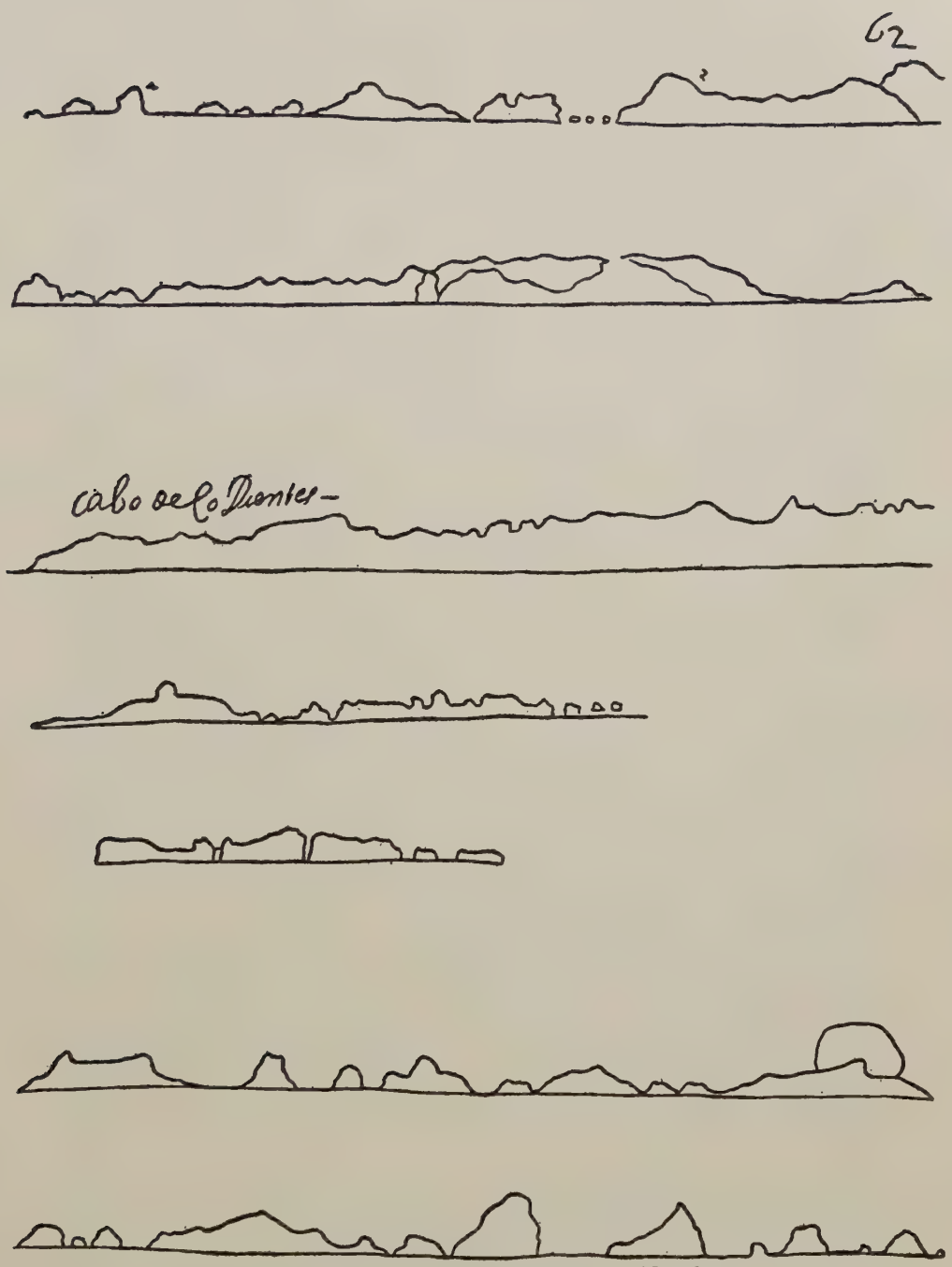
and against the wind, so with the keel wind (as the sailors call it) the fleet went sailing on little by little and thus reached the Puerto de la Navidad on the 19th of the month, Sunday, at five o'clock in the afternoon. Here it was necessary to make port, as the ships were very crank and rolled a great deal as they had little ballast in them and insufficient cargo for their burden and capacity, and the *Capitana* was making water. This was remedied and needed ballast was taken, as well as wood, fresh water and some fresh provisions, as it is a country of Christians, and near by there are ranches of Spaniards.

In this Puerto de la Navidad were built the ships with which the Philippines and the navigation to and from them were discovered. These ships on returning from those islands sighted land in the latitude of 42°, near which the land makes a point or cape which was named "Cabo Mendocino." To this port the ships from China were wont to come before the Puerto de Acapulco was discovered.[27] It is a very good one, and has much timber for building ships. The neighborhood is very beautiful and very well supplied with cattle and food, as nearby there are many ranches of cattle and *çarça*,[28] cacao plantations and good fisheries.[29] Our necessities being relieved, the fleet sailed from this port on the following Tuesday, the 22d, two hours after sundown, and continuing the voyage with the same difficulty as before, reached the Cabo de Corrientes on May 26, the day of the Pascua del Espiritu Santo.[30] Having sighted the cape, the fleet went running along the coast[31] and reached the Islas de Maçatlan,[32] midday Sunday, June 2.

These islands, two in number, are small and close together, and between them and the mainland a good port is formed, into which enters a copious river which comes from Nueva Galicia. It was in this port that the Englishman, Don Tomas Candi,[33] careened his ship while he was waiting to seize and plunder the ships from China. He captured the *Santa Ana* very near California. Here the *Capitana* and *Almiranta* entered the port and found the *Fragata* which had arrived before them. Wood was taken on one of the islands. On this there was an infinite number of birds called pelicans, which breed there. It was at a time when the young ones were too small to fly, so their parents were feeding them with sardines and other small fish. These birds are like large geese; the bill is more than a third of a yard[34] long, the legs are long like those of storks, and the feet and the bill are like those of a goose. They have very large crops, some of which hold an *arroba*[35] of water. In these they collect as in a purse the fish they catch, without swallowing them, in order to take them to their young. When they reach them they empty out what they carry so that their young can secure their necessary sustenance. They never eat the heads of the sardines, as the ground about their nests was full of them. Among themselves they are very friendly, helpful and merciful. If one of them is sick, lame or maimed so that he cannot go fishing for his food, the others bring it and place it before him to eat. This was observed and much noted by Father Antonio, who saw it with his own eyes among some other pelicans at the Isla de San Roque, as will be



No. 2. Islas de Mazatlan and adjacent coast



No. 3. Coast elevations from Acapulco to Mazatlan

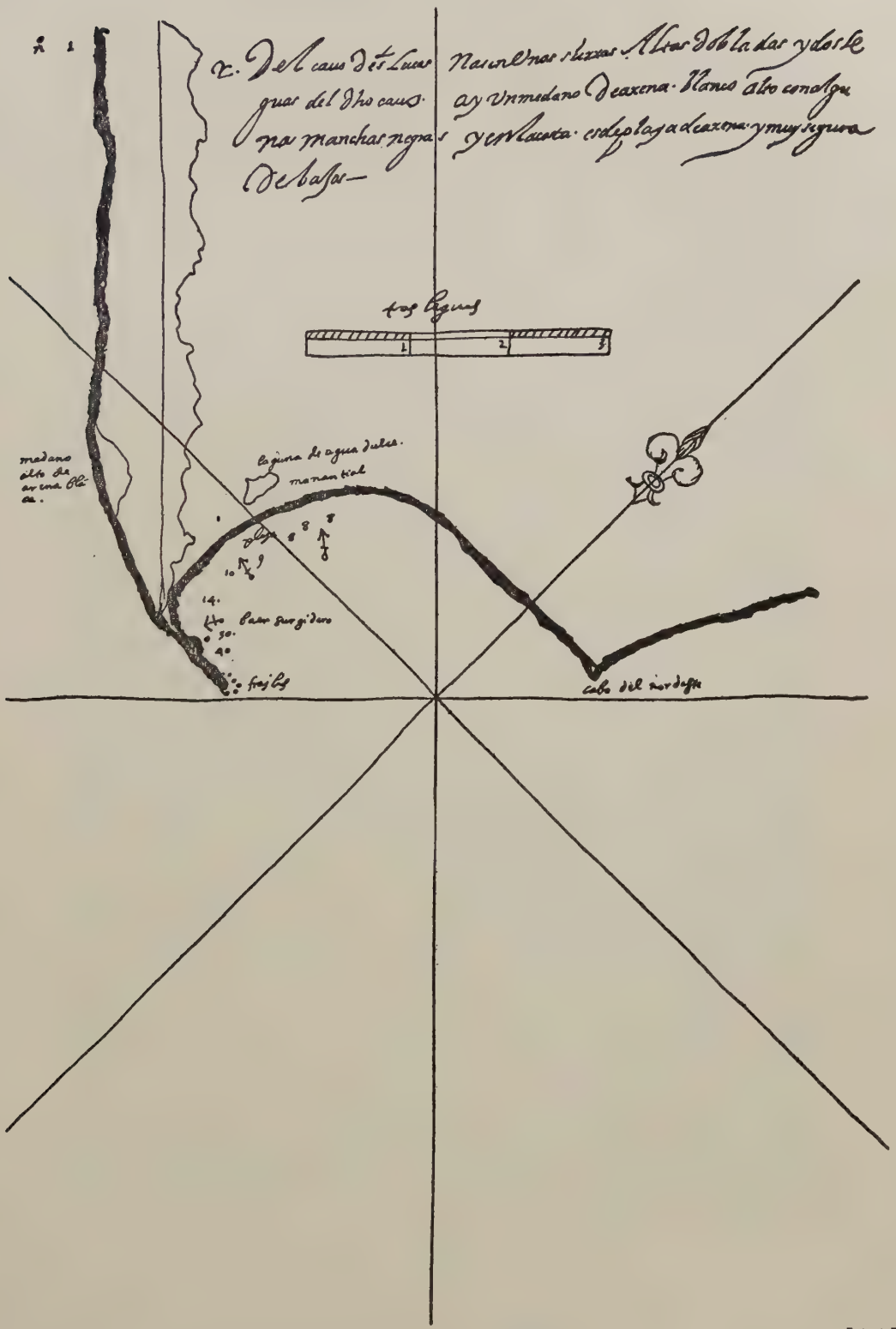
seen and the case adverted to farther on when that island comes to be described. In this island there are deer and wild goats, and some little apples grow on them which the Indians of the islands call *jocoystles.*[36] These are of such singular virtue, that by simply eating them, all those who arrived there sick on the return voyage recovered their health, as will be related in its proper place. The mainland and the Indians on it are pacified,[37] and many Christians and Spaniards live on it. The province is called Acaponeta, or Chametla.

Here, in the Kingdom of Galicia on the coast which belongs to New Spain, begins the entrance to the Sea of California,[38] which continues to Sinaloa and Culiacan, and runs on to the provinces of New Mexico, to finally reach the Kingdom of Quivira and the Strait of Anian, by which one can find passage and navigation to Spain, as will be related in its place. Thirty-four leagues from these islands along the coast referred to, the Rio Grande, which has its origin in the Rio de Toluco and is there known as the Rio Navito,[39] enters this sea, which some call "The Sea of Cortés," as he was the first who sailed on it when he went to the Californias in 1535, but others call it the "Mar Rojo," because the water has a reddish appearance.

The fleet sailed from these islands on the same day it arrived, in order to traverse the arm of the sea between them and the Punta de la California, called "Cabo de San Lucas." It is more than fifty leagues across. Our Lord was pleased that on Sunday afternoon, June 9, the fleet should come in sight of the Californias.[40] Approaching the Cabo de San Lucas in order to search for a port there, a fog came up so thick and dark that the ships became separated. Losing contact with each other and without knowing where the others were, they went on for a day and a half. It was a recognized miracle of God that the *Almiranta* was not wrecked on some reefs at this cape. As in the darkness she was just about to strike them, not being fifty paces from them, the fog cleared up for just a moment, and thus the danger was seen. An endeavor was at once made to avoid it by putting the helm to the side, and with this the ship came up with her bow to the sea. It was a miraculous thing, because in an instant the day darkened again with the fog as heavy and thick as before. By this it was understood how much Our Lord would be served with the voyage, and how the Devil attempted to prevent it with this occurrence and others which will be related. This happened at seven o'clock in the morning of the 11th of the month, the day of the Apostle San Bernabé. At nine the day cleared up a little and the *Capitana* and *Almiranta* joined each other and together took refuge in a good bay near the cape. On this same day of San Bernabé, they entered this port, where the *Fragata* was anchored.

CHAPTER IV, *in which is treated of what this fleet did in the Bahia de San Bernabé, at the Cabo de San Lucas and the Punta de la California, of what was discovered there and of the departure therefrom.*

As the fleet reached this bay on the day of San Bernabé, it was named "San Bernabé." As soon as the fleet entered, and while furling the sails, a large



No. 4. Puerto de San Bernabé

number of naked Indians was seen on the beach. They all had bows and arrows and some had spears in their hands. With great cries and shouting and throwing up of sand in the air with their hands, they seemed to be calling to those on the ships. The *General* on seeing this gave an order for the ships' boats to be made ready and for some soldiers to arm themselves for the purpose of going ashore to look over these Indians and find out what they wanted. The *General*, the *Almirante*, the three friars, and other captains with twelve soldiers[41] armed with their harquebuses and matches lit, therefore embarked in the boats. As these were approaching the beach the Indians,[42] seeing so many men and such a fleet, became suspicious and apprehensive and retired to a little hill near by to look on and be safe, and to see if those who were coming were peaceable. All landed on the beach and on attempting to approach the Indians they went farther away. In order to lead them up peacefully, Father Antonio, by order of his superior and with his blessing, went alone to where they were, and because of the signs and gestures he made, they waited for him. He came up to them and embraced all with much love and kindness. They at once put their arms on the ground and by signs made him sit down[43] with them and tell the others not to come up, but to put down their arms as they had just done. Father Antonio did this and called a Negro boy, whom he brought with him and who carried a wicker basket of biscuit. The Negro came up and the Indians were delighted to see him, caressing him very much, giving it to be understood that they had some friendship and trade with some other Negroes and that either near by or among them there must be some Negro settlement.[44]

Meanwhile the *General* and the *Almirante* laid down their arms and in company with the other two friars came up to Father Antonio. The Indians kept quiet and took what was given them, such as glass beads, little looking-glasses and other trifles, although they were suspicious, and afraid that some hardship or misfortune would happen to them. So after receiving the biscuit and other little things the Spaniards gave them, they went away very contented to their settlements. When the Indians had gone, the *General* with the rest went around looking over the place and found among some green cane brakes a lake of very good water, quite near the beach. On the other side of this bay there are some rocks on which the surf beats, and among these and on the beach a great quantity of fresh sardines was found which had been left there by the return of the waves. These in endeavoring to escape from other larger fish had come close to shore and the waves had thrown them out and left them dry. So many and so good were they that on what was collected all those of the fleet supped that night and dined the following day. On the beach were found many heaps of mother-of-pearl shells in which pearls grow. There were many of these shells scattered through the sand, which, struck by the rays of the sun at midday, scintillated like stars, making it look like a starry heaven. From this the great richness in pearls in that sea can be readily seen.[45] It is certain that they are there and very fine ones at that.

Under the shelter of the rocks above mentioned a large tent or hut was set up under which an altar was made where the friars said mass every day while they were there. Here was celebrated the festival of the most Holy Sacrament, on the eighth day of that festival.[46] There was a sermon and a procession with the most Holy Sacrament and a sculptured image of Our Señora del Carmen which the friars carried for the consolation of all. This day all those on the fleet confessed and took communion. It was a great spiritual solace for all, although I do not think that the Devil received much pleasure from it.

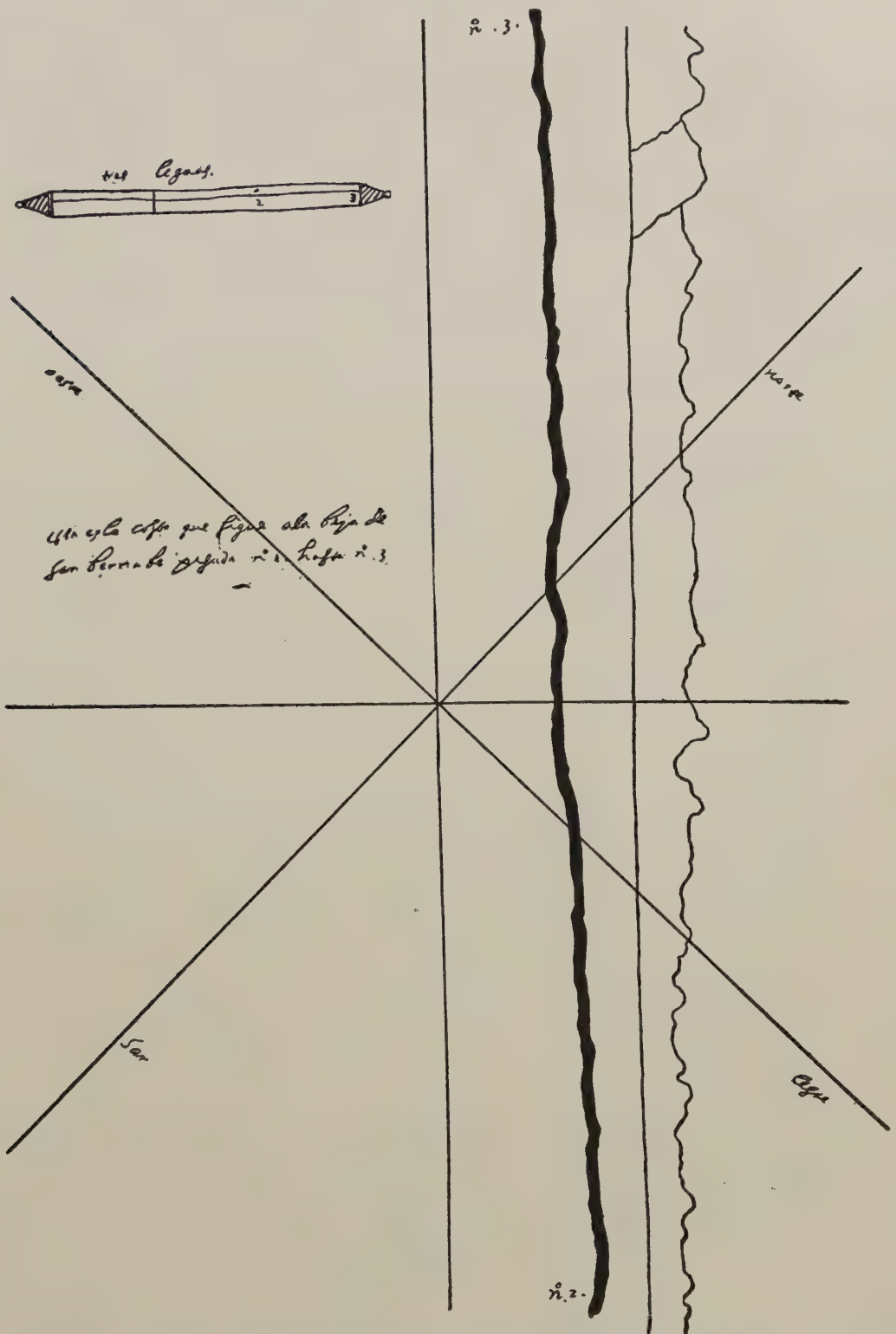
The fleet remained in this bay some days waiting for the conjunction of the moon to pass, and in the meantime the men refreshed themselves and washed their clothes. Some small necessary work was done on the ships, water and wood were taken, and with the nets which each ship carried, a great quantity of fish of many species and different forms, all very good, wholesome, and of good taste, was caught each day. That it may be known what the kinds of fish were, I give here the names of those I saw and had in my hands;[47] sardines, *chernas,* red-snapper, perch, *cornudos,* dog-fish, sharks, devil-fish, skate, salmon, tunny, *esmeregales,*[48] oysters, ray-fish, *chuchos,* mackerel, roncodors, mutton-fish, bonitos, *puercos,* sole, *sirgueros,*[49] newts, a great quantity of pearl oysters, and many whales. The devil-fish are so large that one of them wrapped itself around the cable of the anchor-buoy with which the *Almiranta* was made fast, pulled it up and made off with it and the ship,[50] so that it was necessary to kill it, but a large number of soldiers and sailors who were pulling it with strong ropes never succeeded in getting it out on land from the water. The mouth is like a half-moon, seven spans across from one side to the other, and from the head to the tail it measures seventeen spans.

The country is of good climate, fertile and healthful. The bay is under the Tropic of Cancer.[51] The surrounding country is level, and well fitted for cultivation and for sowing seeds and vegetables. Of trees and shrubs there are: plums,[52] which in place of gum exude a great quantity of very fine fragrant incense, *pitahayas,*[53] heather, mastic, live-oaks and white oaks, and cedars and pines in the mountains. They say that the plums are of good taste, but I did not try them. There is much game in the mountains and on the wing: lions, tigers, deer, stags, rabbits, hares, and many coyotes. Of birds there are doves, wild pigeons, quail, and many different kinds of ducks. There is a lagoon of salt where good salt works can be made, and from which plenty was taken.

The Indians appeared to be of good disposition, meek and grateful. Each day they came to see the Spaniards and be with them, because they treated them with affection. They brought many little things which they gave the *General* and the soldiers, such as skins of the lion, tiger, deer, and seal, dressed soft with the hair on, net caps of cotton, and other little nets carefully made. They go about naked and allow the hair of the top of the head to grow very long, and with this they make great topknots which stand up, in which they put those things which to their mind are beautiful and ornamental. Some have light-

colored hair. They paint themselves white and black. The women go about covered from the breast down with the skins of the animals above mentioned. They are of good appearance, modest in their behaviour, of good eyes, and very prolific, because many of them carried two babies together at the breast. The men and women are even-tempered, affable, gay, grateful, good-hearted and docile. It was in this bay or near it that the Englishman[54] in years past captured the *Santa Ana* coming from China. He put the people on shore in this bay and having taken out of her what he pleased, he set fire to her and burned her down to the water's edge. As what was left of her unburned remained afloat on the water, the waves carried her into this bay. The Spaniards, who were on land without resource, on seeing this plunged into the sea and boarded her. Throwing out the ballast she carried, they were left with sufficient hulk, which they equipped as best they could with some jury-masts. With this they were able to reach Acapulco, where they related their hardships, and found relief for a part of them. In this bay these Spaniards had seized an Indian man and woman who were bathing in the lake of fresh water and carried them away with them. The man jumped overboard with some irons on him, but I do not know what happened to the woman. This case they have ever present before them. They also remembered the bad treatment they had received from the Spaniards who went with the Marqués del Valle, Don Fernando Cortés. When these were in the country, they treated them very badly, killing many of them and setting furious dogs on them. For fear that something similar would now happen to them, they did not wish to await the Spaniards until Father Antonio reassured them.

Before re-embarking to continue the voyage, the stores of clothing carried for the account of His Majesty were divided among the men at cost, in part payment of their wages.[55] This was a great help for all. While these things were happening, the day of the conjunction of the moon arrived, and as it seemed to promise good weather, the *General* issued a proclamation for all to embark.[56] The day of the conjunction, Wednesday [June 19], sail was made and the three vessels departed from this bay, having left the longboat full of sand in the little lake, as it was a great hindrance to the navigation. A matter of a few leagues from there, the northwest wind came up so strong and furious that the *Fragata,* not being able to withstand it, went back to the bay, and the *Capitana* and *Almiranta* followed her so as not to leave her. Three times the fleet sailed from this Bahia de San Bernabé, and as many times returned in spite of themselves, as the wind was very strong, and the sea ran so high that it seemed as if it was going to bury the land and swallow up the ships.[57] What the origin of this might be is well understood, and that it was the Devil, who caused it all in order to hinder the voyage and prevent the discovery from being made, so that he would not lose his lordship over the souls of the natives of that great kingdom. These difficulties and many others which the Devil brought about as obstacles to this discovery, caused no faltering whatever, but on the contrary

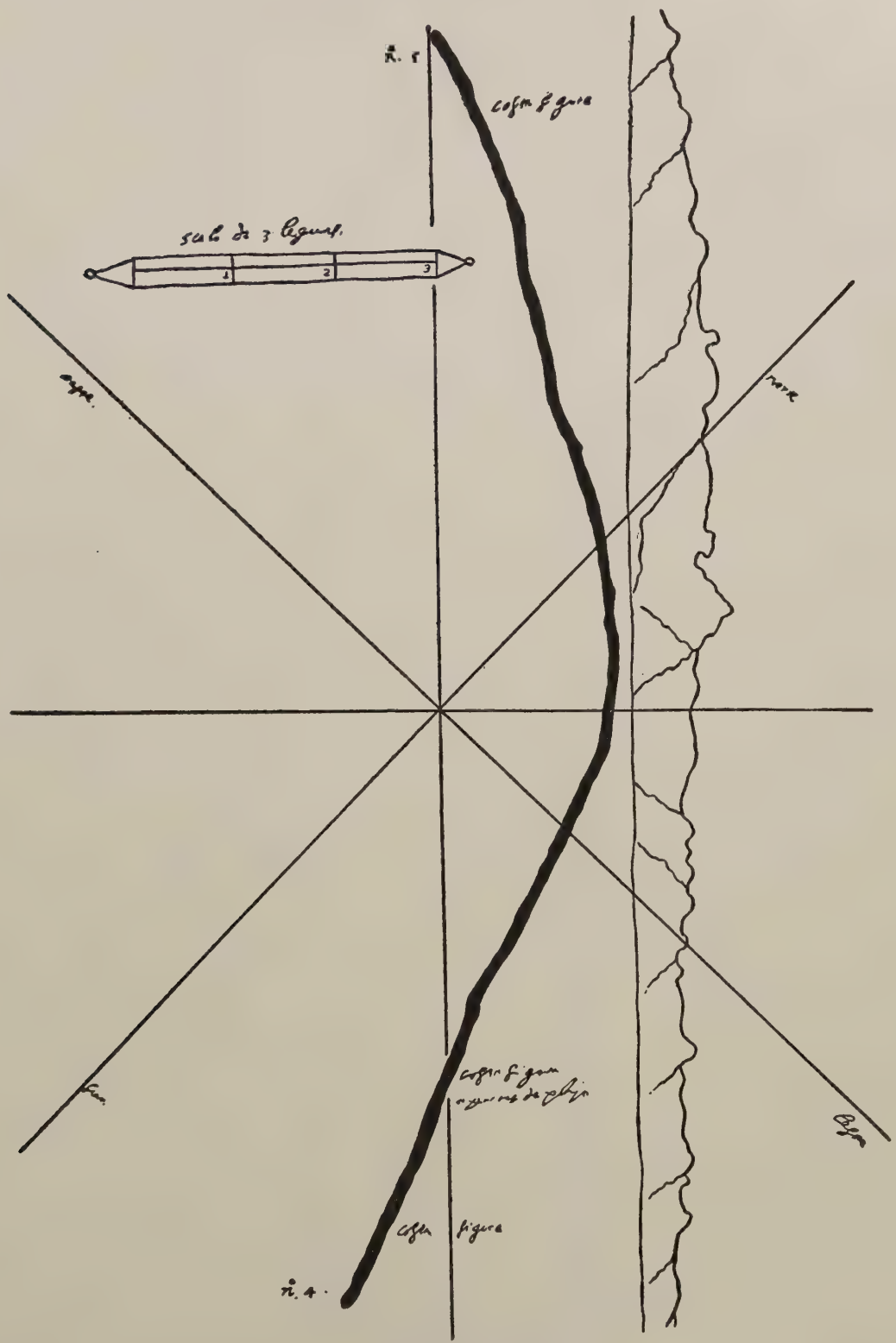


No. 5. Coast north of Cabo de San Lucas with the Sierra del Enfado

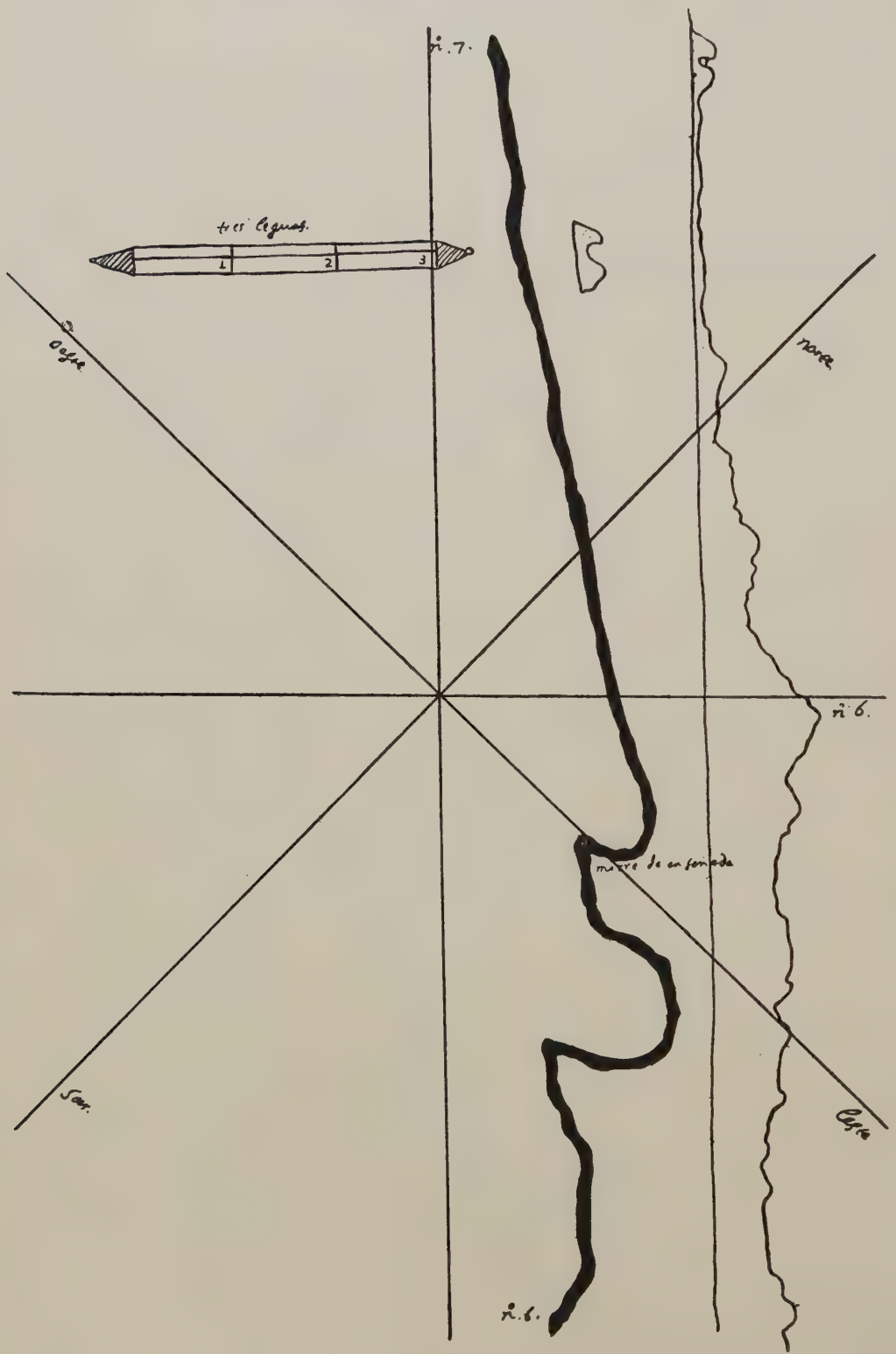
all, profoundly inspired with the desire to save so many souls, made every effort to pass onward, willing to die rather than abandon it. They therefore again departed to continue their voyage with the determination to run out to sea beyond sight of land. This was the fifth time that the fleet departed from this port, and it was on July 5. The *Fragata* could not withstand such a gale and so returned another time, but the weather being somewhat improved, she left again and, following her course under the shelter of the land, made her voyage, and what happened to her will be related in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V, *in which is treated about what happened to this fleet from the time it sailed from the Baia de San Bernabé to the arrival at the Isla de Çedros or Çerros.*[58]

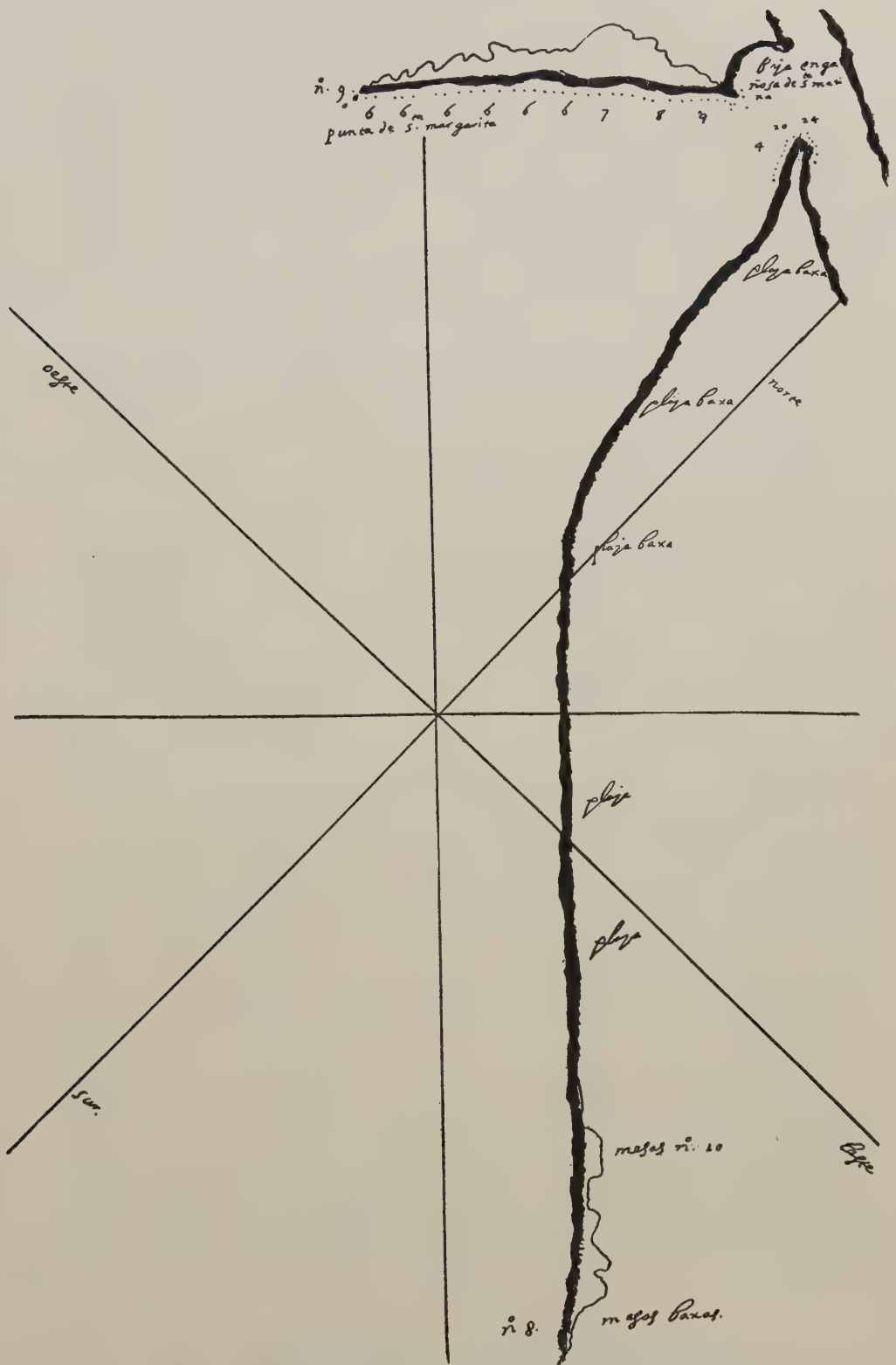
At the end of the preceding chapter I related how the fleet had departed from the Baia de San Bernabé July 5 to continue the voyage. As soon as they reached the high seas the northwest wind struck them again with such great force that they were almost obliged to return to the port. The *Capitana* and *Almiranta* went out to sea as best they could, but the *Fragata,* not being able to follow them, went to the shelter of the land, and thus the *Fragata* was left behind, and thought it best to return to the Puerto de San Bernabé. The *Capitana* and *Almiranta,* thinking she was following them, went on their course by the bowline, tacking against the force of the wind. Seeing that the *Fragata* was not following, they decided to approach the land to see if they could find her. On nearing it, on the 8th of the month, in front of some high mountains they were becalmed so that in eight days they were not able to advance a single league. This was not for lack of wind, but because whatever distance they would have sailed, the force of the currents, which were contrary to the wind, made them lose, a matter of surprise to all. When the wind died out the currents stopped, and when the wind began to blow they began to run. The secret of this could never be made out. God knows the cause and the reason for it. On this account they called those mountains the "Sierras del Enfado,"[59] inasmuch as the sight of them produced so much vexation in all. Prayers were said to our Señora del Carmen on the day that the Barefoot Carmelites celebrate the festival of this most pious lady, the 16th of the month. They asked her as the Mother and Patroness of this expedition, to take them away from the place, each one making his vow to her. While they were chanting a litany a fresh, soft and pleasant wind came up with which they escaped from such a tiresome place and went along the coast near the port which we call "Magdalena." Here a fog came up so black and thick that in the waist of the ship itself a person could not see another six paces away. The *Capitana* approached land in order to inspect the port and the *Almiranta* stood off to sea so as to avoid such a danger as the one in which she was placed at the Cabo de San Lucas. When the day cleared up the *Almiranta* found the *Capitana* missing, and thinking that she had gone ahead, continued on her course; meanwhile the *Capitana* was left



No. 6. A continuation of No. 5



No. 7. A continuation of No. 6



No. 8. A continuation of No. 7 to the Punta de Santa Margarita

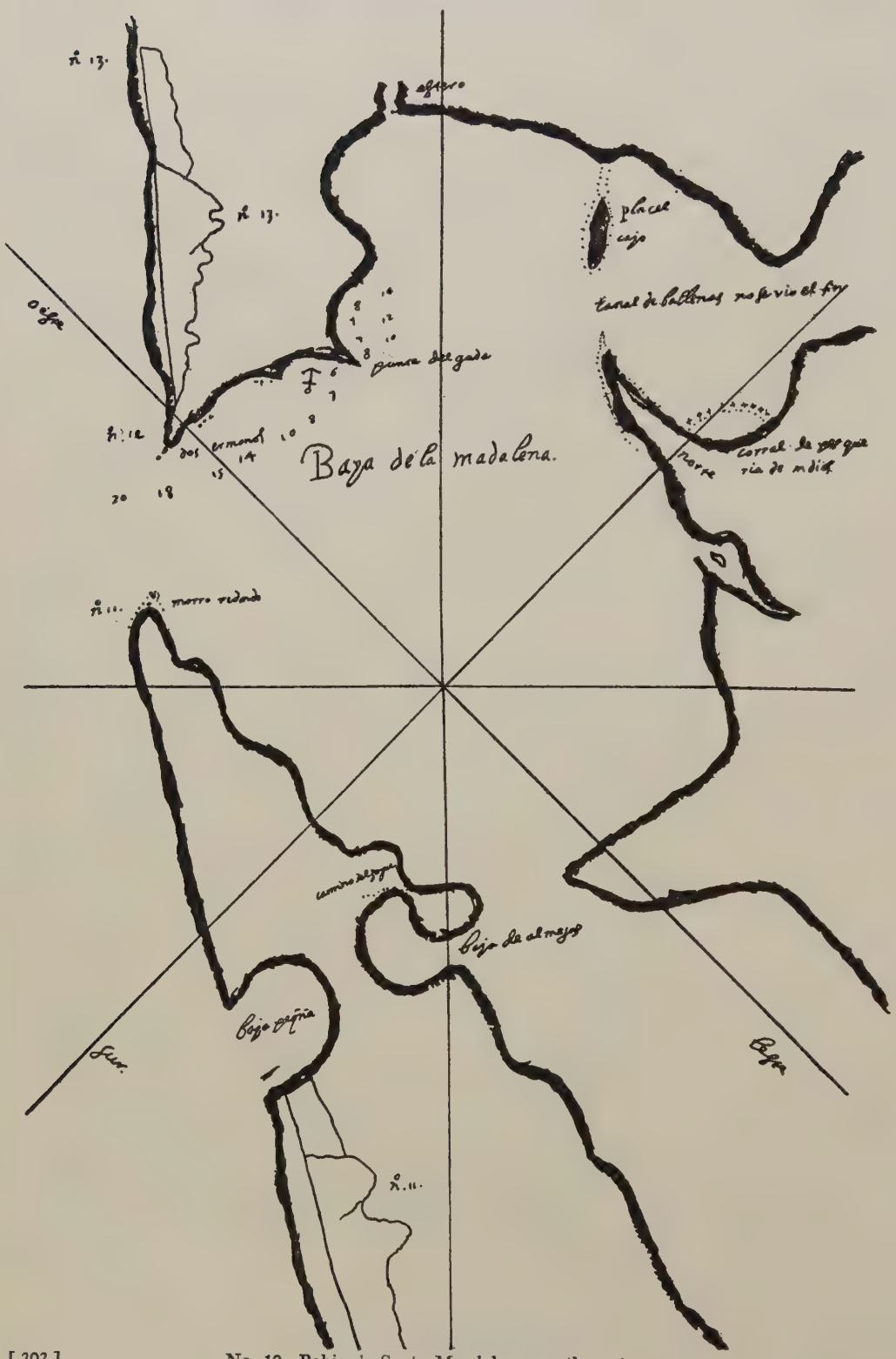
in the Puerto de Magdalena.[60] This happened July 20, the day of our father the Holy Prophet Elias. After the *Capitana* reached port and found that the *Almiranta* did not appear, great concern was felt and the *General* made some soldiers who were of good courage ascend a high hill. These saw the *Almiranta* very clearly far out to sea sailing onward. They raised some smokes as a signal that they were there, but although those on the *Almiranta* saw this smoke they paid no attention to it and went on, thinking that those who made it were Indians, as they had seen them do this all along that coast.[61] In this manner the *Almiranta* and *Capitana* lost sight of each other, and for many days did not meet again until by a mere chance they came together at the Isla de Çedros, as ordained by our Master Jesus Christ.

As the *Capitana* entered the Puerto de la Magdalena[62] without the *Almiranta* and the *Fragata,* the anxiety which this produced in all can be easily understood, although they consoled themselves with the account the soldiers gave that she was sailing on her voyage after the *Capitana* which they thought had gone on. From the time the *Almiranta* found herself alone, they thus went on, inspecting whatever ports and *ensenadas* there were on the coast, discovering what will be related farther on. In this Puerto de la Magdalena those on board the *Capitana* went ashore and the friars said mass, commending the *Almiranta* to God through the medium of the most Holy Virgin, Our Lady, and the glorious Santa Maria Magdalena, as July 22 was the day of this glorious saint. The *General* and the rest of the soldiers confessed and took communion that day, making the same prayer to Our Lord, Jesus Christ, with devotion and many tears.

This Puerto de la Magdalena is a very large, extended and capacious bay. There are many good ports and places in it in which any ship can anchor protected from all winds. The port can be entered by two ways, one by which the *Capitana* came in, the best and deepest, and the other on the southeast side. The bay where this entrance is was called "Baia de Santa Marina," and here the *Fragata* entered while searching for the *Capitana* and *Almiranta.* After the wind which obliged her to return to the Baia de San Bernabé had calmed down, she departed to follow her course, and coming coasting along, found this bay and entered it, expecting to find there the *Capitana* and *Almiranta.*[63] Not doing so, she sailed out, and following the coast fell in with the other opening which she entered, finding in it the *Capitana,* a great pleasure and comfort to all.

What I shall relate was discovered in this Puerto de Magdalena which the sailors from China call "Santiago."[64] A great wide arm of the sea enters the land from it, but it was not found out to where it reached.[65] On the southeast side there is another arm of the sea which reached the Baia de Santa Marina where the *Fragata* was. Here there are many well-built Indians, affable and peaceable. They make use of the bow and arrow, and go about naked. They at once came up to the beach where the Spaniards were and with great submission and subjection immediately offered them their bows and arrows in sign of peace. They brought also a quantity of copal, an incense which they gathered from

No. 9. Bahia de Santa Magdalena, south part



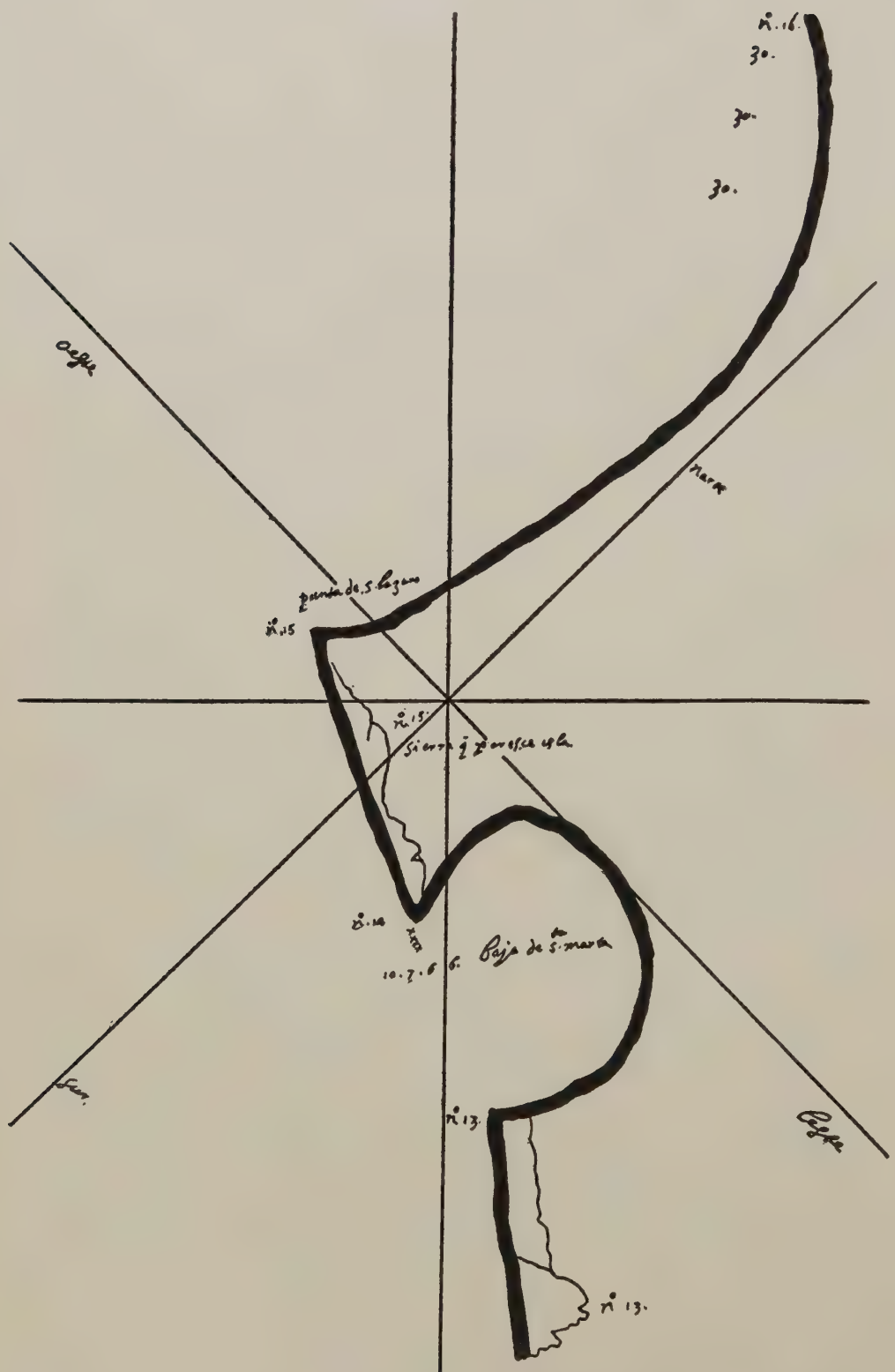
[202] No. 10. Bahia de Santa Magdalena, north part

the plum trees, as had been seen in the Puerto de San Bernabé. In all that country there are forests of them. In the port there is an *ensenada* full of mussels, very good and of good taste.[66] A great weir made of thick beams was also found in the water, in which the fish the Indians catch for their food enter. There is a lack of fresh water, unless it may be that some large river empties into the arm of the sea above mentioned, just as the Rio de Sevilla does in San Lucar, fresh water not being found in it until after passing the Orcadas. Perhaps it is the same in this arm of the sea.

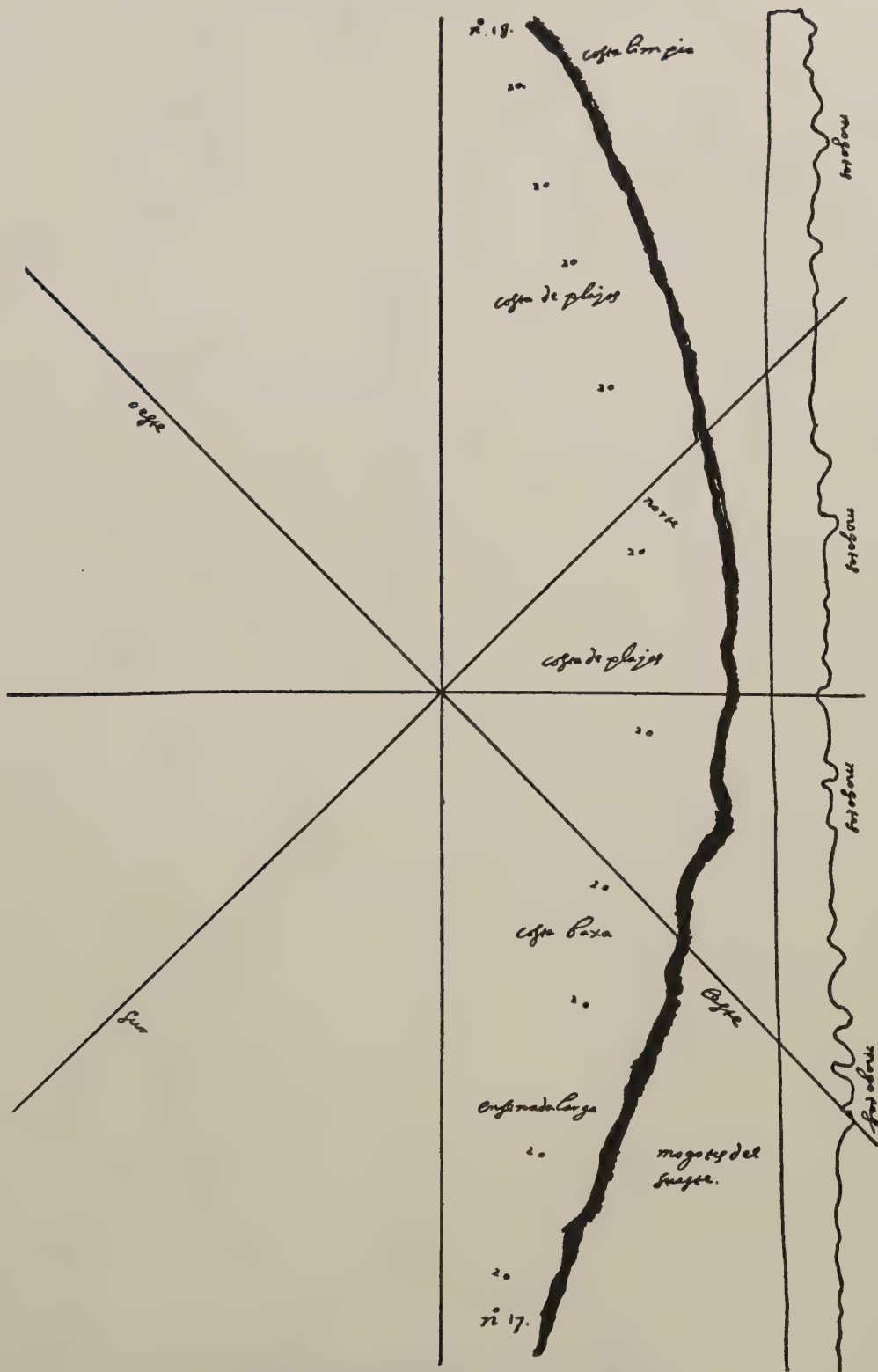
As the *General* now had the *Fragata,* he gave an order to leave that port to go in search of the *Almiranta,* and sailed with her on Sunday morning, July 28.[67] He made the *Fragata* go inspecting all the ports she could find so that the *Almiranta* might not be left behind in some port or *ensenada.* Five leagues from the Puerto de la Magdalena a northwest wind came up, so furious that it put them in great danger. Wishing to take refuge in an *ensenada* there, they did not dare to do so, because at the entrance there were some shoals on which the sea was breaking heavily. This was named the "Baia de Santa Marta."[68] They went on their course in sight of land as they could. The coast here is flat, pleasant, and the country inland is but little mountainous.[69] July 30 they came in sight of an opening by which some river seemed to enter the sea, as some thickets were seen there. The *Fragata* went to inspect it, but before reaching it they saw the sea breaking heavily, and as this seemed to indicate that the entrance would be difficult, she returned to give the news to the *Capitana,* and with this they went on their journey.[70]

This *ensenada,* which was named "San Cristóbal," had already been examined by the *Almiranta.* On seeing it at a distance of two leagues, a single anchor was dropped and Captain Peguero went with the ship's boat to look it over. He found that a river entered the sea there, and that the surf was caused by the water which ran out of the river meeting the incoming tide. At the entrance there were more than six fathoms of water, but as night was coming on he did not go inside and returned to the ship to relate this. They continued their voyage, coasting along the land and inspecting it.

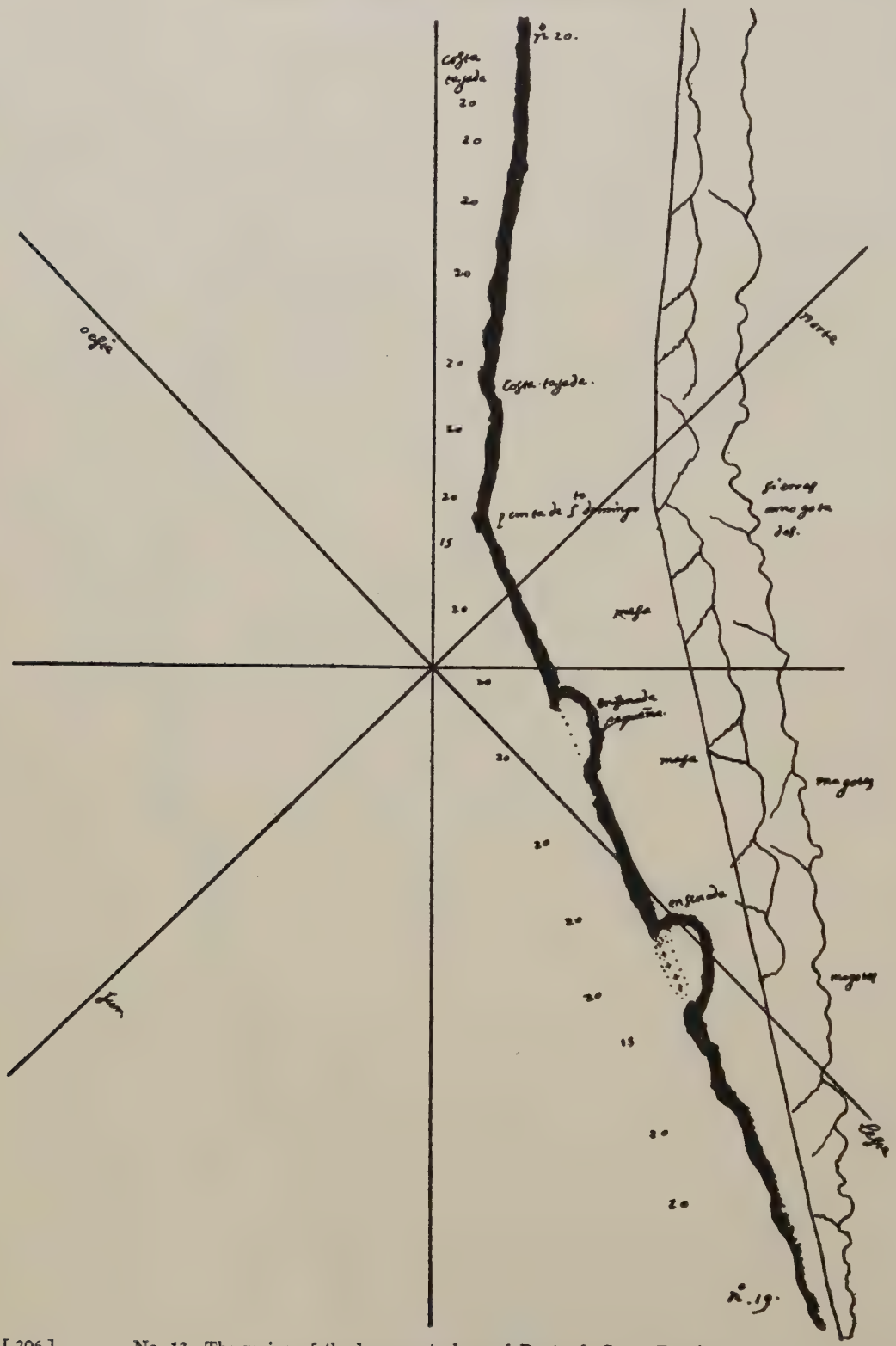
The *Capitana* and *Fragata,* anxious to find the *Almiranta* and a port where they could take water and wood, of which they were in need, saw from afar a large *ensenada.* As it seemed to them that they might find shelter there and relief for their needs, the *General* sent the *Fragata* to see what it was. When she reached it, a long line of shoals and reefs where she had to anchor was seen, and as the *ensenada* appeared to be of no consequence, she made signs to the *Capitana* not to come up, and with this they left it and went on their voyage. The *Almiranta* had already been in this *ensenada* and named it the "Baia de Ballenas" on account of the many whales found there.[71] The reason for this is the enormous number of fish which come there to take shelter, and in pursuit of which the whales come for their sustenance. We were amazed at the multitude of birds, large and small, of various forms and shapes and different colored

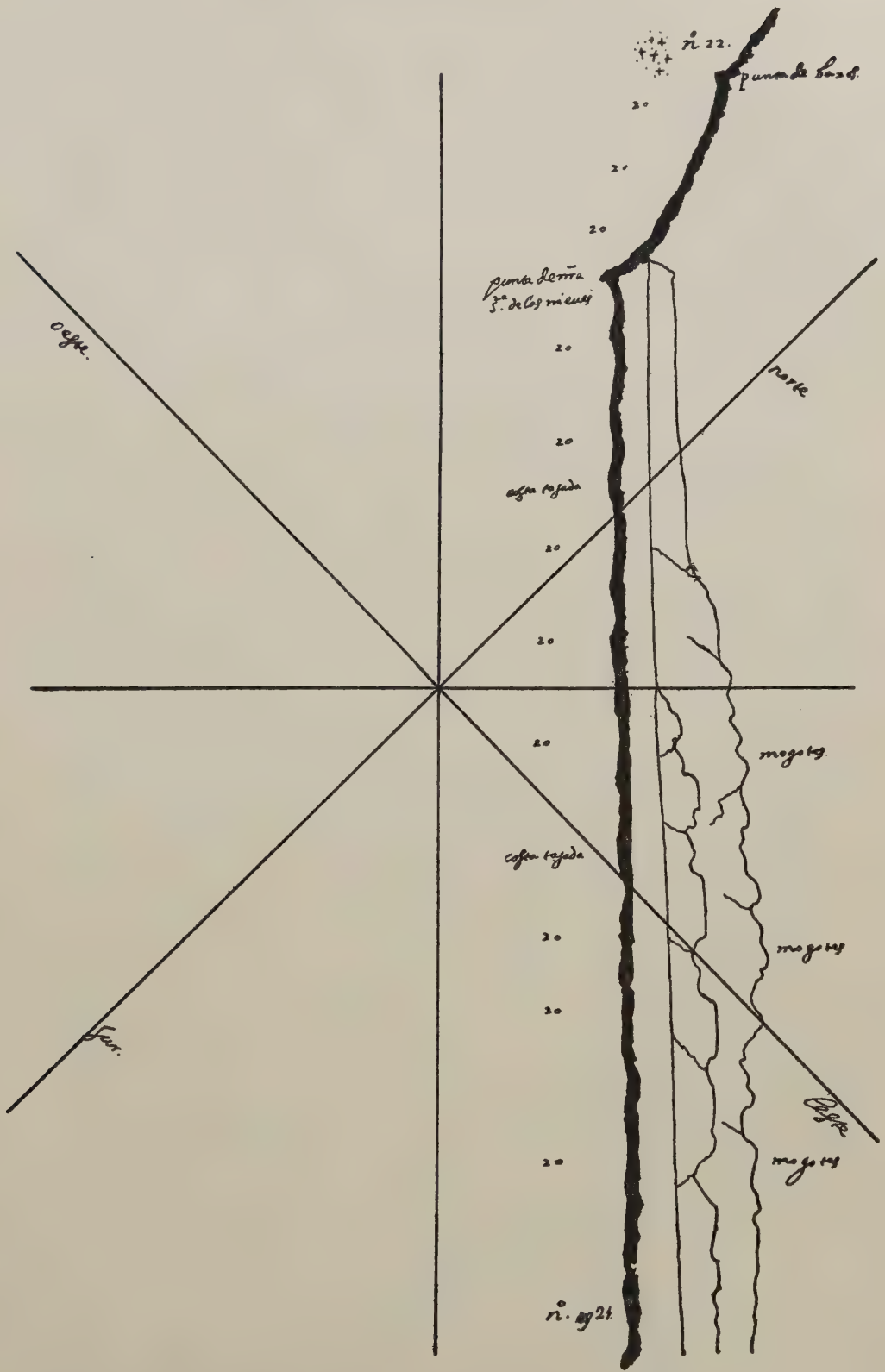


No. 11. Bahia de Santa Marta and Punta de San Lázaro



No. 12. Coast northeast of Punta de San Lázaro


Costa tajada
Costa tajada.
Punta de S. Domingo
Inglesa
Inglesa
Inglesa

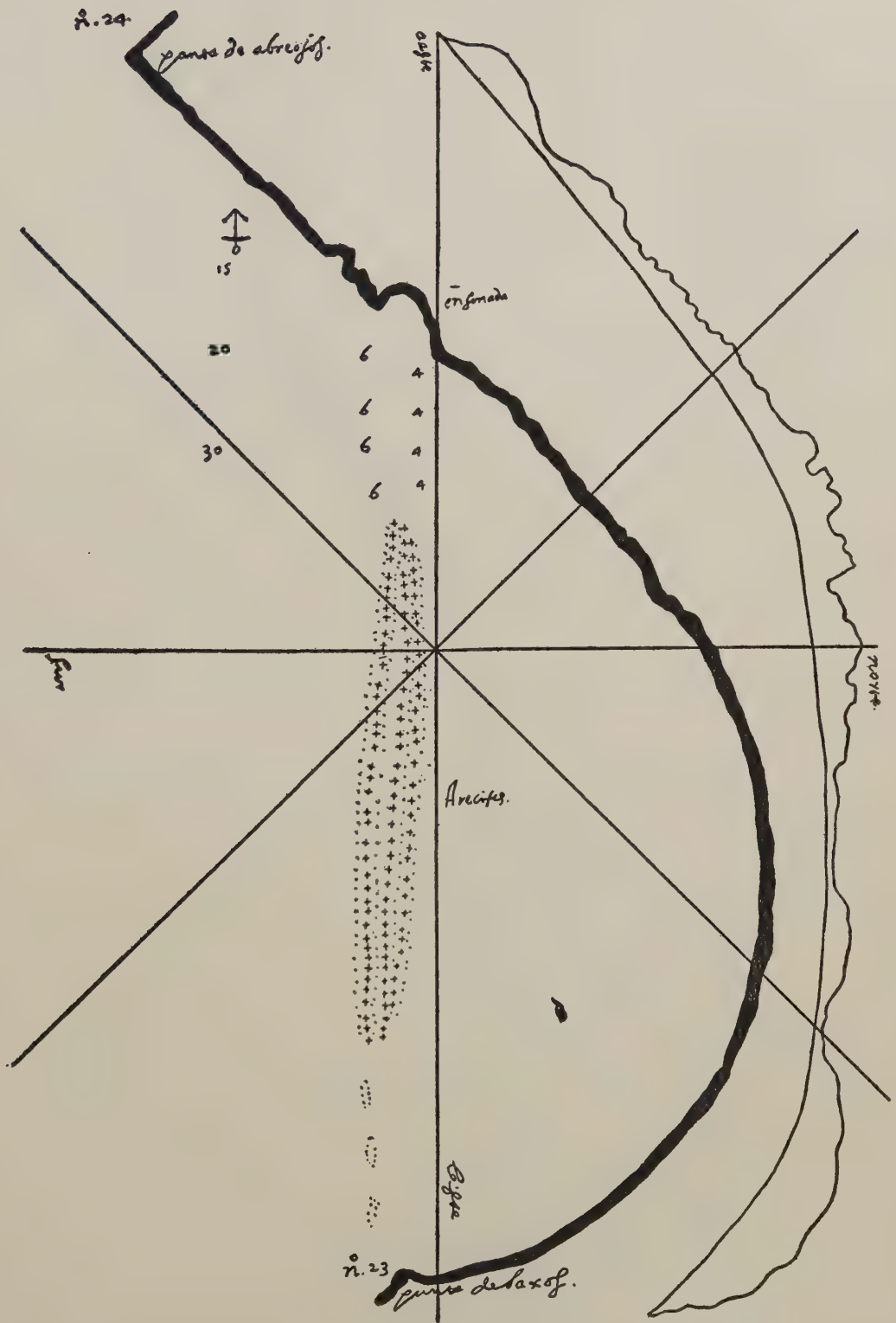


No. 14. Coast from Punta de Santo Domingo to Punta de Nuestra Señora de las Nieves [207]

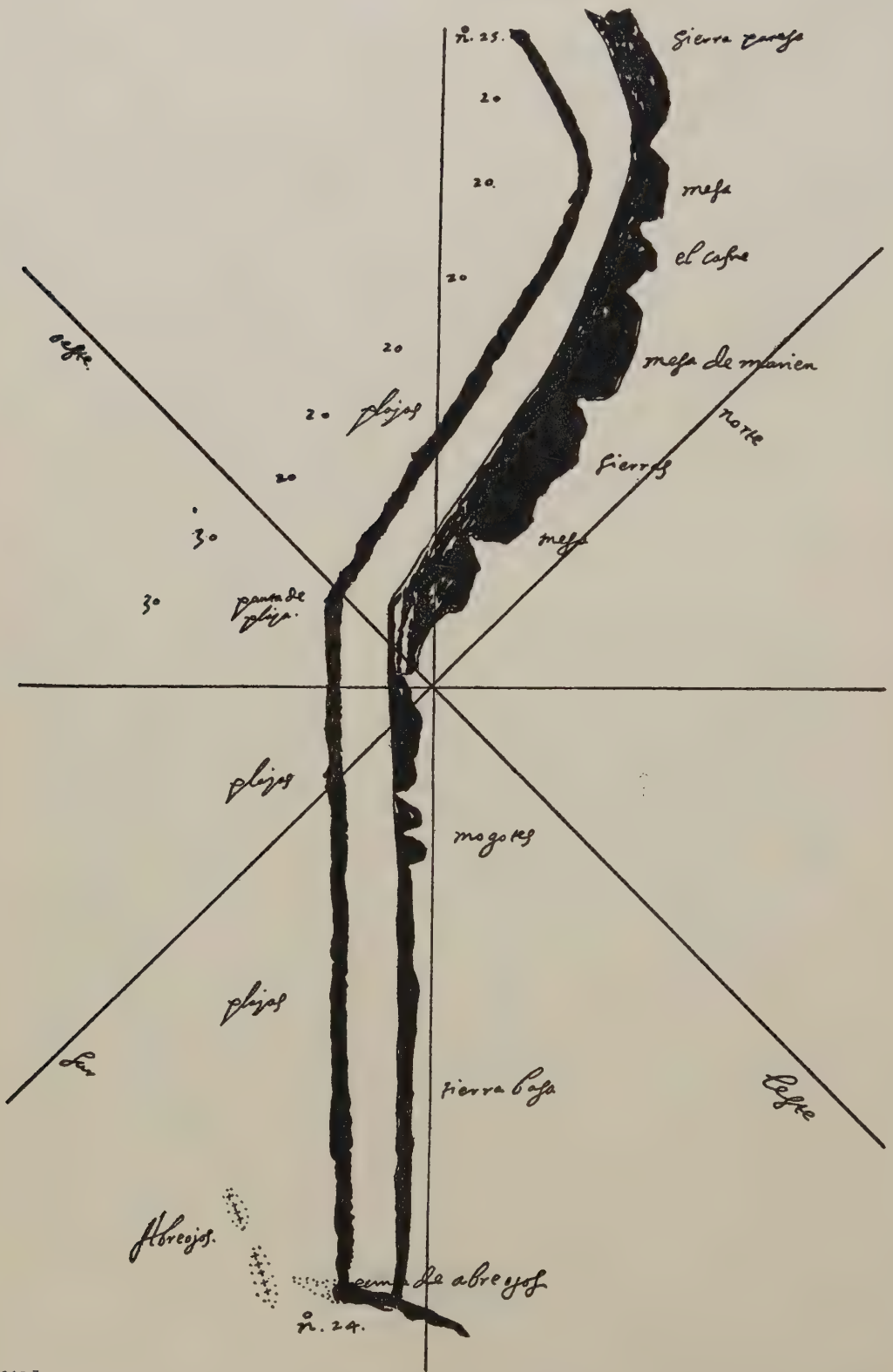
feathers, hunting their food from the sardines and other small fish. The Indians here were numerous, of good dispositions, friendly and very peaceable. Their color is lighter than those we had seen up to that point. They made great efforts to induce those in the ship to come ashore, and many of them tried to swim out to us, but the surf was so high that it prevented them and our people from treating and communicating. Ensign Juan de Açevedo Texeda at the command of the *Almirante* went ashore with some soldiers in the ship's boat, but they did not dare to land for fear of losing the boat, as the waves were very high. Seeing this, the Ensign with another soldier plunged into the sea to see what the Indians, of whom there was a great multitude on the beach, wanted, as they were calling them by signs. Before they got out of the water the Indians put some net bags full of oysters on the points of some long poles, and gave them to them with great respect and reverence, treating them as gods and not daring to touch them or come close to them. The Indians explained by signs to the Spaniards that they had very good water and plenty of wood, and that inland there were many people and great towns, from which they could bring whatever they might need. These Indians seemed to be fishermen, trading with those inland, carrying there to sell what they caught. The little nets or net bags in which they presented the oysters were well made and worked with thin thread well twisted.

Two days and nights the *Almiranta* remained here at anchor, waiting for the surf to go down in order to put some men on shore, to take water and wood, to look over the land and to communicate at leisure with the Indians, who during this time never left the beach, expecting the Spaniards to come ashore. As time passed, however, and the sea did not quiet down, and the Ensign having returned to the ship very badly treated by the sea, from which originated a sickness which ended his life, and having given this account, the *Almirante* ordered the anchor to be weighed, and sail made in continuance of the voyage, always looking for the *Capitana,* which, as I have said, was coming behind without their knowing it, and in order not to risk losing the ship by being capsized or submerged by some of the many whales which kept coming up from beneath it. So numerous were they that in order to frighten them, those on the ship kept up a continual noise with bells, basins and other instruments. The *Almiranta* departed from this bay on the last day of July, leaving the Indians very sad and hurt to see them go away without having communicated with them.[72] Proceeding on her voyage, she reached the Isla de San Roque, which was near. Between there was only a high sierra, which in its highest part has seven peaks or small hills quite distinct from each other. (For this reason it was named "La Sierra de los Infantes.")[73] It seems to me that it might be some ten leagues by sea from one place to the other where happened what I shall relate farther on, so as not to miss telling about the voyage which the *Capitana* was making.

The *Capitana* and *Fragata* proceeding from the Baia de Ballenas, where they



No. 15. Bahia de Ballenas



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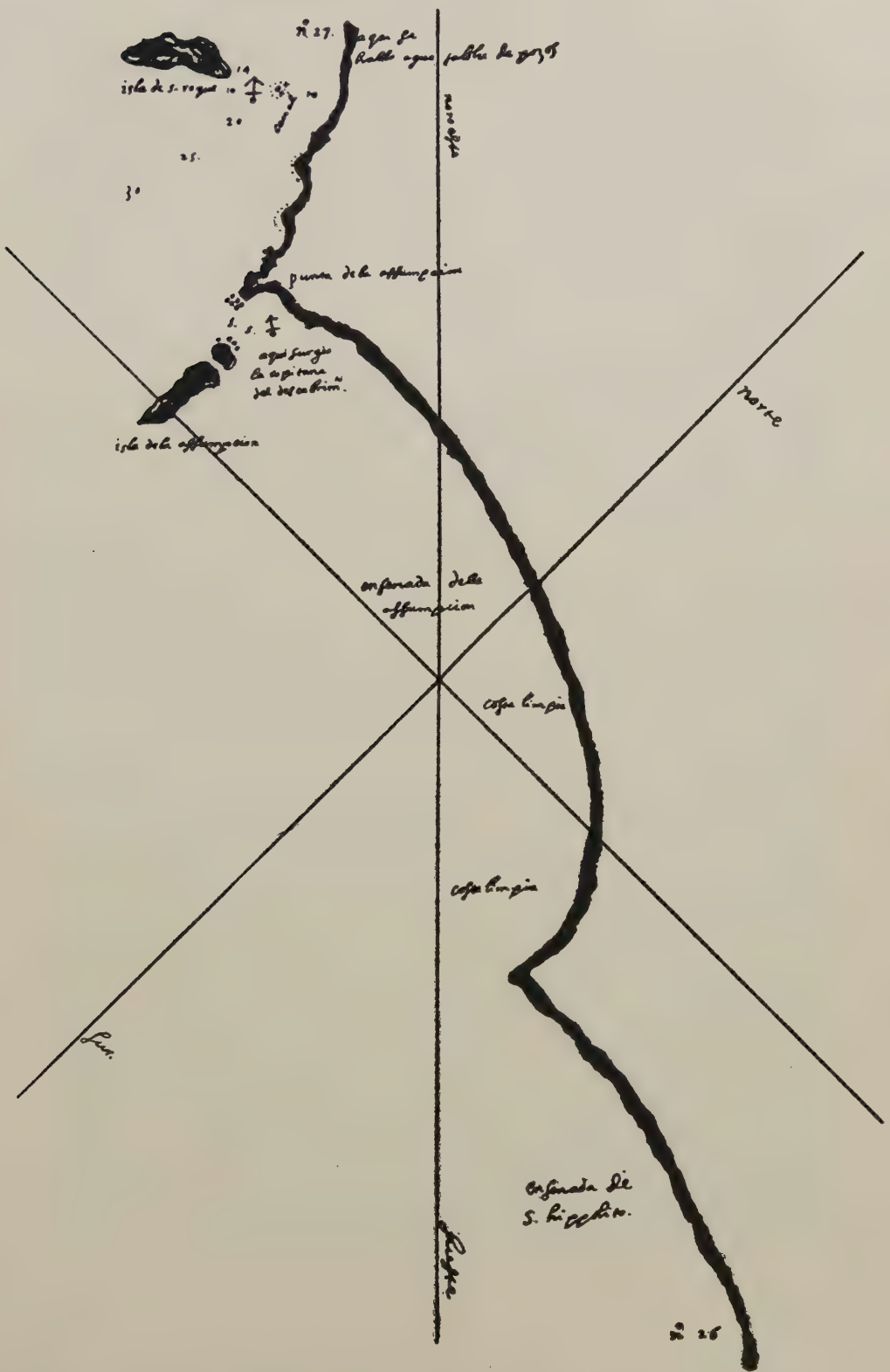
No. 16. Abreojos and the coast to the north



No. 17. The Ensenada de San Hipólito to the Isla de San Roque

had not dared to enter, as the entrance seemed to be difficult and the bay of little importance, came in sight, August 8, of a very large *ensenada* in which it appeared likely that they might find a good port. Entering this, they anchored and the *General* sent the ship's boat ashore with men to see if water and wood, of which they were very short, could be found.[74] They found nothing they were looking for, and so returned to the ship to give an account of it and then went on their voyage.[75] On the eve of the Ascension of Our Lady they reached an island near the mainland[76] where those of the *Almiranta* had been, having named it "San Roque." Two leagues farther on there was another larger island to which they went, leaving behind San Roque, which they named "Asumpçion," and anchored there on August 5 [15th].[77]

The Isla de San Roque or La Asumpçion is of medium size, all sand and gravel, and appears from the excrement of the numerous pelicans on it, to be made of white plaster. Here those of the *Almiranta* went ashore, particularly Father Antonio who, in company with Captain Peguero went looking all over it. In one place they found a pelican with a broken wing tied, and around him many little piles of fresh fish, and of good large sardines which the other pelicans had brought him to eat as he could not catch them by reason of his captivity and disability, so merciful are these birds (as I mentioned when treating of the Islas de Maçatlan). This was a device of the Indians to sustain themselves with dry feet, because when they saw plenty of fish around the captive pelican, they came out of ambush, frightened the birds away and gathered up what was there, going back to hide again, and waiting for them to bring more. In this way the Indians obtained quite sufficient fish without greater labor (secret wisdom of God that we may praise Him in His works and marvels). Father Antonio out of compassion released the pelican and let him go free to the water. Around this island there are many reefs and keys like small rocks which the sea washes. Many seals were out sunning themselves. They were of the size of yearling calves, with head, ears and nose like them, and barked like dogs. When they come out to sleep on some rock, there is always one of them on guard as a sentinel to see that they are not taken unawares. He places himself at the highest point of all, turning his head from side to side and looking about everywhere. If he sees anyone who could do them any harm, he commences to bark and then throws himself into the water, lighting upon those which are asleep, thus waking them up. They then place themselves in safety.

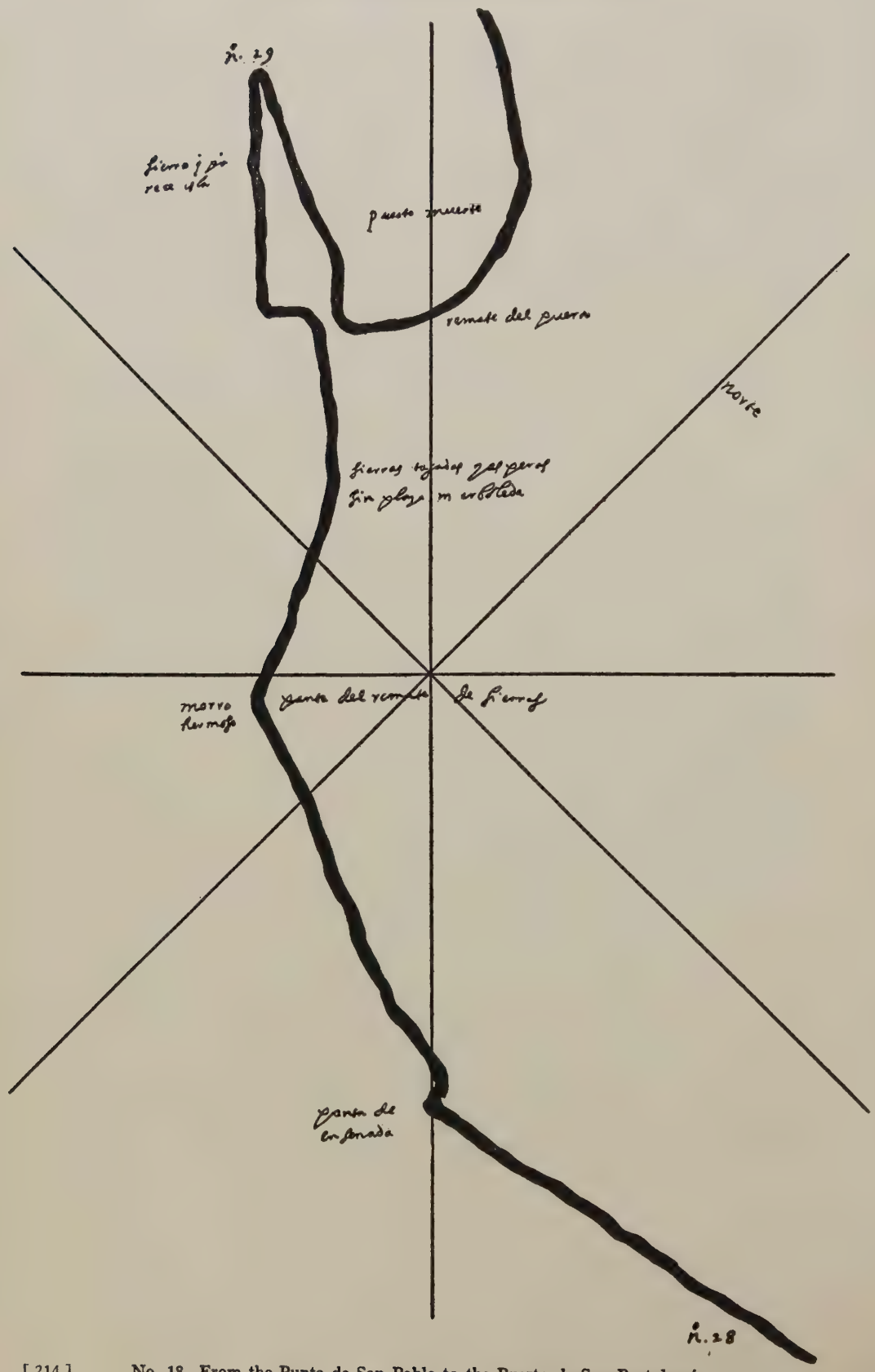
Around these islands in the shelter they afford is an infinite number of various kinds of fish of very good taste, with which the *Almirante* and two other soldiers, with hooks and lines, filled the skiff in less than an hour, while Father Antonio and Captain Peguero were inspecting the island. There were sardines, a third of a yard long, and many other fish of different kinds. On the mainland Father Antonio said mass on the day of the Transfiguration of our Redeemer and Lord, Jesus Christ [August 6], and most of those who were with him took communion. A great number of affable and well-built Indians came to this,

surprised to see us, as they had never in their lives seen such men. The mass over, some soldiers went with Sergeant Miguel de Legar to see if they could find water and wood and to look over the country. In front of the island where I have said the *Capitana* anchored, they found a lagoon of very white and good salt, which had been precipitated from sea water. Near by they found in the sand some wells of sweet water, although somewhat brackish, and returned with this news. Inasmuch as the water was distant and would be very difficult to take, they decided to continue their voyage in search of the Isla de Çedros and the *Capitana*. Father Antonio having surveyed the country and sounded the bay, they made sail August 9, and went on their voyage until they reached the Isla de Çedros.

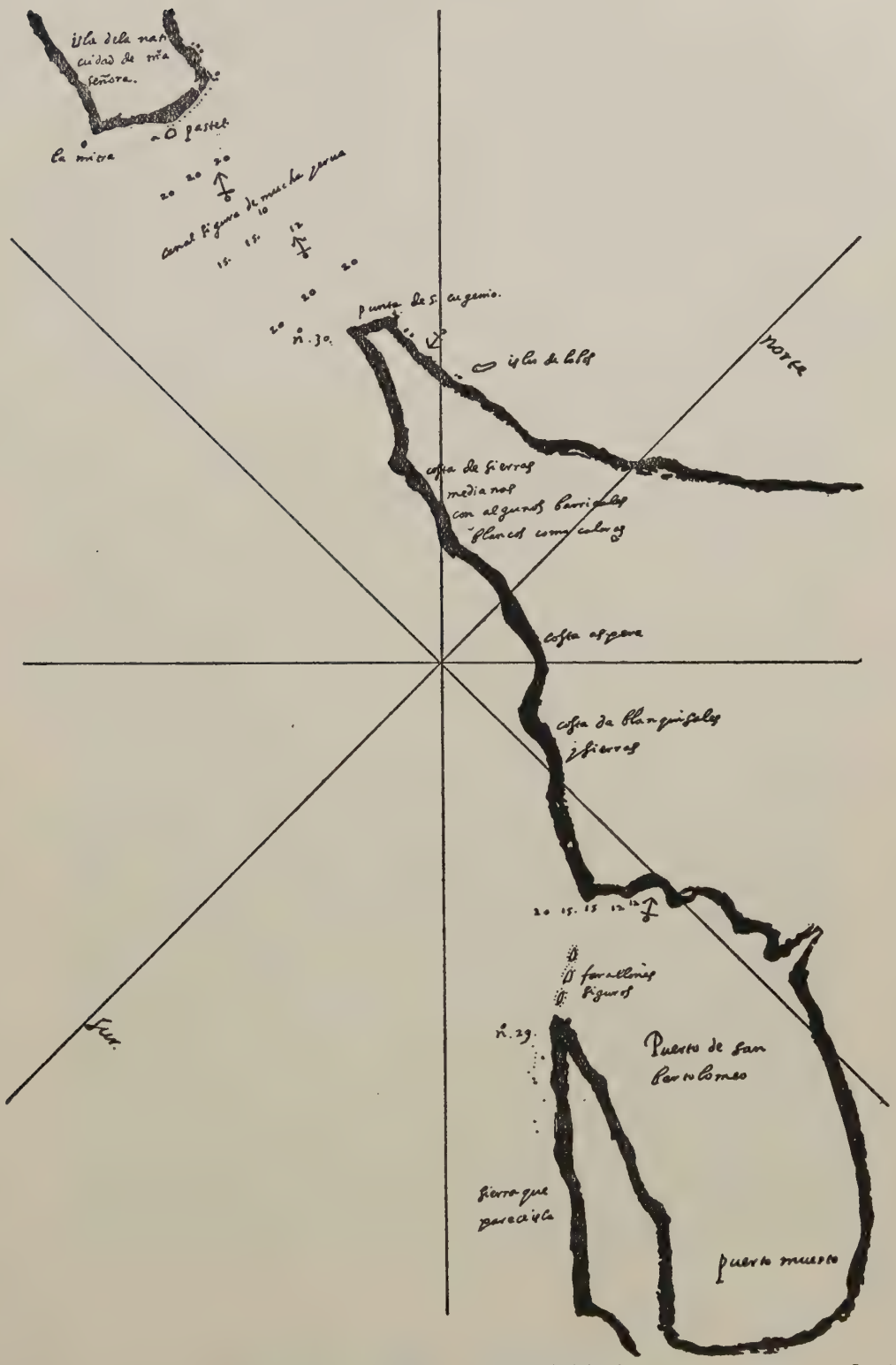
CHAPTER VI, *in which is treated of what happened to the Capitana and Fragata until they found the Almiranta at the Isla de Çedros, and of what happened to the Almiranta before she found the Capitana.*

In the preceding chapter I have recounted how the *Capitana* and the *Fragata* had come to examine the Isla de San Roque, and without stopping had passed on to the other island two leagues beyond which was named "La Asumpçion,"[78] and had anchored near it on the afternoon of the day of the Ascension of Our Lady. On the following day the *General* ordered Captain Alarcon to go ashore with some soldiers to hunt for water. Ensign Martin de Aguilar, Galeote, went with him, and wandering around from one place to another they fell in with the wells of water and the lagoon of salt which those of the *Almiranta* had discovered. They found indications that those of the *Almiranta* had been there, a matter which gave the greatest pleasure and contentment to all. From these wells they took water and what happened there in doing so was very noteworthy. As the wells were made in the sand, in order that they should not become stopped up, they put inside of them some half-pipes in which to catch the water more easily. It happened that all that oozed into the half-pipes was brackish like sea water, and what oozed out and penetrated outside of these was sweet and very good. In this manner they collected the water necessary to relieve their necessities and took from the lagoon some sacks of salt. The surf was furious and wild and the boat, which was full of jugs of water and had some soldiers in it with Captain Alarcon, was upset by a furious wave. They ran a great risk of being drowned, and the jugs were lost. Many Indians came up who behaved very peaceably in the presence of the Spaniards on account of receiving some little things, the giving of which puts under obligations even the most barbarous.[79] Having taken the necessary water, wood and salt, they departed from that island [August 20] in search of Çedros, thinking from the traces they had found of the *Almiranta* that they would find her in that place. Proceeding on their voyage, they passed within sight of a very high sierra on which the sea beats, but continued their journey without approaching it.

This sierra had a point running far out into the sea which the *Almiranta*



[214] **No. 18. From the Punta de San Pablo to the Puerto de San Bartolomé**



No. 19. Puerto de San Bartolomé to Natividad

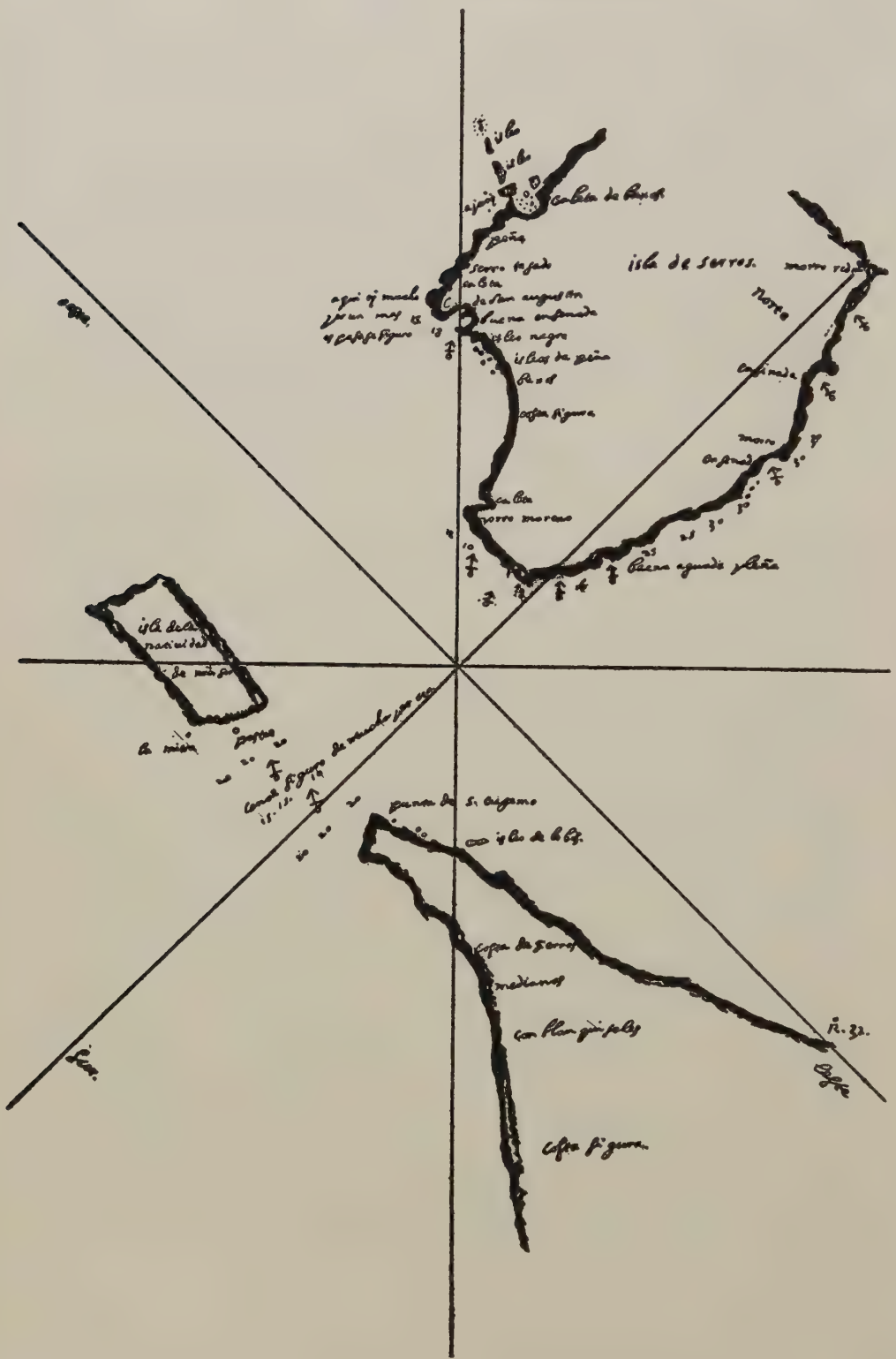
encountered.[80] While attempting to double it the northwest wind blew with such fury that it prevented them from doing so, and kept them there tacking for several days in the effort. At each turn they made they came so close to land that they could throw a stone to it from the ship. For this reason the shape of this sierra and what was in it could be seen very well and at leisure. On the whole of it there was not a single green plant or tree. It was all traversed by various bands of numerous different colored metals in different colored soil, which glittered and presented a beautiful appearance and made all their hearts jump.[81] The mystery of it was not known, but some soldiers who had been in New Spain in some mining camps said that the sierra was all mines, and that its colors and the fact that it was so bare were certain indications that it contained great riches in silver, gold, and other metals. You may be sure that if the coast had not been so bold the *Almirante* would not have failed to send to look it over, but on account of the fury of the sea and wind, he did not dare to do so. The weather finally improved and the sea calmed down a little, giving us an opportunity to double the point and continue to the Isla de Zedros. As the ship was sailing close to shore a small island was encountered near it, which was named "La Natividad de Nuestra Señora."[82] She passed between this and the shore through some fields of grass called *porras*[83] and came to anchor close to the Isla de Çedros, August 19.

As the *Capitana* and *Fragata* were sailing in sight of the Sierra Pintada just referred to, the point presented no difficulty as it had to the *Almiranta,* and so three leagues before the Sierra de Çedros they came to examine a good port which was named "San Bartolomé." The *Capitana* entered this[84] and Captain Alarcon at once went ashore with men to hunt for water. They did not find any because that country is very dry and sterile. On the beach they found some pieces of bitumen like whitish pitch, which they did not care to take away, not even a sample of it, as it did not have a good smell and seemed to them to be filth of the sea. Some experienced people on hearing this account have said that it was ambergris; perhaps it is, for there are many whales there. There is such a quantity of it that His Majesty could pay part of his debts with it. (The *Almiranta,* although wishing to inspect this port, did not dare to do so as night was falling, so she passed it at a distance.) Those who went found neither water nor wood and so the *Capitana* continued her voyage. This was on the day of the Apostle San Bartolomé, August 24. As it was at fall of night, they did not see the small Isla de Natividad, but passed outside of it, and in the morning found themselves close to the Isla de Çedros, without knowing what it was, but thinking that it was the mainland. They attempted to go coasting along it, but Our Lord, Jesus Christ, was pleased that for more than nine days they were not able to double a point of the island, which was named "Cabo de San Agustin."[85] So fatigued were they in beating that the *General* decided to go close in shore with the *Capitana* and anchor at a place which seemed suitable, as it was protected from the northwest wind, and wait there for the *Fragata* while the cosmographer, Gerónimo

Martin, should go to find out what land it was and survey it. The *Capitana* therefore anchored at the south part of the island on the last day of August.[86]

I stated above that the *Almiranta* had come to anchor close to the Isla de Çedros on August 19. On the following morning, the day of San Bernardo, the *Almirante* and the *General,* I mean Captain Peguero, and Father Antonio with some soldiers left the ship and went to the island with the things necessary to say mass. This having been said, they went to look for water and wood, and while going about fell in with a narrow path, on which they found some fresh footsteps of barefooted men. Following this they came to some copses of green rushes up a ravine, near which there were signs that water had stopped oozing out only a few days before. Following the path they passed through a ravine with steep sides, where they found some holes which made somewhat saltish water, which under necessity would pass, although it was not good for the health. Still following the path, they ascended the ravine and reached the summit of the island without having seen any human being. From there the sea could be seen on the other side; to this the path led, and they kept along it to very near the Punta de San Agustin, the one the *Capitana* had not been able to double. As she was not to be seen either there or at sea, those on the *Almiranta* were of the opinion that they should wait for her at the island, taking, meanwhile, water and wood, and making some wells among the rushes. This was done with the greatest possible labor, as some ferocious and savage Indians had already been seen in those mountains, who with shouts and signs with their bows and arrows ordered them to leave the country or they would shoot them. It was therefore necessary for the soldiers to carry their arms, and so, loaded with these and with jugs full of water, anyone can imagine the labor they endured in conveying them almost a quarter of a league.

They took the necessary water and wood, and with the net caught a great quantity of fish with which the men were refreshed and helped; center-fish, lobsters, dog-fish, sea-bream, red-snapper, *viejas,* mackerel, roncadors, cod-fish, *guitarras,* mutton-fish, *puercos,* ray-fish, *chuchos* and *chernas,* all of good taste and flavor and healthful. Father Antonio said mass every day and on that of San Agustin heard confession of the soldiers, and gave them communion. Having been there twelve days and seeing that the *Capitana* neither came nor appeared, it seemed to the *Almirante* and those with him that it would be wise to go around the island in search of her. This plan was put into effect and, August 31, they made sail, steering to the south, in order to commence to round the island on that side. All this Our Lord, Jesus Christ, so ordained, without men understanding his plans, so that the ships might meet as they desired (blessed be His Majesty forever). They had not sailed a league when one of the sailors went aloft to find out what was to be seen. He shouted out that the *Capitana* seemed to be in sight near land, or some other ship at anchor. Others looking at it with attention and care declared the object to be a ship, that the sailors were furling her sails, and that they had just anchored in the port. This



No. 20. Natividad and the south part of Cedros

news was for all one of the greatest pleasures they had received in all their lives, as it was thought to be the *Capitana*. At the same time Father Tomás de Aquino, who was on the *Capitana,* discovered the *Almiranta* and shouted out with great joy: "I see the *Almiranta!*" With this all those on the *Capitana* rejoiced, shouting out like crazy men. The *Almiranta* kept approaching the *Capitana,* and finally they recognized each other beyond all doubt. When this came to pass and they had come together, there was such great rejoicing on both ships as cannot be expressed in words. (Anyone who has passed through a similar experience can imagine it.)

The *General* at once asked those on the *Almiranta* in what place they were, and the *Almirante* and the pilot said that they were at the Isla de Çedros, had been waiting there more than twelve days and were just leaving in search of them. At this those on the *Capitana* were surprised, as they thought it was mainland, and still more were they astonished to think of the method which Our Lord, Jesus Christ, had taken to bring them together and to let this, so much desired by all, come to pass. The *General* said they were in need of water and wood and so they went together to anchor at the place where the *Almiranta* had been [September 2].[87] He at once ordered a tent to be set up on the island for the friars to say mass in while they stayed there. He went to look at the wells where the *Almiranta* had taken water, but as it looked to him like a business of great difficulty, he sent Ensign Juan Francisco and Sergeant Miguel de Legar with twelve armed soldiers to explore the island and see if they could find a stream or spring from which water could be taken nearer the beach.[88] These at once departed and traveling about from one place to another the Sergeant found what they were looking for on the beach, two leagues distant. It was a small rivulet of water emptying into the sea, sweet, although a little turbid. He at once gave advice of this to the *General,* who issued orders to collect on board the ships immediately what was on land, and to go to anchor at the port where the water had been found. This was at once done, and they went to the place pointed out and anchored near the beach at the side of some rocks near the rivulet of water.[89] Here a tent was soon erected which served as a church where the friars said mass.

While the necessary water and wood were being taken and the men were resting and washing their clothes, the *General* gave instructions to circumnavigate the island and inspect what appeared to be an *ensenada* between the mainland and the mountain back of the Puerto de San Bartolomé; Father Antonio and the cosmographer, Gerónimo Martin Palacios, were to go in her, in order to survey and sound it. This was put into effect at once. They found that the Isla de Çedros was almost thirty leagues in circumference, and saw very large pines and cedars on the highest of the mountains, and many naked well-built Indians. These they could never attract peaceably, nor would they come to the Spaniards, but they went instead from one hill to another, shouting out and making signs to them to leave their country. Since they were so hard and in-

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No. 21. Northeast Cedros and the coast to the north

tractable, the Spaniards must have committed some crime against them on other occasions. The *Fragata* then went to inspect the *ensenada*. An arm of the sea, of which the end was not visible, was seen to enter it and extend inland in an easterly direction.[90] Then they went to look over the small island named "Natividad,"[91] between which and the mainland the *Almiranta* had passed. Nothing was found on it except cactus and many huge whale bones. The *Fragata* then returned to where the *Capitana* and *Almiranta* were awaiting her, and gave an account of what they had seen on the island. All celebrated the festival of the birth of the Virgin, Our Lady, with solemnity, confessed and took communion. There was a sermon and a procession with the image of Our Lady.[92] September 9 they made sail all together and went to reconnoiter the coast of the mainland in order to follow it in quest of the Isla de Ceniças.[93]

CHAPTER VII, *in which is treated of what happened to this fleet from the time it departed from the Isla de Çedros until it arrived at the Baia de San Simon y Judas Tadeo.*

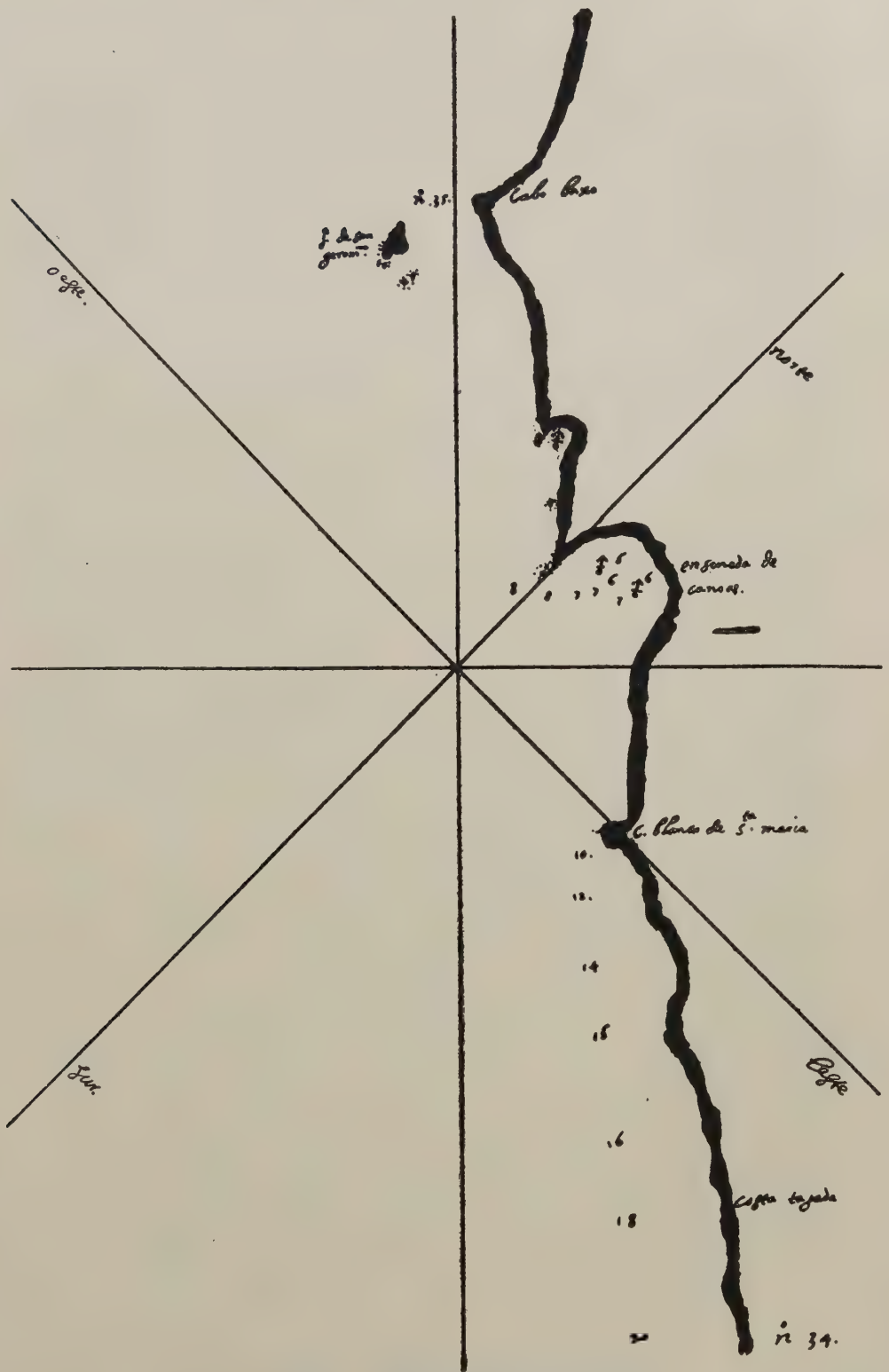
As soon as the fleet left the Isla de Çedros it went in quest of the mainland, steering northeast, and came in sight of it on the 11th. On approaching it they found it near the coast to be beautiful, flat, and of good appearance. There was a good bay which was named "San Hipólito," and here the fleet anchored.[94] The *General* ordered a party to go and inspect the country at once and see what there was in it. From the *Capitana* Captain Alarcon went with some soldiers, and from the *Almiranta* Captain Peguero with some others, carrying with them the net to cast on the way in order to get some fresh fish for all to eat. Having reached land and gone ashore, they saw that it was as described, and that it seemed to be fertile and of good climate and soil. From the sea a wide road well-used and trodden by men ran inland. They found something like a great cabin, well made and covered with fan-palm leaves, which would hold more than fifty people, all certainly of one family. With a net they caught a quantity of good delicate fish called smelts,[95] which resemble the white fish of Mechoacan, and have the taste and smell of herring when roasted, and other kinds of fish besides. Those who had gone ashore having returned to the ship and related what they had seen, the *General* ordered the voyage to be pursued and at eight o'clock at night they made sail.[96]

Four leagues beyond, following the coast, they found another bay[97] which they named "San Cosme y San Damian," in which there is good shelter from the northwest wind. Near the beach there is a fine lake of fresh water, in which there were many ducks and other birds. The country is good, fertile, and level.[98] From there onward all along the coast, great fires were seen which the Indians made both by day and night, a sure sign that there were many of them in their settlements, the fires being to protect them from the great cold which the very rigorous northwest wind brings with it. This day [probably September 15] the wind blew so strong that the ships could not make headway. With great labor

they reached on September 16 the foot of some high black sierras cut off at the sea which have some great plains like mesas on their tops.[99] Having arrived in sight of them on the day of San Cypriano, they were named the "Mesas de San Cypriano."[100] Close to this range on the southeast side there were some white bluffs on which there was a great number of Indians. The *Fragata* went with the cosmographer, Gerónimo Martin Palacios, to see what the Indians were and to survey the country. When she reached the shelter of the land, she lost the wind [September 16]. As she did not come back that night, the *Capitana* went in search of her the following day but did not find her. That day the northwest wind blew with such force that the waves reached the heavens with an abyss between them; this gale lasted more than twenty-four hours. In order not to lose ground, the *Capitana* furled her sails and lay to, beam to the sea, but the *Almiranta* did not dare to do this and came near being lost. That night was most laborious for those on the *Almiranta,* as to save herself she had to run before the storm as best she could with her lower fore-sail and the sprit-sail.[101] With the wind, the darkness of the fog increased so that the signal lanterns could not be seen, and thus the *Almiranta* became separated from the *Capitana* and they lost sight of each other.

When the weather cleared up one could not see the other, giving great distress to all as it was feared that the sea had swallowed up the *Almiranta* that night. The *General* made an effort to find her by the coast, but being unsuccessful, attempted to tack; the wind however was too strong to allow this to be done. The weather improved a little on the following day and the *Capitana* and *Almiranta* rejoined each other, and regained what had been lost by the fury of the gale to as far as the neighborhood of the Mesas de San Cypriano [September 21]. Under the shelter of these, where the *Fragata* became separated from the others, the land forms a point or cape called "Cabo del Engaño." On endeavoring to double this they failed on account of the furious force of the northwest wind. With this another fog like the previous one came on, dark and so thick that a man could not see another in the waist of the ship. This made it necessary for the *Capitana* and *Almiranta* to furl their sails in order to pass the night, leaving up only the lower ones. During the great darkness and the storm they became separated and although the weather cleared up the next day and they made search, they were not able to find each other, and during many days they neither saw nor knew about each other, to the great sorrow of all.[102]

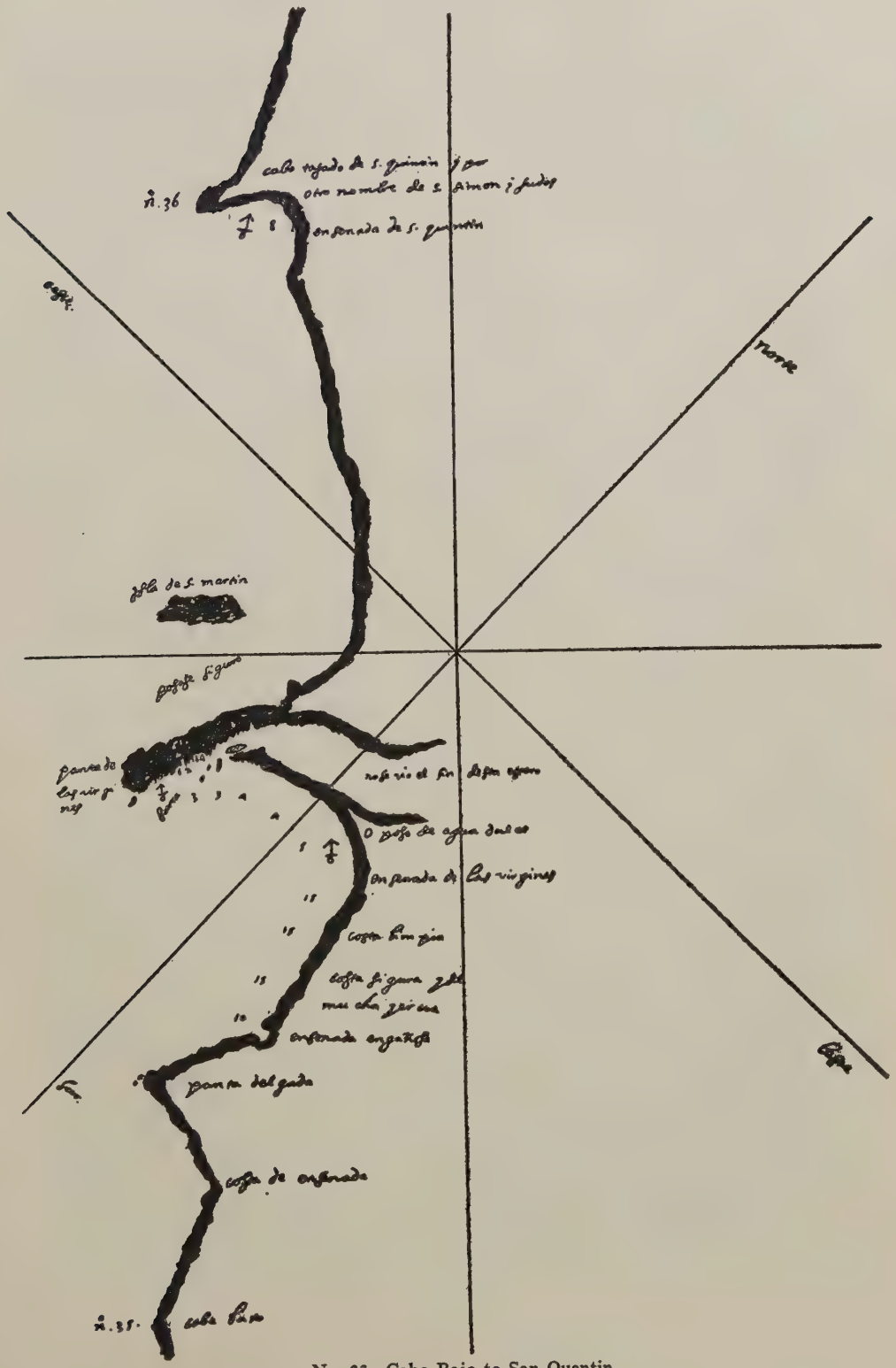
The reason why there is ordinarily a gale and such a strong northwest wind at this Cabo del Engaño is because it comes contracted into a narrow passage between the Isla de Ceniças and this cape.[103] The island is eight leagues, a little more or less, away from the mainland to the west-northwest of the cape. It is divided into two parts, that is, into two high round pointed hills of equal height like the teats of a goat.[104] The *Almiranta* discovered this island while she was sailing around separated from the *Capitana,* but during the days that the two ships were near it they did not see it on account of the darkness caused by the



No. 22. Cabo Blanco de Santa María and San Gerónimo

fog. How it was discovered will be related farther on. I continue with the voyage of the *Capitana*. She being alone, made efforts to hunt for them, and persisted in attempting to double the Cabo del Engaño. Having neared land as much as possible, one day [September 29], the *Capitana* and the *Fragata* came together. As the *Almiranta* was not to be seen everyone was very anxious, suspecting that she had foundered in the great storm or that she had opened up with the great blows of the waves, as she was an old vessel, and that all the people on board had been drowned. On meeting the *Fragata* and desiring to find out what had happened to her, those on board related that to the northwest of the Mesas de San Cypriano and the Cabo del Engaño they had found good shelter in a bay where they had taken refuge, and had remained there during all the time that the gale lasted.[105] With this news the *General* with the *Fragata* went to this bay and entered it on the day of San Francisco, October 4. For this reason they named it the "Baia de San Francisco." On this day of the saint, Fathers Andrés and Tomás said mass here, and all those on the *Capitana* and *Fragata* confessed and took communion. Many pleasant and peaceable Indians came to see them and some horns of goats and buffaloes[106] were found in one of their rancherias. The country is good, level and not mountainous, and displayed signs of there being much game and many other animals about, judging from the vestiges, footprints of different forms and dung, which our people found in the fields. Those in the *Fragata* also related that farther on they had found a small island that was named "San Gerónimo."

The *Capitana* and *Fragata* departed [October 7] from this bay to continue their voyage, to see whether the *Almiranta* had gone ahead and to land at the Isla de San Gerónimo.[107] On reaching it they found on it much dry wood and timbers as if thrown there by the force of the waves, and many birds. They caught a great quantity of mackerel from the *Capitana* and *Fragata* with lines.[108] A little farther on from this island there seemed to be a large *ensenada* in which the tide entered with great force and current.[109] When the tide ebbed it also did so with great impetuosity. Thinking there was some great river there, the *General* ordered a party to go and see if such was the case, because, if there were and if there should be a good port inside, they could enter and wait there some days for the *Almiranta,* as if she had not been lost she could not fail to pass by very soon. They went towards it, the *Fragata* in advance sounding. She found near the bar or entrance to the *ensenada* or *estero* three fathoms of water at low tide. With this the *Capitana* did not dare to enter, remaining near by, but the *Fragata* went in and found inside of the bar a very good port. The *General* ordered Captain Alarcon to go with a dozen harquebusiers and look over the country and search for water and wood. They went and found in the *estero* a very large number of naked Indians, who were fishing from some canoes or *balsas* of reeds, which in Castile are called *yones* [*eneas*], large fat reeds which grow in fresh water lakes. When the Indians saw the Spaniards they came up to them without any suspicion in a friendly and peaceable manner, showing



No. 23. Cabo Bajo to San Quentin

great joy and contentment at seeing them and giving them with affection and good will some of the fish they had caught. They at once guided them to some wells of very good water, from which they themselves drank, near by in a great thicket of willows, Spanish osiers and the reeds which they use in building their *balsas* or canoes for fishing.[110] It was seen to be not a river, but a great *estero,* or the mouth of a river by which the tidal current entered. They came back to give an account of what they had seen and found, and all were much pleased with the news.

The *General* at once ordered a tent or hut to be set up on land, in which the friars should say mass during the days they might stay there, while waiting for the *Almiranta* to come, and while taking water and wood, fishing, resting, and washing their clothes. This was done and the Indians every morning were careful to bring them fresh fish. So great an affection did they acquire for the friars and all the Spaniards that they would not stay away from them. If they had to go to their homes near by they first went to bid them farewell and request the permission of the *General* and the friars. The Spaniards did not molest them in the least, but instead entertained them, giving them some of the trifles which they carried. The good report of this spread among the Indians and went flying into the interior, from which a great number of Indians came. They ate what the Spaniards gave them without any fastidiousness or suspicion, and repeated whatever they heard spoken with as good a pronunciation as if they knew our language and had been brought up to speak it. Whatever they saw done, they did. The women go about with very modest looks and dress, covered from the breasts down with skins of animals, and seem to be very prolific, as each one carried two children at her breast and in her arms. These Indians trade with those inland, bringing in exchange for fish, *mescale* and other things to eat, cords for fishing, well made and twisted like twine, and net bags very well and carefully woven of fine thread and neatly twisted. They gave some of all these things to the Spaniards in exchange for colored glass, little bells and other trifles. They explained by signs that there were many people inland who wore clothes and beards and carried arms and harquebuses. Perhaps they referred to the force of Don Juan de Oñate, which was engaged in the conquest and pacification of the provinces of New Mexico, because according to the lay of the land, the climates and parallels, the variation of the meridians, and the latitude and longitude of the modern maps as interpreted by the cosmographer, Gerónimo Martin Palacios, and Father Antonio, the second cosmographer, it seemed that they must have been the Spaniards of New Mexico and that it could not be two hundred leagues from there to where these were settled in New Mexico. If perchance they were not those they must be some civilized people and different from the Indians, settled in the country which borders on the Kingdom of Quivira.

Those who have come to Mexico from the provinces of New Mexico say that the Indians of that country told them that to the west of them there were

many people and large cities whose inhabitants wore clothes and that towards the north there were many others. Captain Gerónimo Marqués, who was one of the conquerors of New Mexico, and the one who had gone farthest into those countries, even so far as to come in sight of the Sea of California, gave Father Antonio an account of what he had seen and discovered in those kingdoms of New Mexico, which will be added at the end of this. He gives it to be understood that what has just now been said might be the case. It seems to me that it would produce the greatest fruit and be of great service to Our Lord, Jesus Christ, to make there a settlement of Spaniards with evangelical ministers to implant the faith and to teach the natives of that country, who would easily accept it and maintain themselves in Christianity with perseverance and firmness.

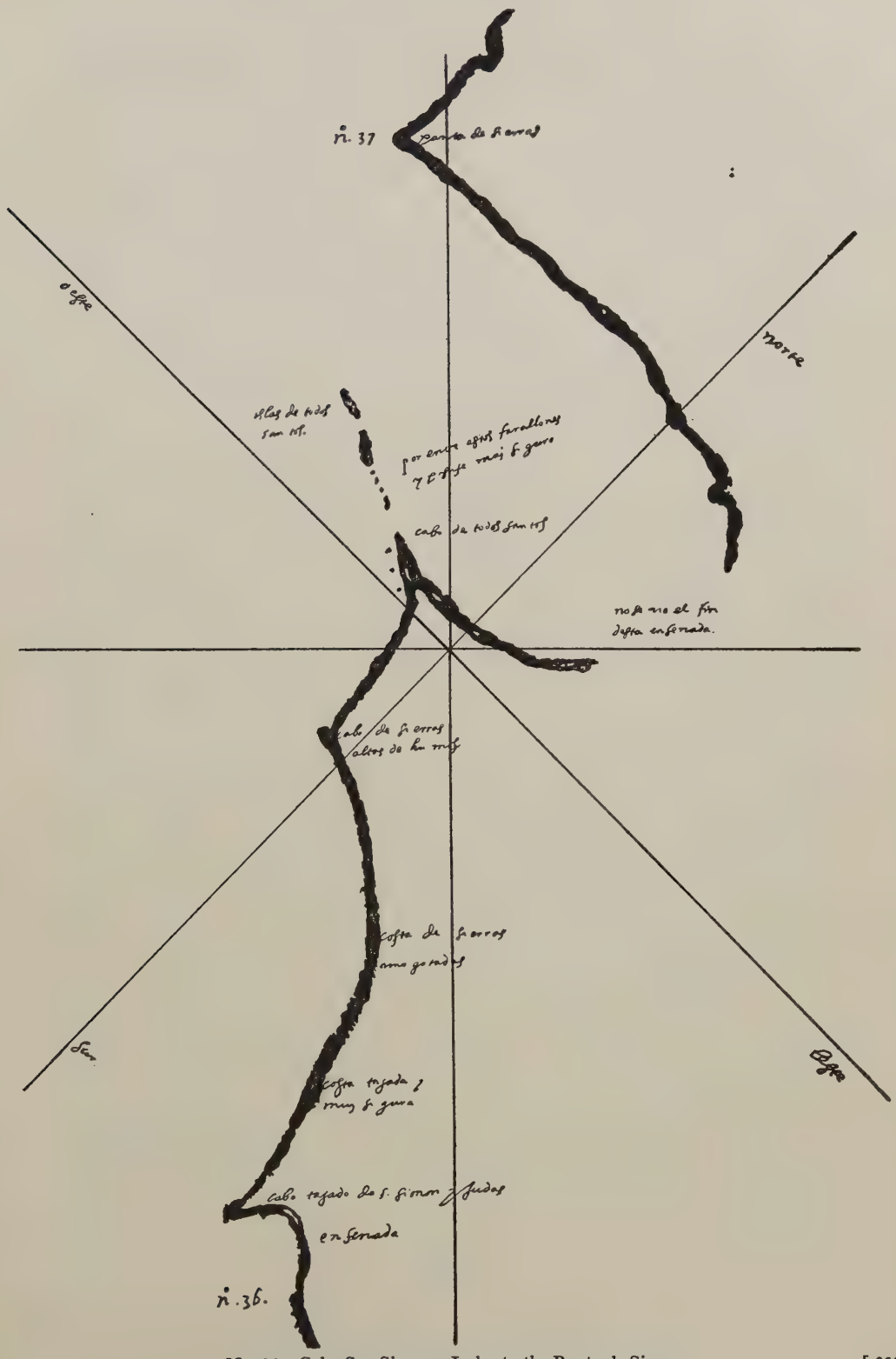
The *Capitana* and *Fragata* having been in this Baia or Puerto de Once Mil Virgenes for some days, the *General* ordered the men to be brought together and the ships to go out to sea, to see if the *Almiranta* would appear. While departing from the port and getting under way October 20, the day of the Once Mil Virgenes, they saw the *Almiranta* coming. This gave all much consolation and an unexpected pleasure, as they had not seen her in twenty-eight days and considered her lost.[111]

I related above how the *Almiranta* had become separated from the *Capitana* during the great gale from which they suffered near Cabo del Engaño, and I continued with what the *Capitana* had done from then until they came together again in this place. I say then that when the *Almiranta* found herself out of sight of the *Capitana,* and it was thought that she had gone back for shelter to the nearest port, it was decided to go in search of her at the ports behind. It had been agreed between them that they should seek the nearest port which they had left behind, or to leeward according to the language of sailors, in case a gale should separate them and they should lose sight of each other. Those of the *Almiranta* were of this opinion, and thinking that the *Capitana* had passed as bad a time as their ship, they therefore turned back in search of the *Capitana* on September 24, re-running and surveying all the coast, taking a look at the Baia de San Cosme y San Damian, and that of San Hipólito, until they reached again the same place at the Isla de Çedros where they had been.[112] Here they took water and wood anew, and not finding any trace of the *Capitana,* resumed their voyage to search for her where they had lost sight of each other. In order not to encounter another gale like the past one by sailing close to land, and in order not to see Cabo del Engaño again, they sailed five days continuously to the west. At the end of this time they found themselves some eight leagues away from a large island, which was thought to be the one the sailors from China call "Pájaros."[113] Although they made every effort to land on it, it was not possible to reach it, as the strong contrary wind prevented it. Two days they spent in these efforts trying to land some men on it, but it was not possible. While in this neighborhood, as the winds were so contrary and strong and the sea reached the heavens, the waves

beating fiercely on the *Almiranta* created some trouble in the main timber of the ship's nose.[114] This rubbed a great deal and much water entered there with the great pitching of the ship, making it evident that she was about to open up and founder. In order not to perish there without any hope, they determined to return towards the mainland, so that if the ship did open up and founder the men might save themselves by being near land. When they were near this they found themselves close to the Isla de Ceniças, which they had already left behind,[115] and which those of the *Capitana* did not see, as I have said. They did not attempt to go to it, but continued their voyage in order to reach land and see if perchance Our Lord, Jesus Christ, would grant them the favor of finding the *Capitana*. On approaching the Baia or Puerto de las Virgenes, they saw the *Capitana* and *Fragata* sailing out of it, a plain miracle which Our Master, Jesus Christ, performed on this occasion, ordaining that when one ship was arriving in such need, the other should come out to meet her to relieve her, and console those in her who had lost hope of rescue. On coming up to talk and salute each other, a welcome was given with the greatest joy, and the *General* issued an order to continue their voyage to the first port they might encounter. They passed close to a small island near the mainland and named it "San Hilarion."[116] Following along the coast, they saw a large *ensenada* or bay, and the *Fragata* went to look it over and sound it. They found in it good shelter from the northwest wind and many Indians, but they did not go in, in order to go on in search of a better one. Some two leagues from there the northwest wind came up with such force that it obliged them to go back to this *ensenada,*[117] which was named "San Simon y Judas Tadeo."[118] This was October 28, and they entered it with the intention of relieving the *Almiranta* and taking water and wood. What happened to them here I shall relate in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VIII. *What happened in the Baia de San Simon y Judas,*[119] *and what was discovered from there to the arrival at the Puerto de San Diego.*

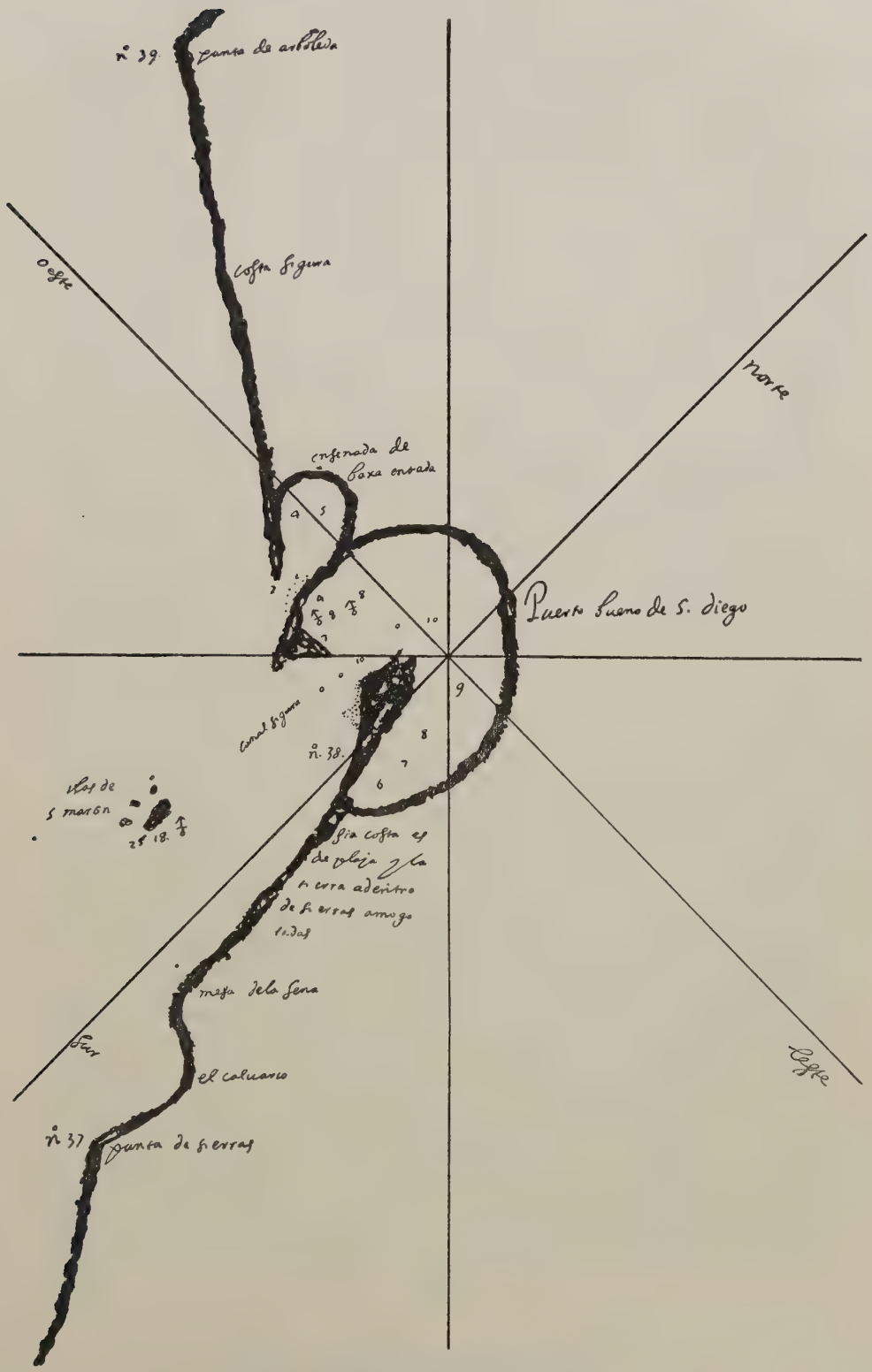
Being anchored in the Baia de San Simon y Judas on the day of those holy apostles, the *General* in the morning ordered Captain Alarcon with the *Capitana's* boat with men, and Captain Peguero with the *Almiranta's* skiff with others, to go together to search for water on the mainland. They found many naked Indians on the beach, well built and with bows and arrows, somewhat insolent and bold. Our people made much of them, showing them affection and giving them some little things. The Indians pointed out some little wells among some reeds and cane from which they obtained water, and from these water was taken for the ships. As the Indians saw that our people treated them well, they concluded that they did this for fear of them, and with this thought became insolent and began to commit some excesses, reaching such a degree of incivility as to attempt to take away some little things from the Spaniards almost by force. By way of scorn and ridicule they came to the point of trying to throw their bows over the necks of some of them. They made



No. 24 Cabo San Simon y Judas to the Punta de Sierras

efforts to take away the skiff of the *Almiranta* from the men who were guarding it, but these took it out to sea. Vexed at this, the Indians threw many stones at them from the beach, and to prevent this from going farther, a soldier discharged a harquebus over their heads.

On the following day, those who had landed the day before, going in the skiff or bark of the *Almiranta* for water, Captain Peguero with six other soldiers separated from the boat of the *Capitana,* in which was Captain Alarcon, in order to land more safely and disembark where the waves were not so high. The Indians, seeing that the harquebuses had done them no harm and that those in the skiff were few in number, went to where these few Spaniards had landed and commenced to behave very badly and to be so insolent, that three soldiers, who carried their harquebuses with the matches lit, threatened them with these and told them to stop and not to come close to them as they did not wish to come to a fight. The Indians, however, in spite of this came up with such daring and incivility that they attempted to throw their bows over their necks, and did so over one of them. When the pilot of the *Fragata,* Antonio Flores, who was with the soldiers, saw this, he took his cutlass out of its sheath and with the back part cut the bow and the cord at one stroke. At this the Indians became angry and commenced to leave, placing bows to their arrows in order to shoot them at the Spaniards. When our people saw this the soldiers who had their matches lit took aim at them with their harquebuses and discharged them, as it was not fitting to allow the Indians to shoot them. At the first shot they wounded half a dozen with some small shot, slugs and balls. Finding themselves wounded, the Indians at once fled, two falling dead on the ground within a short distance. The others took these up on their backs and carried them to a small hill, in order to get away and be safe from another joke such as had just been played on them, showing themselves to be very much offended. They at once spread the news among their neighbors and friends, and within an hour more than two hundred Indians assembled, all with bows and arrows, painted and covered with feathers. Formed into a squadron, they marched against those Spaniards who had remained on shore with Captain Alarcon, who, seeing them coming, got his own men ready for them, taking advantage of the beach. When the Indians saw the harquebuses in the hands of the Spaniards, they did not dare to attack them or come very close to them, but held a consultation and decided to treat for peace. As a token of this they sent an Indian with a little dog. They then became friends, and although as friends they joined the Spaniards, they never took their eyes off the harquebuses, explaining by signs that four of them had died and others were badly wounded. They gave the Spaniards many little things to make them grateful: *martinetes,*[120] dressed marten skins, and net bags, and remained peaceable and fast friends. After this had occurred, and water and wood had been taken, our fleet sailed together from this bay Wednesday, October 29 [October 30], and went on its voyage.[121]



No. 25. San Diego and the adjacent coast

Sailing together close to land against the winds and the currents, they arrived near a large *ensenada* all surrounded by high rocks. It appeared that some arm of the sea entered by a ravine which came down through the rocks on one side or that some great river emptied there. This *ensenada* has two small islands in front of it, three leagues away, almost west of it. These were named "Todos Santos," and the *ensenada* "Santiago."[122] With the intention of entering this, the *Fragata* went ahead, the *Almiranta* following. As it was already night, the *Capitana* could not go in after them, so she stood out to sea. Those who were in the port, seeing that the *Capitana* did not come in and was standing off, came out again to follow her so as not to lose sight of her. This was on November 5. On the following morning when it was intended to enter this *ensenada* to inspect it and look it over, a little wind came up favorable in appearance, and as it seemed to the *General* and the others that it was not wise to allow such an occasion to pass, and that they could examine it on their return, they went on their voyage. A few leagues from there, however, this wind failed them and the very strong northwest wind came up again to hinder their journey. Little by little they made their voyage, coasting along the land, on all of which many fires and smokes were seen by day and by night. These the Indians made, as if calling to the ships to come close to their country, which showed indications of being good, fertile and level and was of pleasing aspect.[123] Following the land, they reached some four small islands, two shaped like sugar loaves and the other two somewhat larger. These were named the "Cuatro Coronados."[124] To the north of them in the mainland there is a large extended *ensenada,* all surrounded by hills which form a very fine port. This was named "San Diego."[125] In this the fleet entered November 10, on the eve of San Martin's day, at seven o'clock at night.

The following morning the *General* ordered some men to go and look over a little hill[126] which protected the port from the northwest wind. Captains Alarcon and Peguero and Father Antonio went with eight harquebusiers and found on it many live-oaks, junipers, and other trees such as rock-rose, heather, and one very similar to the rosemary. There were many fragrant medicinal and healthful herbs. From the top of the hill all that spacious *ensenada* could be clearly seen. It was a port very capacious, good, large and safe, as it was protected from all winds. This hill is about three leagues long and half a league wide, and to the northwest of it there is another good port. With this information they returned to the ships. The *General* ordered a spacious tent to be set up on shore to serve as a church where the friars could say mass every day they were there. The port was found to be so good that it was decided to clean the ships, tallow them, and repair the damage to the *Almiranta,* and that while some were occupied in this work, others should cut wood, and others take water. So to the gratification of all and with their entire agreement, the work was taken in hand by the men with good courage.

Water was taken on a large sand-bar in the middle of the *ensenada.* This

was all surrounded by sea so that it appears to be a sand island. Some large holes like graves were dug in it, and when the tide was high the water which trickled into them was sweet and good and when the tide ebbed it was brackish and bad (a secret of Nature and a work of the hand of God). On placing the work in hand which the *General* had ordered, he put out some sentinels on the hill so that those who were at work could be safe and without any misgivings. One of the sentinels gave notice that many Indians were coming along the beach in a troop, all with bows and arrows, naked and painted black and white. The *General* ordered some soldiers to get their arms ready, and when the Indians saw them with arms, they did not come up to the place where the Spaniards were, but retired instead to a slope on the side of the hill. In order to bring them to peace and to quiet them, Father Antonio went to them. Following him to safeguard his person, but somewhat apart, was Ensign Juan Francisco with six harquebusiers. Before reaching the place where the Indians were, Father Antonio made signs of peace with a white cloth and by throwing sand in the air with his hands. At this the Indians kept still and Father Antonio came up to them with those who were accompanying him. The first thing the Indians did was to deliver their bows and arrows to the Father and the soldiers. He embraced them with many caresses and signs of love and gave them some bead necklaces of colored glass, cords and ribbons to put around the neck for ornament. With this they came peaceably towards the *General* and the others, but before reaching them, they saw so many people that they did not dare to come up and retired to a little hill, sending forward with the Father and the soldiers two very old wrinkled Indian women who had more folds on their abdomens than the empty bag of a muleteer. They, with the company conducting them, came up to the *General* and the others without embarrassment or suspicion.

The *General,* the friars and soldiers entertained them, giving them some strings of glass beads and biscuit, and with these sent them away contented and happy. They told how they had been treated and what they thought of the people, which must all have been very good, for all came back with them at once to see the Spaniards. Most of them were painted black and white and wore many feather plumes on their heads. The *General* and the rest greeted them with affection and kindness, giving them many little things, and plenty of fish which were drawn out with a net in front of them. All of this they received with great pleasure. The black paint, or rather blue paint, appeared to be silvered, and on being asked by signs of what it was made, they displayed some stones of metal of London blue, from which they made it.[127] They explained by signs that it was made from those stones by people inland who were bearded and wore clothes and ornaments like the Spaniards, pointing out some ornamental braid such as some of the Spaniards wore on their jackets, and saying that they were like those. They also pointed out some mulberry-colored velvet breeches well adorned with fringes which the *General* was wearing, and said that those people wore ornaments and clothes like our Spaniards and that they

looked like them and treated them very similarly. They were enraptured and came back every third day for biscuit and fish, and as they had heard the Spaniards say whenever they wished to make a cast with the net, *"Vamos a pescar a pescar,"* they said when they came, *"A pescar! A pescar!"* which made us all smile. They pronounced our language very well, not a letter of our A B C failing them. Whenever they came they brought fine skins of martens, cats, seals, and other animals, net bags, and little nets with which they fished. These they presented with affection and good-will to those who gave them anything in exchange for them.[128]

In this port there are many white fish called smelts, skates, oysters, mussels, sardines, lobsters, and center-fish, and in the *esteros* there are many white and brown geese,[129] ducks, quail, hares, and rabbits. On the beach of the sand-bar I mentioned there was a great quantity of sparkling golden pyrites, I mean that they sparkle like spangles, a sure sign that there must be gold mines in the mountains. On the same sand-bar from which the water was taken, there were some great large pieces like cow dung, very light in weight, of reddish and brown color and shaped like adobes; some said they were pieces of amber. If so, there is plenty of it and a very great quantity can be brought away with much ease. The country surrounding the port is very fertile and level and near the beach there are very fine meadows. The *General* and Father Antonio with other soldiers made a turn around all the *ensenada* and looked over the country. They were pleased to see its fertility and good character, but what gave them the greatest pleasure was the extensiveness, capacity and security of the port, its good depth and its many fish. Having finished the proposed work, an order was given to leave the port and continue the voyage.[130] They departed November 20, Wednesday, all on board the fleet having confessed and taken communion before embarking. There were many sick among the men, and some had already died, Ensign Juan de Açevedo having been the first to pass away on this voyage.

CHAPTER IX, *in which is treated of what happened to the fleet from the Puerto de San Diego to the arrival at the Puerto de Monterey.*

From the time the fleet sailed from the Puerto de San Diego in pursuit of its voyage, the northwest wind, the king and absolute master of this sea and coast, commenced its work anew. It was as strong as usual, and they went on the bowline, making headway little by little with great labor, until they came in sight of an *ensenada*.[131] The country surrounding this was very verdant, and the Indians made many smokes and fires, apparently signals for the ships to enter. On coming to look it over, no place was found where the ships could anchor and be safe from the northwest wind, and so they passed on. A few leagues farther, they saw a large island, almost twelve leagues away from the mainland, and went to inspect it. This was the day of the martyr Santa Catalina, and for this reason it was named "Santa Catalina." They anchored near it

No. 26. Santa Catalina and Santa Barbara and the coast opposite

November 28 [November 25], but before reaching it another very much larger island southwest of it was seen, but as this was somewhat distant, they left it to be explored on the return.[132] As the ships were approaching the Isla de Santa Catalina to cast anchor, the Indian inhabitants began to raise smokes on the beach, and when they saw they had anchored, the women, children, and old men began to shout and make demonstrations of joy in proof of their happiness. They came running to the beach to receive the guests who were arriving.[133]

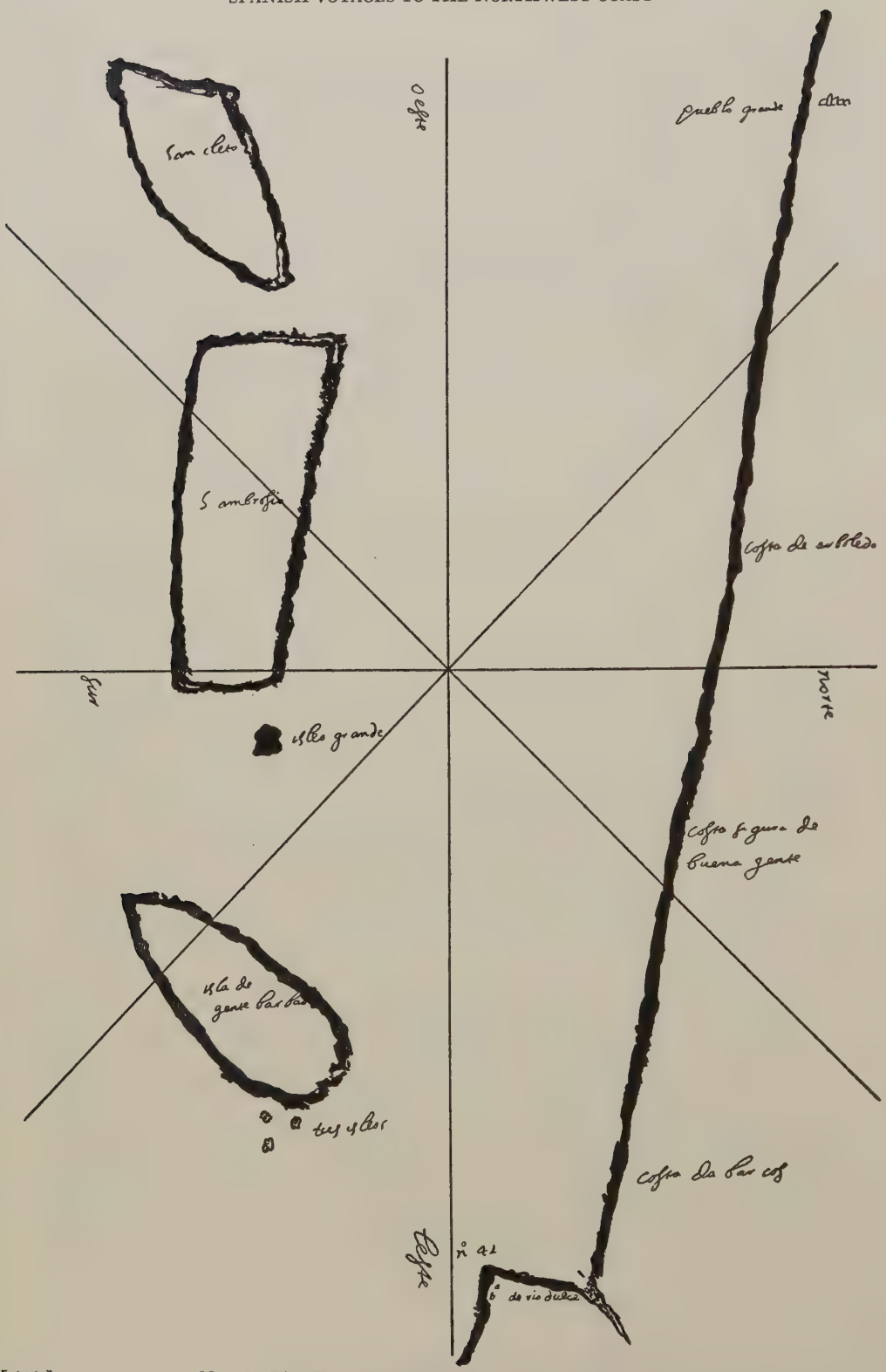
As soon as the ships anchored[134] and the sails were furled, the *General* ordered the *Almirante* to go ashore and take with him Father Antonio, Captain Peguero with some soldiers from the *Capitana,* and Captain Alarcon with twenty-four soldiers, all armed with harquebuses and with their matches lit, to see what the Indians wanted, what there was in the island, and to bring back the information at once. When those who were with the *Almirante* landed, many old men, women, and children came up with much familiarity, friendship and affability, just as if they had seen Spaniards before. Our people asked them by signs for water. They at once brought a rush barrel full of water, which was good, and said that the spring from which they took it was somewhat distant. With this news they returned to the ships to pass the night. The following day the *General* ordered a tent to be set up on land in which Fathers Andrés and Antonio should say mass, Father Tomás being now sick. Then all went to hear mass. On this occasion a great number of young Indians had assembled, well built and robust, all naked. The day before these had been fishing in some small well-made canoes of boards fastened together, with their poops and bows like barks.[135] Some of these canoes were so large that they would hold more than twenty people. In the small ones there are ordinarily three when they go fishing, two men with their paddles and two-bladed oars, seated or on their knees, one in the stern and the other in the bow, and a boy between to throw out such water as the canoe might make. They paddle on one side and the other in such unison and concert that they go flying.

That the reader may have some relief, I shall refer here briefly to what was seen among these Indians and on this island. The method these Indians employ in fishing is pleasing and easy. In the island there are many elder trees, which grow some long slender poles the Indians use for their fishing, as our people do harpoons. At the end of the pole they fasten a harpoon made of fishbone, and to this they tie firmly a long strong line like twine. Carrying these in their canoes, when they see in the bottom near the canoes some large fish or one of reasonable size, they strike them with these harpoons. When this is fast to the fish, they give it the line if it is a large one, and follow it, little by little nearing the beach, where they finish by killing it and drawing it on land. The small ones they at once raise into the canoe. With this artifice the Indians capture very large fish and many seals. The latter they make use of for food and as a protection for their flesh when they suffer from cold, and the women cover themselves with them from the breasts down. These are well featured and well

built, of good countenance and eyes and modest in their looks and behaviour. The boys and girls are white and blonde, and all are affable and smiling. These Indians and those of the islands make use for their living quarters of some houses made like cabins. They cover these with a mat of rushes very closely woven, something like Moorish mats, which they set up on some great upright forked poles. They are so spacious that each will hold fifty people. I think that a family lives in each one. As the houses are portable, they remove them to other places whenever it seems advisable. Neither rain nor the sun penetrates them. The vessels and pitchers in which they keep water are made of reeds. In the island there is a great quantity of something like potatoes, and small *xicamas,*[136] which the Indians carry to the mainland to sell. They live by buying, selling and bartering. They showed us some pieces of blue metal with which they paint themselves like the one I spoke of before. In this island and in those near by there are many Indians and many settlements and houses like those described.

The soldiers ran all over the island and in one part of it fell in with a place of worship or temple where the natives perform their sacrifices and adorations. This was a large flat patio and in one part of it, where they had what we would call an altar, there was a great circle all surrounded with feathers of various colors and shapes, which must come from the birds they sacrifice. Inside the circle there was a figure like a devil painted in various colors, in the way the Indians of New Spain are accustomed to paint them. At the sides of this were the sun and the moon. When the soldiers reached this place, inside the circle there were two large crows larger than ordinary ones, which flew away when they saw strangers, and alighted on some near-by rocks. One of the soldiers, seeing their size, aimed at them with his harquebus, and discharging it, killed them both. When the Indians saw this they began to weep and display great emotion. In my opinion, the Devil talked to them through these crows, because all the men and women hold them in great respect and fear. I saw with my own eyes some Indian women cleaning some fish on the beach for food for themselves and their husbands and children. Some crows came up to them and took this out of their hands with their bills, while they remained quiet without speaking a word or frightening them away, and were astonished to see the Spaniards throw stones at them.[137]

All around the island there are good ports and shelters in which any ships can anchor. In the sea there is a great quantity of fish, such as sardines, smelts, lobsters, center-fish, skate, and many others. There are partridges, quail, rabbits, hares, and deer. The Indians have many dogs of medium size and of good appearance like our spotted retrievers, only they do not bark, but howl like coyotes. The Indians are affable and friendly and eager to know what is going on, for when they saw some soldiers praying with their rosaries, they came up to them and asked for them in order to do the same, saying "Vis, vis," words they thought the soldiers were muttering. They are very light-fingered



[238] No. 27. The Channel Islands and the coast opposite

and clever, and in stealing anything and in putting it in safety are ingenious. If it were not for being prolix in this chapter, I would relate here some of their transactions with us; I believe that they beat the gypsies in cunning and dexterity. Many of them wished to go with us, but this did not seem advisable, and so they were made to leave the ships and remain in their country.

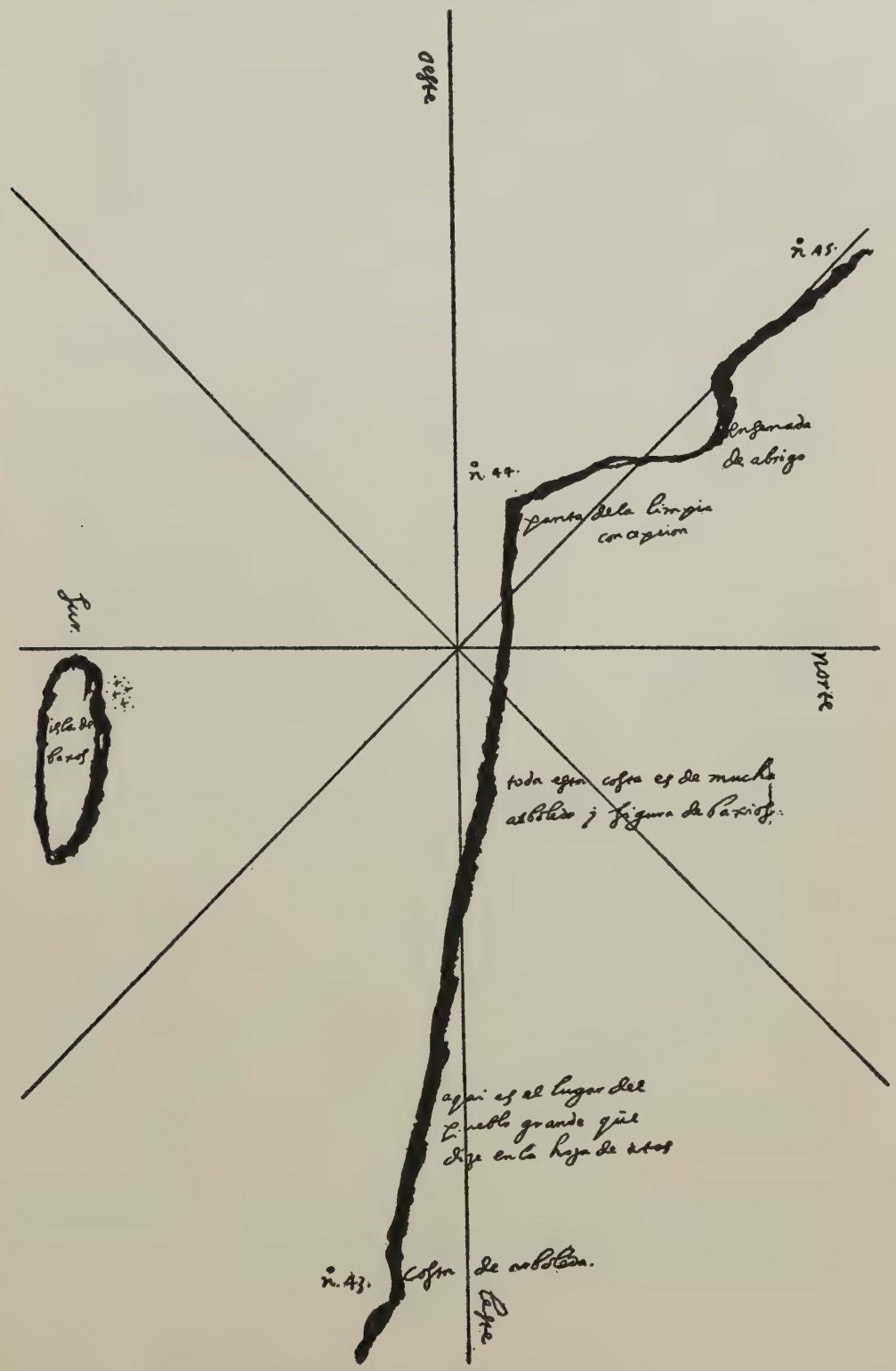
What has been related having passed, and all the island having been examined, the fleet sailed December 1, with the intention of examining other islands near by and sailing over to the mainland to continue inspecting and charting it.[138] From this island a line of islands large, small and of medium size runs on four or six leagues apart. They are all well settled with Indians who trade and communicate with each other and with those on the mainland. From the first to the last they must continue for more than a hundred leagues,[139] one after the other as the coast of the mainland trends. Between them and the mainland there is a very good and safe passage, so wide that in places it measures twelve leagues and at the least eight. This passage is named "La Canal de Santa Barbara" and extends from east to west. When those who came from China passed in view of these islands, they never thought them to be islands, because they were so close together, and therefore they kept away from them. We passed between them and the mainland as I have stated.

When the fleet was in sight of the mainland, and near one of the islands, which was named "Santa Barbara,"[140] the first of the channel, a canoe came flying out from the mainland with four men propelling it. Aboard was an Indian with his son and other Indians who accompanied him, who gave us to understand that he was the king or lord of that country. This canoe came up to the *Capitana,* and with great assiduity and swiftness made three turns around it, all those on board singing in their language in the manner and the tone in which the Indians of New Spain sing in their *mitotes,* or dances. They then came up to the ship and the principal Indian or petty king, grasping the end of the rope which was passed to them, came aboard without any suspicion or fear whatever, and the first thing he did on entering the ship was to make another three turns around the waist, singing in the same tone. This ceremony being concluded, standing before the *General* and the rest, he commenced a long harangue in his language, of which we could understand not a word. Having finished this, he explained by intelligible signs that the people of the Isla de Santa Catalina had notified him by four posts in canoes that the ships had arrived there and that the people on board wore clothes and beards and were kind-hearted and of good demeanor, having entertained them and given them many things, and that he should come to see us. By reason of this news he had come there to offer his country and what entertainment he could supply if we wished to receive it. He begged and prayed us to come to the shore with the ship, saying that he would provide us with everything necessary. As he did not see any woman on the ship, he asked by signs if we had any, pointing to his private parts and giving us clearly to understand what he wished to say.

The *General* told him he did not have any, nor were they necessary. The Indian then importuned the *General* with more energy for all to go ashore, promising to give each one ten women to serve them and entertain them. At this all of us laughed very much and the chief, thinking that we were deriding him, and that we thought he would not do what he promised, renewed his offers, and asked the *General* to send ashore a soldier in the canoe in which he had come to see with his own eyes if it was true that he could comply with what he had promised, saying that he would remain as a hostage with his son while the soldier went and returned to inform himself about the truth of it.[141] The *General* held a council about this,[142] and it was decided that as it was already night nothing should be done until the following day, but that when it was dawn, some should go ashore to see if there was a safe and commodious port where the ships could remain at anchor, and if there was one, they would go there, and that the Indian should go back to his country that night to make the necessary arrangements. With this they dismissed him, the *General* having given him some things. He went away well paid and contented with the good behaviour and kindness which he saw in those whom he expected to have as guests on the following day, and to get something ready with which to entertain them.[143]

Within an hour after the chief had gone back to his country a southeast wind came up, one they had not enjoyed before in all the time they had been sailing. As it was a stern wind it seemed to the *General* and the others that they should take advantage of the opportunity which Our Lord had provided, and that on the return voyage they could come back to see what the Indian chief wanted and had promised. With this they raised the sails on the ships and all that night the sailing was greatly to their liking. This southeast wind began to blow at seven o'clock on the night of December 3, the day of Santa Barbara, and lasted until eight o'clock the following morning.[144] At that hour the ships were already almost at the last islands of the channel. These are six in number, two or three leagues apart, and the channel must be about thirty leagues long.[145] The coast of the mainland is beautiful and full of trees and all along there are many settlements of affable and inoffensive Indians.[146] On the night of the day of Santa Barbara, the northwest wind came up with such great force as to cause great anxiety to all, because the sea rolled heavily in the channel, and it was night and we were between islands so close together. Even greater was the fear we had of striking on some islands, or on some of the many reefs near them.

This rough weather lasted that night and the two following days.[147] On the day of San Nicolas the wind died down and little by little the ships went on their voyage.[148] In this place the *Fragata* was lost from sight among the islands. Coming to enjoy some good weather, the ships emerged from between the islands and approached the coast of the mainland to examine and map it. They saw it to be very high and mountainous, and noted some *ensenadas*. From one of these four rush canoes came out together, each containing two naked Indians, and came straight to the ships. On reaching them they presented a quantity of fish



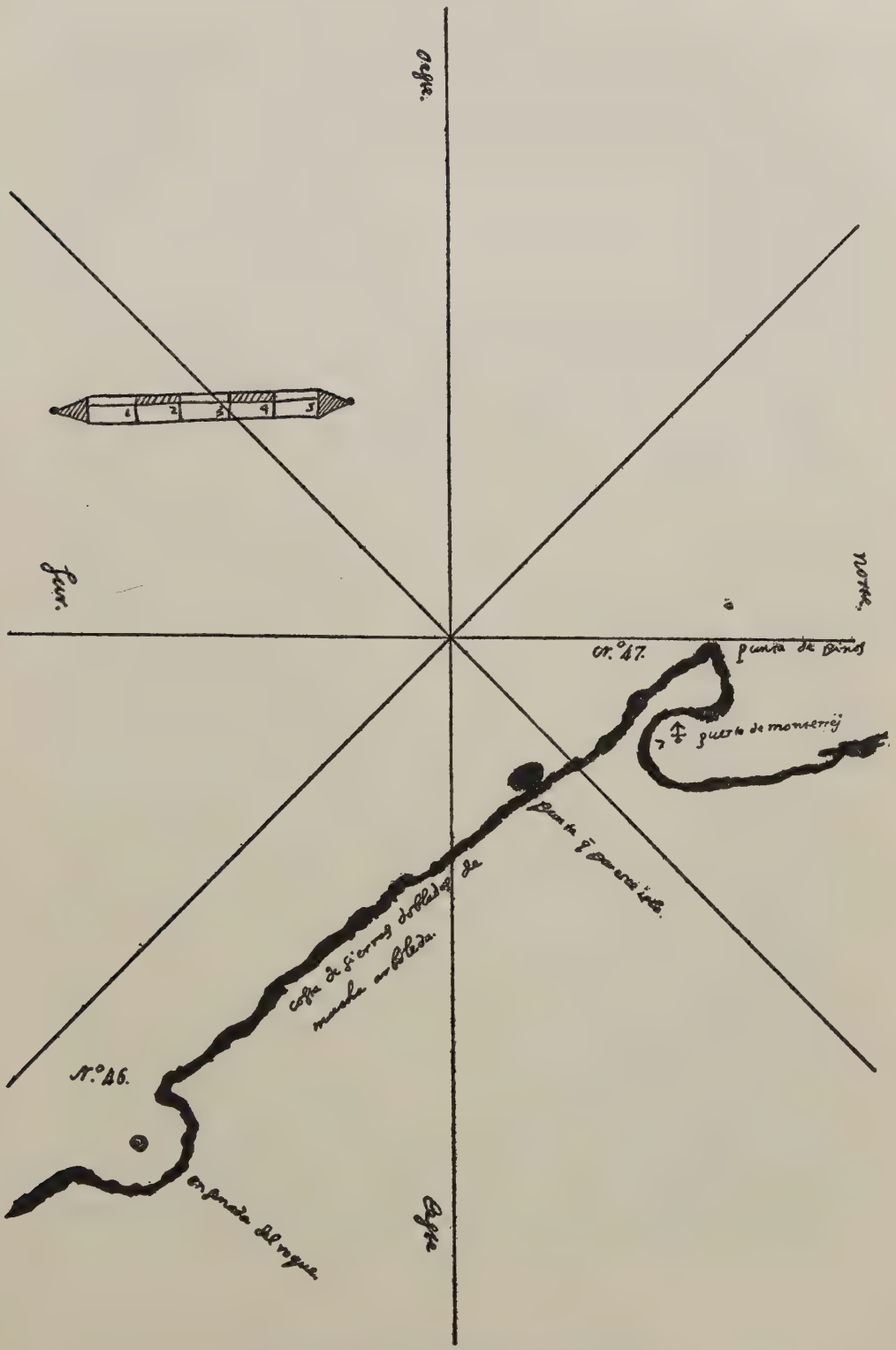
No. 28. From Santa Barbara to Pt. Sal

they had with pleasure and liberality, especially many sardines, salted or seasoned with salt, which they use for bait for other larger fish for which they are accustomed to fish with some hooks of cactus spines tied to some good lines like twine. They spoke not a word, as if they were dumb, and by signs explained what they wanted. They were taller, stronger and better built than others we have previously seen in other places, and wear some goatskins with which they cover their private parts. They were given something to eat and wear and went back to their country very contented. These Indians showed signs of much intelligence and of being docile, and of not being thieves, nor did they wish to take anything unless they first gave something for it.[149]

The fleet passing onward, on the following day other Indians came, and almost the same thing happened with them as with those just mentioned. It seemed that they were all dumb and of the same tribe. With forceful signs they begged the ships to go to their land, offering to furnish much entertainment in the way of fish and acorns, which seemed to be their ordinary food. Their good will was appreciated and with some little things which were given them, such as bead necklaces, clothes, and food, they went away to their country, joyful and contented at having seen people such as they had never seen before.[150] At this place the *Fragata* appeared and joined the ships, being well received. Those on board told how the Indians in the other islands had entertained them with fish and acorns, and said there were many people in them.[151] As soon as she arrived, the *General* ordered her to go along close to the coast and look carefully to see if there were any port, since the land was obscured by a thick fog or mist.[152] Here a little wind came up favorable to our sailing and lasted fourteen hours.[153] On Saturday, December 14, the day cleared up a little and they found themselves near a very white high sierra, all reddish on the sides and covered with many trees. It is named the Sierra de Santa Lucia and is the one which ships from the Philippines ordinarily sight.[154] Four leagues beyond[155] a river which comes down from some high white sierras covered with snow enters the sea from between some rocks. Its banks are all full of high large trees, white and black poplars, very straight and large, willows, alder trees, blackberries, and others like those of Castile. It is called the "Rio del Carmelo."[156] Two leagues beyond is a fine port, between which and the river there is a forest of pine trees more than two leagues across. This land makes a point almost at the entrance of the port, which was named "Punta de Pinos."[157] The fleet entered this port December 16[158] in order to despatch an advice ship from there to New Spain to tell the Viceroy all that had been seen and discovered up to that point. The port was named "Monterey," in honor of the Conde de Monterey, the viceroy who had sent them on the exploration.[159]

CHAPTER X, *in which is treated of what the fleet did in the Puerto de Monterey and of the departure from there for Cabo Mendocino.*

December 16 when the fleet entered the Puerto de Monterey, it was already



No. 29. From about San Luis Obispo to Monterey

night. The following day the *General* ordered the necessary things to be taken ashore, so that Father Andrés and Father Antonio could say mass every day while they had to remain. This was done, and a large capacious tent was set up under the shade of a very large live-oak to serve as a church.[160] At twenty paces from this there was an arroyo or ravine in which were some holes of good water, into which trickled all that was necessary for the men in the fleet. The friars said the Mass of the Holy Ghost, so that the *General* and those of his council might have the wisdom to order and provide what was most agreeable to the service of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, and of the King. After having heard mass, a council was assembled[161] and the question was propounded in it whether it was advisable to send from there an advice to the viceroy of New Spain, the Conde de Monterey, of what had been seen and discovered; secondly, if so, with what ship it should be sent and also what could be done to relieve the numerous sick in the ships, many of whom had already died, while others were dying each day without any remedy, unless it was what God might send from heaven. There was now scarcely one who could say he was entirely sound and perfectly well, and the matter being closely investigated, no one was found who could even manage the sails of the ships. The pilot of the *Almiranta* and his assistant and master could not move from their beds; the chief pilot and his assistant, the master, could not stand; Father Tomás de Aquino had been sick for many days, and among all the rest of the men, soldiers, sailors, and ships' boys, there were deaths each day. When they entered this port they had already consigned to the deep sixteen of all conditions. What was determined in the council was that the *Almirante* with the *Almiranta* should return from there to New Spain, as an advice ship, and that with him should go the pilot Juan Pascual with his assistant, the master of the ship, Baltazar de Armas, and that the sick should be put in her, and with them Father Tomás so that he might confess them and administer to them the sacraments the best that he could. It was also ordered that the food in the *Almiranta* be taken out of her and put on the *Capitana,* leaving in her what seemed necessary for those who were to go in her, and that she be given the necessary sailors to navigate her to the Puerto de Acapulco, the rest of the men who were well and with some strength being divided between the *Capitana* and the *Fragata.*

All this was agreed to by the council, and the *General* ordered it to be put into effect with diligence and care. It was so done, and a copy of everything which had been seen and discovered was made, as well as a sea chart, on which all the coast was laid down with its ports, *ensenadas,* and islands, as they had been explored, so that the Viceroy might have full information about everything and could send it to His Majesty in Spain, in order that what had been discovered might be known, in case those who were left in the *Capitana* and *Fragata* to finish what still remained to be discovered up to the latitude of 42° should be wrecked or die on the voyage. While these matters were being arranged, Fathers Andrés and Antonio gave an order for all the men in the fleet well or

sick to confess and take communion. When this had been done they carried the sick on the *Almiranta* and with them Father Tomás, who was the sickest of all, administering extreme unction to those who seemed to be at the point of death, since Father Tomás could not do so on the journey. Those who were to steer the ship having been assigned, and everything that seemed to be necessary for the voyage having been provided, the *General* delivered to the *Almirante* all the certified copies of what had been seen and discovered, and wrote the Viceroy what he intended to do, asking him to send him recruits and food, for which he would wait at the Cabo de San Lucas at the beginning of May, 1603, and pointing out what he should send, so that on the return he could explore the Sea of California.[162] With this the *Almiranta* was despatched to New Spain. She sailed from the Puerto de Monterey, December 29, 1602, and commenced her voyage to New Spain, leaving the *Capitana* and *Fragata* ready to depart from the port to go in search of Cabo Mendocino and finish making the exploration.

Every year when those who sail from the Philippines to New Spain come in sight of the neighborhood of Cabo Mendocino or in that latitude,[163] a very severe sickness seizes them. Scarcely a man escapes from suffering greatly from it. It is this which causes the death of almost all those who die on that route, there being years when hardly a person is left on the ships to manage the sails or bring them to the port of destination. This sickness attacked almost all those of this fleet, those who had died before reaching the Puerto de Monterey, those who had been sick and the sick who were now put on board the *Almiranta*. As it seems that those who read this account might be pleased to know and understand its quality, character and effects, it appears to me not inappropriate to here give an account of it, for one reason to make it known how much those who went on this voyage suffered in the service of the King, our master, and for the other in order that the severe hardships which those suffer who come from China to New Spain, and the difficulty of the return voyage from there, may be known, so that there may not be so much desire to make it. From the latitude of 30° upward not only on those who come from China in search of Cabo Mendocino on their way to New Spain, but on those who are going from New Spain to Cabo Mendocino, a very sharp, subtle and cold wind blows, which passes through thin men. It must carry with it much pestilence, and if in itself the air is not bad, it produces with its subtlety and coldness some corruption of bad humours, especially in persons worn out and fatigued with the hardships of the navigation. The first symptom they notice is a pain in the whole body which makes it so sensitive that whatever touches it causes so much vexation and peevishness that there is no relief except with cries and groans. After this, all the body, especially from the waist down, becomes covered with purple spots larger than great mustard seeds. Then from this bad humour some strips or bands come behind the knee joints, two fingers and more wide like wales, and of the same blue or purple color, which extend through the thigh to the calves of the legs. These become as hard as stones, and the legs and the

thighs become so straight and stiff with them that they cannot be extended or drawn up a degree more than the state in which they were when attacked. Then all the leg and thigh become purple, and after this it extends and spreads over the whole body, attacking mostly the shoulders. With this the whole body becomes stiff, and sore as a boil. It attacks the back and the kidneys so that one cannot move or turn from one side to the other, being just as if in shackles. All is groans and cries, and there is no other consolation except to ask God to help one or take one away from this life, as the bodies of which this cursed humour takes possession come to such a pass that they are like one whole tumor or carbuncle very highly inflamed.

The sensitiveness of the bodies of these sick people is so great that the very clothing put on them to cover them is felt like sharp darts or cruel lances, and as the poor people cannot move or turn from one side to the other, they emit cries so pitiful that they reach the heavens. If their shipmates or those who are nursing them come to their assistance, their pains are doubled when they feel them coming close to their bodies, so that the best aid which can be rendered them is not even to touch the bedclothes. Not only is it this which this sickness and pestilential humour produces in these human bodies, but it also brings on other results more insufferable and loathsome, namely that the upper and lower gums of the mouth in the inside of the mouth and outside the teeth, become swollen to such a size that neither the teeth nor the molars can be brought together. The teeth become so loose and without support that they move while moving the head. There have been persons who in expectorating spat out unexpectedly a couple of teeth at a time. With this they cannot eat anything but food in liquid form or drinks, and so some are given paps, others biscuit, sugar and spice boiled together, others almond milk and others things of this character, as otherwise they could not introduce anything into the stomach to sustain themselves. Those who are attacked by this disease come to be so weakened in this condition that their natural vigor fails them, and they die all of a sudden, while talking. Of this disease die those who come from China as well as did more than forty of this fleet, but Our Lord, Jesus Christ, was pleased that all passed away after having confessed and received extreme unction, and the most of them the Holy Eucharist, having made their wills, arranged for the welfare of their souls and discharged their consciences.[164]

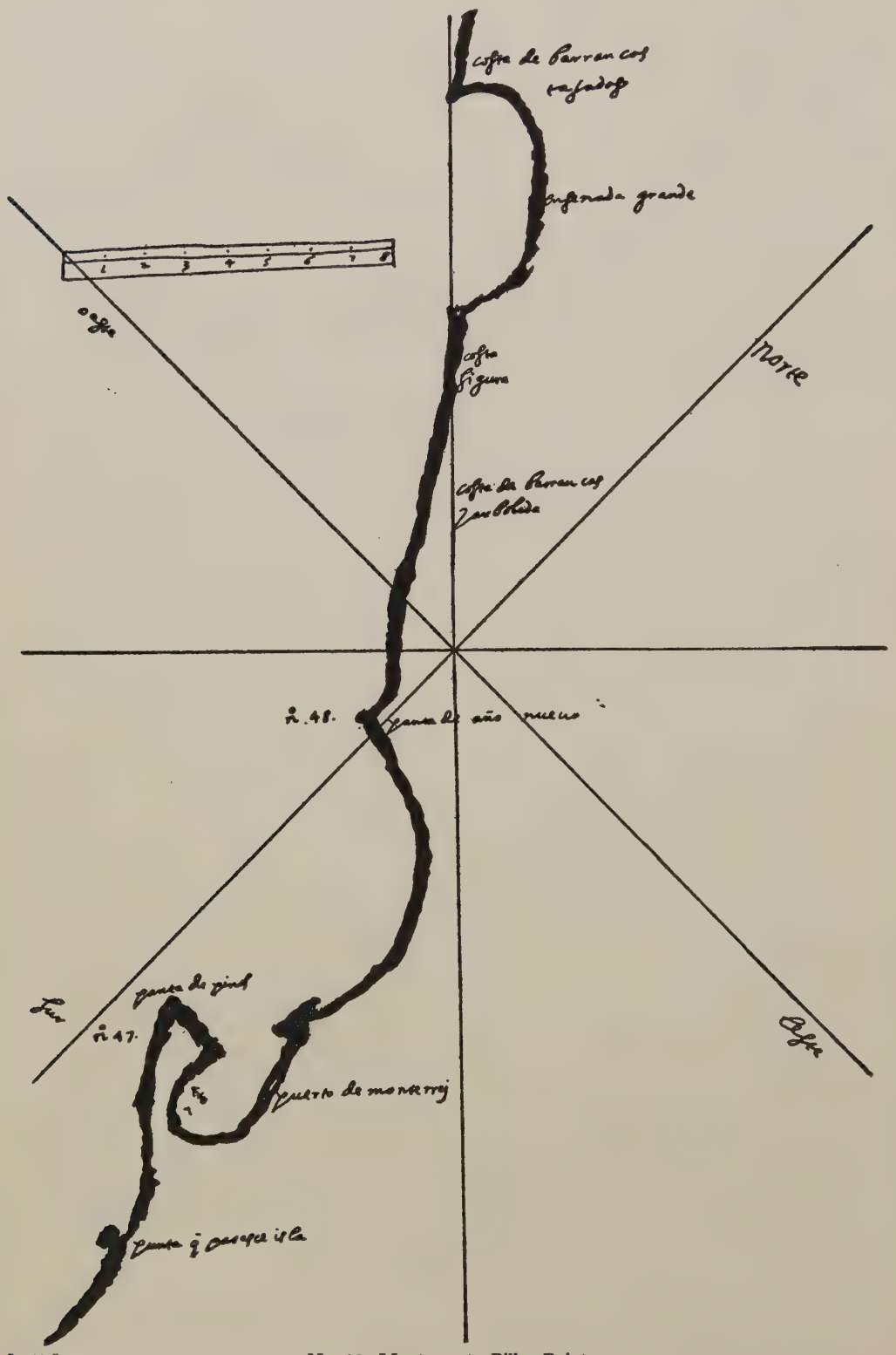
Returning to the subject of which we were treating, the doings of this fleet in the Puerto de Monterey before we left there, it will be well to give here a truthful account of this port and its qualities, and of what was seen there. It is a very good port and well protected from all winds. There is much wood and water in it and an immense number of great pine trees, smooth and straight, suitable for the masts and yards of ships; many very large live-oaks with which to build ships; great white oaks, and forests of great scarlet oaks. There are rock-roses, broom, roses of Castile, brambles, willows, alders, poplars, and other trees like those of Castile. There are springs of good water; beautiful large

lakes, which were covered with ducks and many other birds; most fertile pastures; good meadows for cattle, and fertile fields for growing crops. There are many different kinds of animals, and large ones such as bears, so large that their feet are a good third of a yard long and a hand wide. There are other animals which have hoofs like mules (some said they were those of elks), of which there must be a great number, as the fields were full of their tracks. There are others as large as three-year-old bulls, resembling stags in their build. Their hair was like that of a *ravicano,*[165] and almost a quarter of a yard long. Their neck was long, and on the head they had very large branching horns like those of a stag. Their tail must have been a yard in length and half a one wide, and their hoofs were cleft like those of an ox. Pliny in his Eighth Book, Chapter XXXIV of his Natural History, called this animal a *Tirando,* and speaks of it in the following terms:

> The *tirando* is of the size of an ox, its head is larger than that of a stag, and not very unlike it. The horns are branching and the hoofs cleft. The hair is long like that of a bear, but when it wishes it can take on the color of an ass. The hide on the shoulders is so hard that cuirasses are made out of it to protect the breast. When it is frightened, it takes on the color of all the trees, shrubs, flowers and places in which it hides itself, for which reason it is seldom killed in the hunt. How remarkable it is that the hair of this animal being so smooth and lustrous can suffer this change, or that its fear has the power to dye the hair with a new color. This animal is found in countries very far north.[166]

So much for Pliny.

There are many of these animals here, and besides them there are large deer, stags, jackrabbits, and rabbits, and wild-cats as large as kids. There is an abundance of ducks of all kinds, geese, doves, thrushes, sparrows, linnets, cardinals, quail, partridges, magpies, cranes, and buzzards, all like those of Castile. There are some other birds of the shape of turkeys, the largest I saw on this voyage. From the point of one wing to that of the other it was found to measure seventeen spans (more than a yard).[167] There are curly-jacks, gulls, crows and many other sea-birds which live on the fish they catch. In this port there are many good fish in the sea, and among the rocks there are many *lapas*[168] and mussels, and at depth attached to the rocks are some very large shells of fine mother-of-pearl, very beautiful and of a very fine color.[169] There are oysters, lobsters, crabs and *burgaos* among the rocks, and many large seals, or sea-calves, and whales. One very large one recently dead had gone ashore on the coast in this port and the bears came by night to dine on it. The port is all surrounded by settlements of affable Indians of good disposition and well built, very willing to give what they have. They brought us some of the skins of bears, lions, and deer. They use bows and arrows and have their form of government. They are naked. They would have much pleasure in seeing us make a settlement in their country.[170] Those who come from China in need of relief could very well resort to this port. It is in the same region and parallel of latitude as Seville, and is of almost the same climate. The Spaniards could settle here as an assistance to those sailing from China, as it is of the climate and quality of our Spain. As soon as the *Almiranta* had sailed for New Spain,



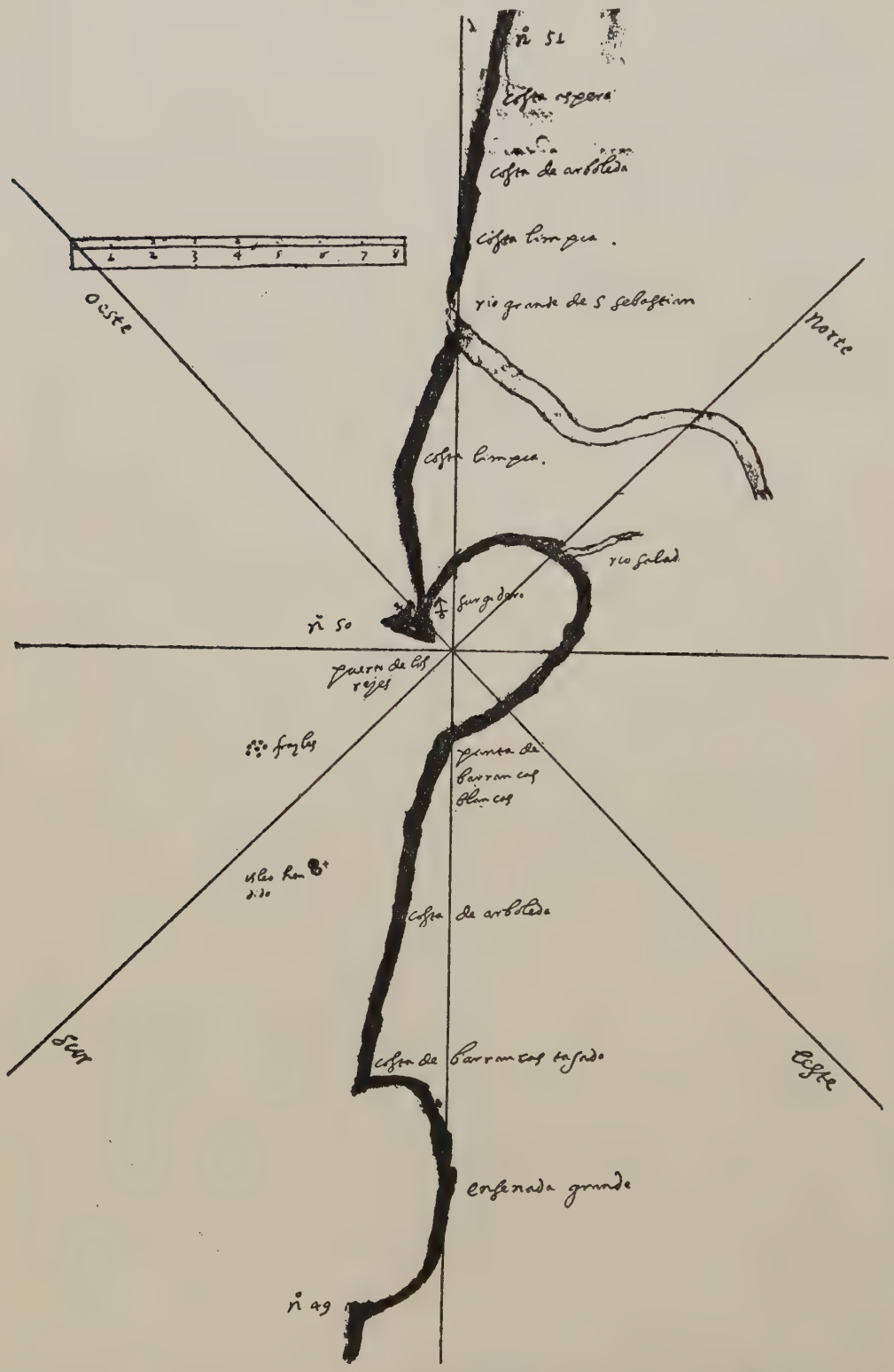
No. 30. Monterey to Pillar Point

the *Capitana* and *Fragata* departed, January 3, 1603, to finish making the exploration as far as Cabo Mendocino.[171]

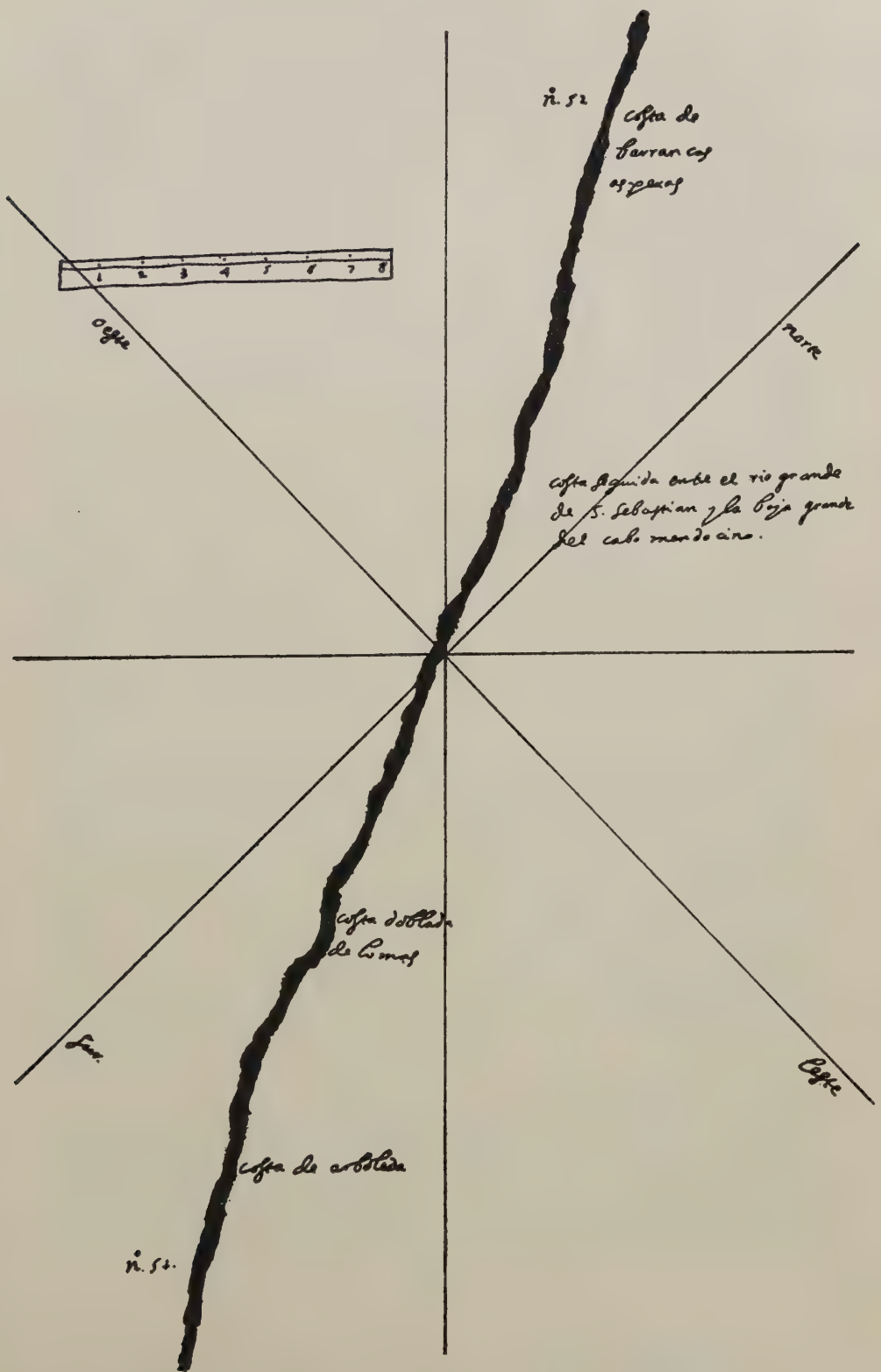
CHAPTER XI, *in which is treated of what happened to the Capitana and Fragata from the time they departed from the Puerto de Monterey until they reached Cabo Mendocino.*

As soon as they sailed from the Puerto de Monterey in search of Cabo Mendocino, a little good wind came up which lasted till the day of Los Reyes.[172] With this they sailed until they reached a point beyond the Puerto de San Francisco.[173] The day after Los Reyes, January 7, 1603, a northwest wind came up, somewhat severe, but still one which could be endured and with which headway could be made.[174] Those who were on the *Fragata,* considering that it was not such a wind as obliged them to go back for security, continued their voyage, as the *Capitana* had not put up any signal lantern, thinking they were together. It was at night and dark, and they did not see each other. In the morning the *General* decided to take a look at the Puerto de San Francisco, thinking that the *Fragata* would follow, and that he would await her there. As the *Fragata* was going ahead, however, they lost sight of each other, and became separated and nothing was known of her for the rest of the voyage, although the *General* made great efforts to find her. What happened to her after she separated from the *Capitana* I shall relate farther on, as she was not lost.

The reason why the *General* entered the Puerto de San Francisco was to examine and sound it, and to see if he could find any trace of the ship *San Agustin,* which had been wrecked there in 1595 by being driven on the coast by a wind blowing directly on shore. This ship had been despatched from the Philippines on the exploration which this fleet was now making and which is treated of in this account, by Governor Gomez Perez de las Mariñas, at the order of His Majesty and the then viceroy of New Spain, Don Luis de Velasco. Aboard that ship was a small *fragata* in sections which, on sighting Cabo Mendocino, was to be set up in the first port found and provided with men and everything necessary to make this exploration, as it was a business easier to so carry out since they would have the northwest wind in their favor. The Governor committed the matter to the pilot, Sebastian Rodriguez Çermeño, giving him an instruction about what he had to do and charging him to perform the task with very great care and fidelity, as His Majesty had sent an order that it should be so done in all events. While they were setting up the *fragata* in this port an onshore wind came up which drove the ship upon the coast, and she was lost with what property she contained. One of the sailors on the ship was Francisco de Bolaños, now the chief pilot of the *Capitana* of our fleet. He recognized the port and had the *Capitana* enter it, claiming they had left on shore on that occasion a quantity of wax and many cases of silks, and that it might be that something of the great quantity then lost might be found on the coast. The *Capitana* anchored in the port behind a point of land which was named "Punta de los



No. 31. The San Francisco coast, Drake's Bay, and the coast to about the Russian River



No. 32. From about the Russian River to north of Cape Mendocino

Reyes." Because of anxiety about the *Fragata,* no men were landed, and in consequence the *Capitana* sailed out on the following day to continue her voyage and to search for her. The wind was northwest and dead ahead, and so the headway made was very little, and she therefore did not catch up with the *Fragata.* On Sunday, January 12, the *Capitana* came in sight of some high reddish sierras. Fourteen leagues to the northwest of these a cape was seen rising out of the sea, and near it some snowy mountains. For this reason the chief pilot, who had passed by here before, thought this to be Cabo Mendocino, which is in the latitude of 41½°.[175]

There may be some curious person who may wish to know why this cape or point of land came to be named "Mendocino." The reason was that when Don Antonio de Mendoza was viceroy of New Spain in 1542, he sent two ships to the Philippines, under the command of Captain Villalobos. They reached Mindanao and went on to Tidore and Gilolo, where they were well received by the Islanders, as, so they said, they were happier with the Spaniards than with the Portuguese. These ships could not return to New Spain by the course by which they had come, as ordinarily the wind on that course is contrary. As they did not know the route which the most learned father, Fray Martin de Roda, of the Order of San Agustin, afterwards pointed out, the one by which at this time the ships from the Philippines usually come, the first land seen returning by that latitude was this Cabo Mendocino, to which they gave the name in honor and remembrance of the viceroy who was then governing New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza. For almost the same reason we named the Puerto de Monterey in our exploration in honor and remembrance of the Conde de Monterey in whose time and by whose orders the exploration was made of which I am now giving an account.[176]

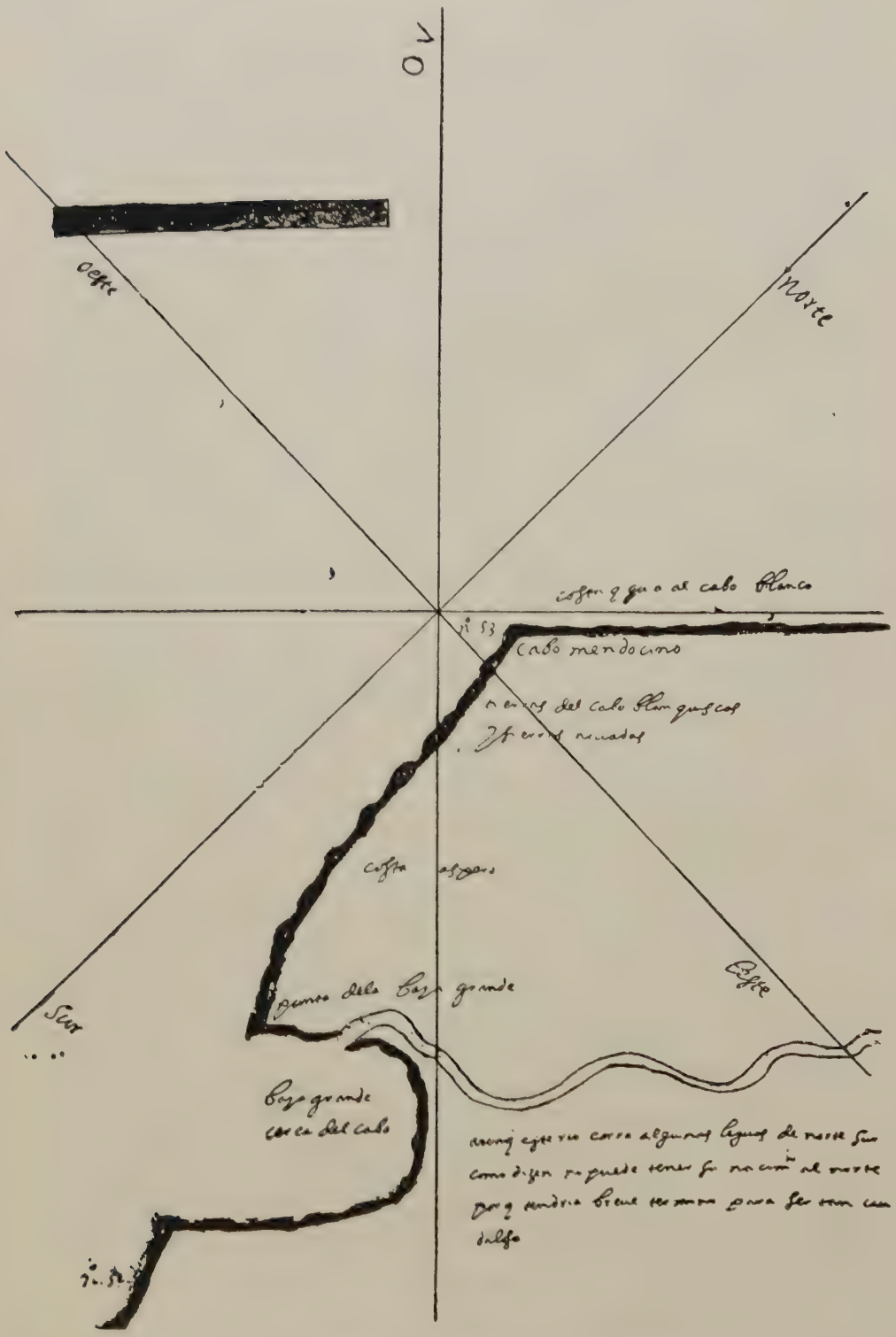
When in sight of Cabo Mendocino, and in that latitude, on January 13 a southeast wind came up with the greatest fury and with it a fog or mist so cold and dark that the day seemed like night. The sea became so wild that it seemed that with each wave the ship would be lost or submerged. In order to withstand this ferocious storm and not to go up to a higher latitude, for fear of the excessive cold now felt, which, as well as the storm, would be greater the higher the latitude (it was then the depth of winter), the *Capitana* was put beam to the sea with the agreement to stay in that position until the wind should be favorable to turn back to New Spain, since the port contained in the instruction which the *General* carried had now been reached,[177] although in this latitude we could find no trace whatever of the City of Quivira, notwithstanding every effort.[178]

When the *Capitana* reached the neighborhood of Cabo Mendocino, there were not more than six men on board all told who were well and up, the rest of the soldiers, sailors, cabin boys, and ship boys being sick in bed with the same disease of which I have given an account in Chapter X. Not only were these in their beds, but also the friars, and the captain-counsellors. They were so sick

and spent that Father Andrés (who was the least sick) could scarcely come to confess and anoint those who were dying, since Father Antonio could not now move from his bed. He had such fainting spells that he lost consciousness for long periods, and they could not bring him to, although they took some very strong measures. As the few who had some health scarcely had strength enough to manage the sails, there was among all great anxiety and discouragement, brought on by fear of the evident present danger of losing their lives in such a place without any human remedy and without any expectation of finding one. I consider it very certain that if the storm had been more violent, all would have been lost by the ship striking on the coast, as the soldiers and sailors in their weakness were unable to lay the ship to, lacking the strength necessary to manage the sails as necessity demanded, and so if the wind or the currents had carried the ship there, they could not have prevented the loss and the hardships which would have ensued.

The *General,* seeing his only ship and his men in such hardships and danger, called his customary council together, and consulted with them about the remedy to be applied which would be most agreeable to the service of God and the King, and of all his men.[179] In view of the orders the Viceroy had given, and of what he had charged the *General* to do by a private instruction, they were of unanimous accord not to go farther on with the ship, but to return from there to New Spain when a favorable wind should come, and on the way enter the [Gulf of] California at the Puerto de La Paz, to await there the help which they had sent to ask of the viceroy, the Conde de Monterey, by the *Almiranta.* With this decision all the men on the *Capitana* seemed to obtain some comfort and relief, as they thought they might have a few more days to live than they would have if they went onward. On the 14th of the month, the day cleared up a little and the sun came out so that the pilots could make an observation for latitude.[180] It was found that they were near Cabo Mendocino, the strong currents having carried the ship that far in only two days. Soon the day darkened again with a fog or mist, so thick, so black, and so cold that there was no one who could withstand it or have any hopes. As the wind was still southeast, the ship was *al traves,*[181] I mean beam to the sea, with all sails furled until January 19, the eve of the glorious martyr, San Sebastian. That day the wind changed and commenced to blow from the northwest. With this the day cleared up, and on taking the latitude the pilots found themselves in 42°. There was on the coast a cape of white earth close to some high sierras covered with snow. This was named "Cabo Blanco de San Sebastian."[182]

On the day of San Antonio Abad, the 17th, at the persuasion of the *General* who was an extreme devotee of this saint, they made a solemn promise to make a donation to have a silver lamp made and provided with oil to offer to this Saint in his Hermitage of San Anton, at the entrance to the City of Mexico, coming from Acapulco, making him their intercessor with Our Master, Jesus Christ, to take them away from that place and rescue them.[183] In order that



[254] No. 33. Humboldt Bay (probably) to about Trinidad

they might visit him in his Hermitage, chant a mass, and offer him the lamp they had promised to make, the Saint gave them his assistance. The lamp was offered to him, and today it is in that Hermitage, burning in front of the Saint in memory of those who went on this voyage. With the northwest wind all the sailors ailing and sick were animated to assist each other, and with the greatest labor and difficulty the yards were hoisted and the sails spread to the wind to return to New Spain, with the intention of sailing along in sight of land again and reconnoitering the coast, to see if perchance the *Fragata* might be found. This happened January 19, 1603.[184]

The *Fragata* (as above related), being without the *Capitana,* which it was thought had gone ahead, went in search of her. When in the latitude of 41°, a southeast wind struck her (as it had the *Capitana*), and not being able to withstand the sea by lying to, she ran with the wind until she reached the shelter of the mainland, very near Cabo Mendocino, where she remained at anchor behind a large rock until the fury of the storm had passed.[185] After the wind and sea calmed down, she went on close to land, and on January 19 Antonio Flores, the pilot, found himself in 43°. Here the land makes a cape or point, which was named "Cabo Blanco," and here the coast begins to trend to the northeast.[186] Close to it a very copious and deep river was discovered on whose banks there were very large ash trees, willows, brambles, and other trees of Castile. On attempting to enter it, the force of the current did not permit it. Ensign Martin de Aguilar, who commanded the *Fragata,* and the pilot Antonio Flores decided to return to New Spain, as they had already reached a higher latitude than the instructions of the Viceroy laid down. The *Capitana* did not appear, and they themselves as well as almost all the men on board were sick. Having charted the country, and named the river "Santa Inez," they set out. What else happened on the return I shall relate farther on.

No news nor signs of the City of Quivira could be had during the whole course of the exploration, not even in this latitude, and although some have thought that this Rio de Santa Inez[187] which the *Fragata* discovered is the one that reaches that city, of which mention has been made in the first chapter of this account, and in search of which this fleet set out, I consider it very certain, from what I shall say in Chapter XV, that such was not the case. To return to this neighborhood by the course this fleet took, I believe almost impossible, but it can be done with greater facility and in shorter time by taking some other method of sailing by a different course, of which I will tell when it is agreeable to the service of God and the King.

CHAPTER XII, *in which is treated of what happened to the Capitana after she departed from Cabo Mendocino to the arrival at the Islas de Maçatlan.*

In the last chapter I related how on the day of San Sebastian, January 20, the *Capitana* left on the return to New Spain from the Cabo de San Sebastian, which is farther on than Cabo Mendocino. In order to run along the coast she

came sailing in sight of land and from point to point with the aid of the northwest wind, which was, as they say, astern, in order to see what might have been missed. In this latitude of Cabo Mendocino there were many mountains and much show of trees in valleys protected from the northwest wind. From what could be discerned of the country inland it had a good appearance, and is of good character and fertile.[188] It seemed to be all inhabited by Indians, as on every side there were large numbers of smokes or fires.[189] As the wind was northwest and astern, the voyage was made with ease and without difficulty, so that there was not an inch of the country along all that coast, so to speak, which was not seen and well inspected.[190] As the *Capitana* was sailing along in this happy manner and so close to shore, two canoes were seen coming towards the ship, when in sight of a beautiful and pleasant beach, before reaching the Canal de Santa Barbara. In each one there were three people, naked and with no covering over their flesh except some skins like those of goats. On coming alongside the ship they made three turns around her, singing, and without any other courtesy came aboard with great familiarity, security and confidence, just as if they were entering their own house. The *General* received them with affection, gave them some biscuit and other things, and they went back to their country very contented and satisfied.[191]

When the *Capitana* reached this place on her return, everyone on board (except the *General* and three soldiers) had fallen sick of the same disease referred to above. The Father Comisario suffered the most severe pains, although he had not taken to his bed, but with great difficulty administered the sacraments to the sick, as Father Antonio had fallen sick like all the rest and could not move from his bed. As the sickness was so troublesome and painful, nothing was heard on the ship except cries and groans. Some to alleviate their sufferings, shouted out their complaints, others deploring their sins performed many acts of contrition in despisal of them, begging Our Lord, Jesus Christ, to have pity on them and pardon them. Some died while talking, others while sleeping and were found dead in the morning, and others while sitting up in their beds and eating. It was a consolation that all died as faithful Christians, after having confessed and received the holy oil of extreme unction. To see so many dead, to hear such cries and such lamentations, would move the very stones to compassion and pity. In this hour of such great need Our Lord, Jesus Christ, came to give those who were up and with some degree of health a charity to assist the sick so fervent that it was well recognized to be the work of the Most High, nothing being lacking to the feeding, cleaning, aiding, and consoling of the sick. This was done so carefully that I doubt if it could have been better done on land and with an abundance of comforts. The friars, especially Father Tomás de Aquino, anticipating these inevitable occurrences, as he had sailed a great deal and experienced much hardship, provided in the Puerto de Acapulco a quantity of comforts reserved for this contingency. I think that if it had not been for these not a man would have remained alive, and it may be considered

very certain that they were saved by reason of this relief and the help they found in these holy friars who worked so unselfishly to assist them.[192] The medicines and comforts which had been taken on board for the sick for the account of His Majesty were so scanty that they were exhausted on the first who became sick. I say therefore that all the remedies which the sick obtained in the course of this long voyage of hardships were at the hands of the friars. For the honor of the good God they did it, and it is certain that His Majesty must pay for it in this and in the other life.[193]

The Indians having returned to land, the *Capitana* entered the Canal de Santa Barbara, with the intention of going to inspect the large island which I said in Chapter IX had been seen to the southeast of the Isla de Santa Catalina, to remain at the latter island some days waiting for the *Fragata,* and to communicate from there with the Indian chief who had offered entertainment and the ten women for each one of the soldiers, as before mentioned. The *General* was dissuaded from this plan by those of his council, who alleged that he had no men to furl the sails nor weigh the anchors at time of departure, that the men were dying at a great rate and that if what he wished was done they would all finish there, His Majesty receiving no service therefrom, and God, Our Master, being very offended in allowing them to die, as by exercising human diligence each could save his life. He would do to his brethren, they said, a notable injury in not relieving their extreme necessities, as in charity and justice everyone is under an obligation in such a case to aid them. Having set forth such reasons to the *General,* an order was given to go on without stopping at the Isla de Santa Catalina or inspecting the other island below. The chief pilot was ordered to steer a straight course to the Isla de Çedros, and from there to take the ship to the Cabo de San Lucas in order to await in the Puerto de La Paz the assistance which had been asked of the Viceroy by the *Almiranta.*[194]

The chief pilot, Francisco de Bolaños, at once put into effect the order he had received, and following this course, on arriving off the Isla de Santa Catalina, and when about six leagues distant from it, three canoes of Indians from those islands came to the ship, bringing with them many sealskins and much fish, all of which they gave in exchange for necklaces of glass beads, scissors, and other little things. This they did because they were aware of the fact that the Spaniards had taken a fancy to such things, and so they were prepared and provided with them, and came out with them as the ship was passing. They stayed all night in the ship, and while the people were asleep they perpetrated a remarkable robbery with great cunning and sagacity, without being seen by some soldiers who were on guard. As they were caught with the stolen goods in the morning, they went away to their islands abashed and ashamed, and the ship went on its voyage.

The winds turned dead ahead and became so light that they sailed very little and very slowly. With great difficulty they came in sight of the Ensenada de Todos Santos, which they had not inspected, as stated in Chapter VIII,

having left it for the return voyage. They did not enter it to examine it, because there were very few afoot, the rest being sick. At this place there were only three or four who could manage the sails and steer the ship, and therefore the ship stood off from the coast a little in order to shorten the voyage, and thus what they did was to ascertain the courses and directions to be kept in sailing along that coast, in order that those sailing from China might know what route they had to take to effect their voyage to New Spain in safety after having sighted the land of Cabo Mendocino, if such seemed advisable to His Majesty.

February 3 our *Capitana* came in sight of the Isla de San Hilarion. Here the northwest wind freshened, and she stood off rather more from the land so that they only saw the high mountains on it, and recognized the places, seeing the Baia de Las Virgenes from afar. That same day, the 5th, she sighted the Isla de Ceniças which the *Almiranta* had inspected when she passed by it.[195] Here the wind took on greater force, and with it they crossed over to the Isla de Çedros. The following day in the afternoon the *Capitana* anchored close to this in the same place where she had been before, in order to take water and wood. When she came to port here, some of the sailors had recovered some strength and vigor with the change of climate, and so those who were able were induced to go ashore to bring water and wood. The *General* went with them. This happened on the 7th. They took water and wood and left some marks and writings in the place so that if the *Fragata* should happen to come there she might have news of the *Capitana* and know where she might be found.[196] They then went back on board and sailed from there Sunday, February 9, in the morning, going out between the islands and without inspecting the *ensenada* and the arm of the sea which Father Antonio had reconnoitered with the *Fragata,* as related in Chapter VI. Having emerged from between these islands, the chief pilot, to shorten the journey, stood off from the coast with the wind astern, and took a course to Cabo de San Lucas, coming in sight of it and very close to it at midday Friday, the 14th of the month. Here the *General* entered into a consultation about what it was wise to do, seeing how worn out and sick all were. It was agreed not to enter the Baia de San Bernabé, and not to visit the Puerto de La Paz, but to cross the Sea of California, called Mar Vermejo, and to go to the Islas de Maçatlan, a land of New Galicia inhabited by Christians who are subject to the Audiencia of Guadalajara, and to endeavor to cure the sick there and regale them with some fresh bread, chickens, calves and fruits of the country, and to advise the Viceroy of their arrival, remaining there until a swift post could go to Mexico City and return.[197] All having agreed to this, the *Capitana* crossed the mouth of the Sea of California and entered port between The Islas de Maçatlan on Monday night, February 17.[198] The following day they tied up the ship securely in the place which seemed most appropriate for her security, for the convenience of the men in going to and coming from shore and for bringing what was necessary for the maintenance of the men and the relief of the sick. What happened here I shall relate in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XIII, *in which is treated of what happened to the Capitana in the Puerto de Maçatlan and of her departure from there and her arrival at the Puerto de Acapulco.*

As soon as the ship entered port at the Islas de Maçatlan, in order to give news of his arrival to the people of the neighborhood, the *General* did not know what better to do than to go himself with the five soldiers he found with the greatest strength and most health.[199] Accompanied by these he went ashore to proceed to the Villa de San Sebastian, a town of Spaniards some eight leagues away from the port inland. This was February 19. As none of them knew the town or in which direction it lay, while proceeding without road or path they fell into a great thicket of trees and wandered about lost in it for two days. Here they suffered greatly from hunger, thirst and weariness. What most fatigued them was the great heat the sun radiated there, and the hardship was so much the greater as the soldiers were weak and sick. They went, I mean found themselves, in danger of losing their lives. Wandering around from one place to another, they fell in with a wide, well-traveled road, which led to the Villa de Culiacan. Along this they went without knowing where it led, and while taking a little rest under the shade of some trees, they heard the sound of little bells and mule bells. Listening with attention, they looked around on all sides and saw coming a pack-train of mules on their way to the Villa de Culiacan with clothing and edibles of Castile. They waited for it, and asking the master of the train what road that was, he said that they were going by it to the Villa de Culiacan, and that he was going there with his train. They asked him for the Villa de San Sebastian, and where the *alcalde mayor* of that district resided. He offered with great love and good-will to take them to where he was living, and at once had the train unloaded, gave them something to eat and relieved their necessities. He then provided all of them with mules to ride and told them to follow him, saying that he would guide them. There was a town near by where the *alcalde mayor* was,[200] and as soon as they entered it they encountered him, one Captain Martin Ruiz de Aguirre, a great friend of the *General* and of all those who were with him.

They received and greeted each other with a great display of love and friendship, and the *General* gave him a long account of his voyage, of their straits, and of the hardships and sickness from which those on the ship were suffering, in order that he should make his people come to their relief with care, assiduity, and speed. He requested that they carry supplies of bread, chickens, calves, goats, and other things in the way of fruits and vegetables, and that they do this during the time that he and his men had to remain there with their ship. He also asked him to give him a diligent and careful man to go at once to Mexico with letters for the Viceroy, to advise him of his arrival and of the straits in which he was, as only those five of all who were on board his ship were well, all the rest dying at a great rate. To all that he asked Captain Aguirre, the *alcalde mayor,* acceded with painstaking diligence. If he had not

done so and the *General* had not asked so much, all the men would have died in this port without doubt, and the ship would have remained there without anyone to look after her. When the *General* returned to the ship with his men he caused to be carried in advance of him as refreshment for the men, hens, chickens, kids, bread, papayas, bananas, oranges, lemons, pumpkins, *quiletes*,[201] and whatever he could find which would serve for their comfort, leaving an order with the *alcalde mayor* to send every third day at least six loads of such things, with which refreshment the men could be strengthened and on which they could live during the time they should remain there, keeping some to sustain themselves until they reached the Puerto de Acapulco. In none of this was there any failing. An order was at once given to despatch a post to Mexico, and within three days the *General* sent him away to travel twenty leagues a day.

By what has been said in the past chapters, and by what has been related in this, anyone can understand in what state the men on the *Capitana* were when she entered the Puerto de Maçatlan. What could be related on this point with all truth and fidelity would be incredible. I shall simply say that all those who fell sick and died on this journey did so from the disease of which I treated in Chapter X. The gums in their mouths swelled to such an extent that they could neither talk nor eat anything and they reached this port more dead than alive. As the sickness was so pestilential and inflammatory, all had lost confidence in being able to regain their strength during the rest of their lives. When they arrived here, nothing was heard on the ship but cries, complaints, pitiful lamentations, and calls upon our Señora del Carmen, whom they had taken as Mother, Patroness and Protector of this voyage. As a pious mother, she took compassion on so many people, and came to their relief in such a way that in the nineteen days the ship remained here almost all recovered their health and strength, and the most crippled arose from their beds, so that when the *Capitana* sailed from this port for Acapulco all could assist in managing the sails and keep watch and guard, as they had done when, on the outward voyage, they passed here at the end of May, 1602.

In order that it may be known how health came from such hands as those of Our Lady, the Virgen Maria del Monte Carmelo, all being her children and members of the Brotherhood, and wearing her sacred scapulary, let those who read this account know that it was not by doctors or surgeons, medicines or other drugs from the pharmacies, nor by any human remedy understood to be a medicine usually given in this disease. If there was any human relief it was, in one case, the fresh and substantial food which was given them by the good efforts of the *General* and the *alcalde mayor* of that province, and in the other a miraculous one, which brought health in a visible manner, namely, the eating of a little fruit found in those islands in great abundance at this season and which the natives call *jocoistles*. In other parts they call them *mançanillas*. It is a fruit like the yellow *mançanilla*, somewhat long and inside like tunas.

They grow on plants like little magueys or *sábilas*. These throw out a head or stem about a yard in height, which like a cypress is full of flowers which produce these *mançanillas*.[202] When seasoned and ripe their skin is yellow, and each stem produces about a hundred. The pulp is white, like that of white tunas, with little seeds or grains, somewhat larger than theirs. It has a pleasant and tempting taste, slightly sweetish, with a touch of acid, which gives it a very good flavor. It has a cleansing and astringent virtue, and besides is a recognized antiseptic. It produces all these effects with noteworthy pleasure and suavity, and, taking the swelling out of the gums, contracts and fortifies them. With this the teeth become tightened and fast. It cuts away and cleans the infected parts around them, making one throw out of his mouth all the bad blood which had been collected in the swollen gums. On eating of it twice, it put the mouth and the teeth in such condition that one could eat any other kind of food without difficulty or pain. If this fruit had not produced this effect, the fresh food which came could not have been eaten or passed into the stomach.

The way that the virtue of this little fruit came to be known was this. When some soldiers went to the island with the Father Comisario, to say mass and bury some dead, a corporal named Antonio Ruiz, seeing the fruit, and anxious to try things of the country, plucked one of these *mançanillas* and cutting it in half with a knife and separating the skin from the pulp, put it into his mouth with difficulty, as best he could. He tried to chew it to see what flavor it had, and found it of good taste. He soon commenced to throw out of his mouth much fetid blood, and then prepared another. When he put this in his mouth he did not feel so much pain in his teeth and found that these had become somewhat fast, as with them and his molars he could divide and chew them. He then continued eating others, and each time he found himself better able to eat them. When he returned to the ship, he took a bunch of them with him and told his shipmates and the rest what had occurred with the little fruit. All commenced to try it, and soon became aware of its virtue, finding that what he had told them was true. They therefore went again to the island and brought a quantity of the fruit. All ate them and found themselves much improved. When the *General* came from shore and brought the fresh food before him, they received him with great pleasure and began to eat what had been brought with good spirit, at which he was much amazed and gave thanks to Our Lord, Jesus Christ, and His Blessed Mother, for finding his men so much better and in such good spirits. He arranged that fresh bread, hens, calves, kids and fruits should be brought each day. These were a great benefit to all, so that they were cured and recovered their health inside of nineteen days, as I have stated. The Indians of that country and those of that province of Acaponeta and Chametla eat these *mançanillas* roasted or boiled, saying that thus they are more tasty and not so biting and acid as when raw.

The *General,* finding that all had recovered their health in such a short

time and being without calkers and with but few men, gave an order to proceed to the Puerto de Acapulco to there dress the ship and secure men and new supplies of food, in order to return to California, if the Viceroy should so command. If he did not, he would then have finished the hardships of his voyage, which was what all desired. Therefore, taking what food seemed necessary, the *Capitana* departed from the Islas de Maçatlan, March 9, with a favorable wind. The chief pilot took a course to the Puerto de Acapulco, passing near Cabo de Corrientes,[203] and in sight of the Puerto de Navidad. From there he went along the coast until he came in sight of the Puerto de Acapulco. The ship entered this March 21, 1603, the day of San Benito Abad, and here the *Almiranta* was found and two or three of those who had come in her.

CHAPTER XIV, *in which is treated of the dispositions in the Puerto de Acapulco, of the voyage of the Almiranta until she reached there, of what happened to the Fragata, and of how the General and the friars with the others entered Mexico.*

When the *Capitana* entered the Puerto de Acapulco all the inhabitants were surprised to see how well and sound all on board her were, as, by what those who had come back alive in the *Almiranta* had told them, they had persuaded themselves that they would never see her again. The first was that they had left the *Capitana* and *Fragata* in the Puerto de Monterey about to proceed to reconnoiter the Cabo Mendocino; that those on board were very sick and that, seeing that they had to go up to such a high latitude, it was impossible that all should not die during the voyage, considering what they themselves had seen and passed through. What had happened to them would without doubt have happened to the others if the return voyage had not been so short, and if they had not regained their strength at the Islas de Maçatlan, as stated in the previous chapter. Those on the *Almiranta* who had come back alive said that on the return they had suffered many hardships and misfortunes, as the sound men aboard her fell sick with the same disease as the others and almost all died before entering Acapulco, only three of those on her being well. Some died at sea and others in the hospital in the port as soon as they arrived. The three who survived and miraculously brought the ship into port were: *Almirante* Toribio Gomez de Corbán, a corporal named Vidal, and a young man named Juan de Marchena. If the *Almirante* had not been a man of courage, spirit, and a remarkable sailor he could never have brought the ship into this port. Of those who arrived in her sick, only six soldiers survived, and these reached the point of receiving extreme unction. To see the condition in which the sick reached there was pitiful. Father Tomás was almost at the last gasp and remained crippled for many months. Finally, to sum up, of those who embarked on the *Almiranta* in the Puerto de Monterey, twenty-five died. As the residents of the Puerto de Acapulco had seen her come in so disabled and the crew so reduced in number, they concluded that the hardships which those of the *Capitana* would

have to suffer would be much greater, as most of them were sick in the Puerto de Monterey, and others were attacked with the same disease. They were then about to leave and go up to the latitude of 42°, so it was considered impossible that any of them could escape. When, therefore, the residents of the port saw the *Capitana* come in with her men so sound and well, as stated, all were extremely surprised, as only thirteen of those who had been left in her had died before entering that port. Advice had been sent to the Viceroy of the arrival of the *Almiranta* and of what had happened to her on her voyage. His Excellency ordered the royal officials of the port to provide the sick with every comfort and to cure them with care, especially Father Tomás de Aquino, to whom he commanded should be given all the animals[204] and every possible comfort to enable him to reach Mexico. The royal officials and Lorenço Pacheco, the *alcalde mayor,* complied with what the Viceroy had commanded with due care and diligence.

As soon as the *General* landed he gave an order to send a post to the Viceroy, giving him an account of his arrival and of the condition of his men, so that His Excellency might command what was pleasing to him. The post was at once despatched and when it reached Mexico the Viceroy had already received news that the *Fragata* was in the Puerto de Navidad, as Esteban Lopez, who had been left as her pilot, had come to Mexico, leaving Felipe Bastian de Santiago as her commander, in guard of the *Fragata.* This pilot in giving an account of his voyage related that after he had lost sight of the *Capitana,* he had gone in search of her, reaching the latitude of 43°, and had discovered what has been referred to in Chapter XI of this account. From there they had undertaken the return to the Puerto de Acapulco, acting on the opinion of Ensign Martin de Aguilar and Pilot Anton Flores.[205] Both of these died before reaching the Puerto de San Diego, leaving the *Fragata* in charge of Esteban Lopez, as her pilot and master, and a very good soldier named, as stated, Felipe Bastian de Santiago.[206] These, with three others who had also survived, gave an order to come straight to New Spain in search of the *Capitana.* They came to the Puerto de Navidad. It seems that when they passed the Puerto de Maçatlan, the *Capitana* was anchored there. If they had entered it they would have rejoined each other and together have come to Acapulco. When the *Fragata* entered Navidad those on board agreed that the pilot, Esteban Lopez, should carry the news to the Viceroy while Felipe Bastian and his shipmates remained guarding her. His Excellency at once despatched him to take the *Fragata* to the Puerto de Acapulco. This was done and there the fleet came together again, just as it had left, without having lost a cable, anchor, mast or anything else of importance. This can be considered a miracle, as they had been sailing for a year through seas unfrequented or unknown and with such continuous storms as they had suffered during the whole course of the voyage.

The Viceroy having received the letter the *General* had sent from Acapulco by the post, at once despatched another in which he ordered the royal officials

to pay the soldiers very well what was due them and to take good care of the friars, the Father Comisario and Father Antonio, and to give them everything necessary to enable them to reach the City of Mexico. All was carried out with the greatest fidelity and diligence. They allotted what pay seemed due to the soldiers who were alive and to those who had died.

Altogether those who died on this voyage numbered forty,[207] among whom were Ensign Juan de Açevedo Texeda, a Portuguese, Ensign Sebastian Melendez, Ensign Martin de Aguilar, Galeote, Pilot Antonio Flores, Pilot Baltazar de Armas, Sergeant Miguel de Legar, Sergeant and chief calker Juan del Castillo Bueno, and other soldiers of much valor and spirit. It is not necessary to give their names, as they were not so well known as those just mentioned.

The soldiers having been paid and animals given the friars for their journey, the *General,* Captains Alonso Esteban Peguero and Pascual de Alarcon, and Ensign Juan Francisco Suriano, with all the rest of the soldiers, departed from Acapulco April 7 for the City of Mexico in company with the friars, and reached there sound and well on Saturday morning, the 19th.[208] That day the friars said mass in the Hermitage of San Anton Abad, at the entrance of the city, as they had made this promise to that Saint when they wished to return to New Spain while in the latitude of 42°, which is farther on than Cabo Mendocino. From there the *General,* the captains and soldiers went together to the Convent of San Sebastian of the Barefoot Carmelite friars, and left there Fathers Andrés and Antonio, whom the friars of the convent received with great pleasure and satisfaction. Then they all went in a troop to Chapultepec to kiss the hands of the Viceroy. He received them all with the greatest pleasure and joy, embracing them and thanking them for their work and labor on the voyage, promising to reward all in conformity with their rank and deserts. With this all declared themselves contented and well paid for their services. The Viceroy took care to always grant them what they requested from him.

With what I have related in this account and discourse, it seems to me that I have made the valor and spirit of our Spaniards understood, especially of those who went on this expedition, as they accomplished with such labor and fatigue an enterprise so difficult that, of the five or six times in which it had been tried, none had accomplished it until on this occasion, nor even the half of it, although it seemed to those who had attempted it that they had done all that the Spanish nation could humanly do.[209] Those who went on this expedition can very well be proud of their accomplishment. Much more would they have done if health had not failed all of them, as they certainly had the will to continue around the land until they entered the Strait of Anian, if in that latitude eighteen had been well. By this it is thought the ship of the foreigners entered, who saw the famous City of Quivira, of which they gave the account to our Catholic King, Phillip II, which moved him to order this expedition to be made, as I related in the first chapter. If they had found a passage to Spain, considered certainly to exist in that locality, they would have undertaken the

enterprise and gone to see Spain and their King, by a route never before seen or discovered, making a turn around the world. Cabo Mendocino is in the same latitude as the city and noted University of Salamanca, the two places being diametrically opposite each other, that is, as the astrologers say, *antecos*. I mean that those who live at the Cabo Mendocino are *antecos*[210] to those who live in the City of Salamanca. They discovered a new world as full of people and riches as may be seen by this account. In this I trust (by the mercy of Our Lord, Jesus Christ) I may see our Evangelical law and our Holy Mother, the Roman Catholic Church, planted and widely extended, and the natives of this kingdom and New World, having come to be Christians, go to enjoy heaven, where we shall all see each other. Amen. I ask all who read this account, for the love of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, to pray to Him to convert such a number of souls as are there, as He redeemed them with His blood.

CHAPTER XV, *in which is treated of how the Kingdom of California is not connected with that of New Mexico, and in which the reasons are given to prove it.*[211]

The discerning reader of this discourse will have noticed that he has not seen, read or even had any certain indication that they had either seen or been at any river of importance. This seems to be an extraordinary case and one never observed in a distance of 900 leagues of coast followed, such as there are between Cabo de San Lucas, that is, the Punta de California, and Cabo Blanco and Rio de Santa Inez, which those in the *Fragata* reached. It does not seem to me that there can be no rivers in such a long extent of country, in which there are so many mountains and sierras, so high that during most of the year they are covered with snow. It may be that these are so copious that they empty into the ocean through those arms of the sea noted in this account, which entered the country and which we did not explore, just as the Rio Guadalquivir which passes by Seville is not recognized when it empties into the sea at San Lucar de Barrameda. If perhaps no river of size enters the sea by such ports, it must be that they do so in other places. As they do not find a passage because of so numerous and such high mountains, they naturally seek lower valleys and through them run to the sea. As the mountains towards the Sea of California are lower, I consider it certain that they empty there. Thus ancient maps and even modern ones now in use display a large *ensenada* of the Sea of California and copious rivers flowing into it at its end and along its sides, but they do not give any place to the Strait of Anian as I pretend to do between the lands and kingdoms of New Mexico and the Californias.

I hold it to be very certain and proven that the whole Kingdom of California discovered on this voyage, is the largest island known or which has been discovered up to the present day, and that it is separated from the provinces of New Mexico by the Mediterranean Sea of California, which some call the "Mar de Cortés" because he was the first to discover it, and is between such

great kingdoms. Others call it "Mar Vermejo," on account of the reddish appearance of the water, as I mentioned at the beginning of this account. At the end of Chapter III, I said that between the Islas de Maçatlan and the Punta de la California there was an arm of the sea more than fifty leagues wide, and that this entered between the two lands towards the north and northwest. This is what we call the "Mar de la California." A person who has navigated it as far as 29° has told me that it is almost as wide there as at the beginning, and that he did not see its end.

The conquerors of New Mexico under the command of the Governor, Don Juan de Oñate, once went from where they were settled to discover the land towards the west.[212] Captain Gerónimo Marqués, a person very competent, truthful, and worthy of all credit, and well versed in the affairs of the provinces of New Mexico, accompanied him. He wrote an account of this expedition which he made with the General to discover the country and the Sea of California, which I append here in his own words.

We departed from our towns in the latitude of 37½°, and after marching almost two hundred leagues to the west, and having passed the Moqui towns in the latitude of 37° at eighty leagues from our camp, we reached the Rio del Tiçon, where we took the altitude of the sun, and found ourselves to be in 36½°.[213] We followed the course of the river, which runs towards the south, and in so doing reached the sea in a distance of about thirty leagues. At the entrance of this river into the sea, a very remarkable port is formed which is in the latitude of 35°.[214] Here there is a large spacious bay, and in the southern part of it there is a river called "Coral," which runs from the north and enters the bay in the latitude of 35°.[215] In this Puerto del Tiçon we found some large pearl-oyster shells, and had information by signs from the natives there that the pearls which had grown in those shells were as large as good-sized hazelnuts. They also made signs that in an island near by in the middle of the sea there was a noted large town, of which an Amazon Indian, half giantess, who wears on her breast a very precious plate of pearls and who is accustomed to take them ground up in her drinks, is queen.[216] These Indians said there were many pearls in all that sea, pointing to the south, and that these and the pearl beds extended towards the north for a matter of thirty-five leagues, but that beyond that there were none, the greatest quantity being found around the island of the Amazon Queen. The sea which we looked at seemed to be very wide, as we saw neither land nor mountains on the other side, not even the island where the Queen lived, about which the Indians told us.[217] We considered the sea to be beyond all doubt the same as that of California, because its whole coast runs from northwest to southeast.

In the latitude of 39°, ten leagues inland from the coast of this same sea, they told us there was a lake which they call "Laguna de Oro," where the Indians collect quantities of large grains of gold and that the lake is all surrounded by many towns.[218] The Rio de Tiçon is well settled on both banks with people and towns, whose king is Rey Coronado, who wears a crown of gold.[219] They acknowledge vassalage to him and pay him tribute with the gold taken out of the lake just mentioned. In all the country there is plenty of food, as it is fertile. It is very pleasant and of good climate.

The Indians made a sketch showing that the country from the lake to where this Rey Coronado lived was all full of large towns, from which all the gold the inhabitants extracted was brought to him.[220] It is a country plentifully supplied with food and cattle, much game on the wing and in the forest, and various other animals. The Indians also told us that the seacoast makes a turn around the land towards the east, as they sketched it as entering the land. They do not show any end to it, but say that it is very wide and that they do not know how to place any end to it. We consider it certain that this is the Sea of California, which runs on between the two lands of California and New Mexico to a communication with the ocean of the north by the strait which they call Anian. All the coast and the country is very rich, is very well inhabited, and has a good climate and pleasing vistas.

Following the coast of the sea from this lake towards the north, we reached a rugged place where we found many metals of all kinds and colors.[221] We made no assay of them, to avoid stopping and to continue our journey. All the people of these towns which we saw

are docile, affable, and of good demeanor, considering that they were so many and we, not more than twenty-four all told, were so few. They divided their food with us, and presented us what they had with love and good will. We did not see the lake or its people, but the Indians who provided us with food told us that they were more corpulent than they were, although they themselves were very much so, and that they wore clothes and were valiant and warlike.

Concerning the gold found and taken out of the lake, it is an indisputable business, as they made an unmistakable demonstration of it. They say that they dig it out of the rivers, finding it among the sands when it rains; then they collect this and wash it, just as we do, and in order to make us understand that they collected, smelted, and refined it, they made a little furnace like ours and showed us that in that they brought it together with fire.[222]

About the pearls there is no doubt, for we consider it certain that it is all one sea and one coast to the Californias, and I hold that they are much larger and much richer than those of California.

As far as the silver is concerned, I also affirm that it exists in the island of the Amazon, or giantess, because the Indians have a name for it, and if they see it among other metals they recognize it. They say that the Amazon Queen possesses it, and that they bring it from the coast to the west in some boats they have, in which they navigate from one place to another. From this it appears that they bring it from the land of California.[223] This is what I saw and ascertained in the course of our last journey, which we made with the Governor, and is the truth and in order that it may have more credence, I sign it with my name.

Gerónimo Marqués.

This is what the Captain, who is said to be a very truthful man, sent me. He also told me that a few days before leaving the camp, where the Spaniards were settled in New Mexico, to come to the City of Mexico to give an account to the Viceroy of what was happening there, almost two thousand Indians had come to the camp, who said they were from the Kingdom of Quivira, and had journeyed twenty-eight days to ask them to come to teach them the faith which the Spaniards practised and to live among them in their country, which was a rich and prosperous one. They came from the direction of the north and northwest.[224]

From all related in the account which this Captain gave me, you can easily understand that California is an island and that the sea which separates it from the land of New Mexico is the same as the Boca de la California and a continuation of it, and goes on to communicate with the ocean of the north by the Strait of Anian, and with the sea which surrounds the country of Cabo Mendocino. I am more confirmed in this opinion by the coming from Quivira of those Indians, who always traveled by land and from the direction of the north and northwest. Accordingly, I assert that the Kingdom of Quivira is a country immediately contiguous to that of New Mexico, and that the entrance of the ship which explored and discovered the Strait of Anian, was close along the country on the side of New Mexico, and that after finding that large river, they entered it and went to the City of Quivira, as stated in the first chapter of this account. Therefore one clearly gathers that Quivira is in the region corresponding to New Mexico, and not in the Californias, and furthermore that the Rio de Santa Inez, which the *Fragata* reached in 43°, as related in Chapter XI of this account where I said that the land and the seacoast turn to the northeast, is a very different one. That is the proper direction for the coast to trend, making a turn to come and join the inside coast of the Kingdom of California and be the same thing. Thus the two seas come to join, and together enter by the Strait

of Anian to communicate with the North Sea, through which one can sail to Spain.[225]

In Chapter VII, in treating of the Baia and Puerto de las Once Mil Virgenes, I related how the Indians of that country had explained that there were some people inland who wore clothes and carried arms and harquebuses, and I there came to the conclusion that these might be some of the soldiers of New Mexico. As the Indians who were almost on the same meridian could very easily have news of them, and as they have canoes with which they sail on the Mediterranean Sea of California and pass from the island of the Amazon to the mainland of California, from which they say they bring the silver for the Queen, as related by Captain Marqués,[226] it is not difficult to believe that these soldiers were those of New Mexico. California is narrow and the sea is wide, fifty leagues at the most, although opposite other places such as Sinaloa it is only thirty, and farther up it must be less. Therefore it would be easy for those of California to trade and communicate with those of the Rio del Tiçon and others on that coast. In spite of all this, however, I persuade myself that it was some nation living towards the north which had come to settle there, or which had come down from the Kingdom of Anian, or from that of Great Tartary, or those of another nation called Muscovites, subject to the Tartars. It might even be that they were other foreigners who had come to settle there, as in New France, the most northern part of Florida. In order to settle this question, it will be very wise for His Majesty to have all this arm of the sea explored, something very easily done and at little expense, and to order some settlements of Spaniards to be made in California to preach the Holy Evangel to the Indians, and to enjoy the great riches of that kingdom. How this can be done I shall discuss in the following chapter, using as a basis the information I have about the state of that kingdom, which, as I have stated, I have seen and all of which I have surveyed.

CHAPTER XVI, *in which is treated how advisable it is to pacify and settle the Kingdom of the Californias, and how this could be done at little expense and with the greatest speed.*

The grandeur, length and width of this Kingdom of the Californias, the many people there, and their docility, making it easy to teach them the mysteries of our Holy Catholic faith, has been fully seen in all the course of this account, for they received us with love and gave us good treatment in whatever part we reached. I consider that they would easily accept our holy faith. The great riches it promises in pearls, gold, silver, and amber must also have been observed. None of this can be enjoyed if the affairs of that kingdom remain in the state in which we found them, and the great expenses which have been incurred will come to naught, unless His Majesty endeavors to pacify, conquer and settle it with Spaniards, so as to plant the Catholic Church there and preach and teach the Holy Evangel to the natives. This is the duty of His Majesty, and I therefore declare that in justice and charity he is under an obligation to undertake it.

Besides this good work, Our Lord, Jesus Christ, would receive the lordship of a new kingdom as great, rich, and extended as has been seen. Concerning the use and management of the riches which it contains, time will tell. It is very easy to settle and pacify this kingdom by the method I shall here set down, that is, for the account of His Majesty and at his expense, for in this, success, which cannot be looked for if not so carried out, entirely consists, judging from the experiences already attained. Furthermore, it could not be so done with a good conscience, as set forth in the books and treatises of the bishop of Chiapa, Don Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, or Casaus, of the Order of Santo Domingo, to whom I refer. He treats these points with singular learning, and is very deserving of high esteem and of having his doctrine followed.

The nearest and most suitable place in which to make the first Spanish settlement, it seems to me, is Cabo de San Lucas at the so-called "Punta de California." It is in the latitude of 23½°, underneath the Tropic of Cancer, and is a healthful place, with many things suitable for the purpose. It is but fifty leagues across the Mediterranean Sea of California, which others call "Mar Rojo," from the Islas de Maçatlan to this point. This sea, as I have explained in other places, extends to the Strait of Anian by which there is a communication with the ocean of the north. It contains in itself much riches and on its coast on both sides there are many pearl beds, and in the mountains very rich mines of gold and silver, and there is much amber. This sea must be all explored, as a very great increase in his royal revenue must come from it to His Majesty, as I shall point out farther on. The first Spanish town can be laid out close to the Baia de San Bernabé, in which there is a good harbor for ships, and very near the beach a lake of sweet water, and another of very good salt deposited from the sea water which enters it. Here good salt works can be made. At the point or entrance to this bay on the Cabo de San Lucas itself, there is a very high hill, on which a castle could be built to defend the port and its inhabitants, and which, with its sentinels and lookouts to overlook both, could make the sea and land safe. It is very advisable that this be so done. Around about are very good plains and fertile fields, covered with many trees, in which very fine crops can be grown, and gardens and ranches to breed and keep cattle can be made. If the Indians are treated well, they will assist in whatever is necessary, as they are numerous, docile, and peaceable, and will remain so as long as they receive good treatment.

The method which can be adopted to pacify and settle this country is easy and inexpensive. Three large flat-bottomed *fragatas* can be purchased in Panama or in Realejo (on the coast towards Peru in the South Sea) of greater burden than can be found or built here, and which would be cheaper and better, and built much more quickly than in any other port on the coast. These should be equipped in Acapulco with all things necessary, sails, tackle, arms, and food, and the men necessary for the voyage, and for steering them. From Acapulco, by coasting along in sight of land they would take these to the Puerto de

Salagua, that of Navidad, or that of the Islas de Maçatlan, where they could take on board the soldiers and men who are to go on this conquest or pacification of the Kingdom of the Californias. In this port everything necessary to make a settlement in that kingdom could also be embarked, such as cows, calves, and young bulls. These by their increase would multiply and provide an abundance of cows, yearlings, and oxen for sustenance and for working the land. They should also take mares and horses, rams and sheep, goats and pigs, all of which in two days' sailing from Maçatlan could be transported to the Cabo de San Lucas and put in California. By doing this the country could be filled in a short time with animals, and the settlers would have something to eat. With 200 men, who should be both good soldiers and sailors and of good praiseworthy habits, the kingdom could be pacified and conquered. If among these soldiers there were some artisans in trades necessary to the community, His Majesty should order the tools necessary to exercise his trade or art to be given to each one so that they might teach the natives. They could make their first settlement at the Cabo de San Lucas, as I have stated. Here all can make their headquarters, some setting up pearl fisheries, others working mines, others making gardens, and others sowing crops of all kinds of seeds which will produce very well, as the country is of very good disposition and a better climate, and there are many Indians who if treated with affection will render every assistance and be glad to learn the trades which may be taught them. With this the settlers would in a few years have everything that was necessary.

With the pearl fishing, the fifths from the mines, and the amber which is found on those shores of the sea, His Majesty can very soon have great returns, with which not only will the expenses which have been or may be incurred in making the conquest, pacification and conservation of this kingdom be repaid, but he can also pay what he owes from these riches and the augmentation of his royal fifths and revenue, as these will be so greatly increased that he can do so out of their superabundance. I believe that in all his western possessions he has none which can be of greater benefit than this, nor yield more profit in a few years. All of this can be secured at a very moderate expense, if the method be followed which I have indicated and shall explain farther on.

While the settlement is being made at the Cabo de San Lucas, and affairs are being arranged as above indicated, the captain under whose charge the exploration and conquest may be, can send the two *fragatas* with fifty or sixty men, thirty in each, to explore the whole Sea of California on both sides as far as the latitude of 42°. Those who go in them should be very careful and diligent in making a thorough investigation of all the ports, *ensenadas,* bays, rivers, and islands on the coast and in such parts as may be allotted to each, and they should investigate and find out what towns, Indians, riches, and other things there might be on the land, as it is very important that full information be obtained about everything. The *fragatas* should join each other in the latitude of 40° to exchange information about what each one had discovered and seen,

and both should then proceed carefully to ascertain whether that sea communicates with the North Sea by the Strait of Anian, and the locations of the Puerto del Rio del Tiçon, the Isla de la Giganta, the City of Quivira, the Laguna del Oro, and the Rey Coronado, the account of which by Captain Gerónimo Marqués I inserted in the last chapter. By this means it will also be ascertained what people those are who wore clothes and ornaments, of whom the Indians of the Baia de las Virgenes and of the Puerto de San Diego gave an account, as set down when I treated about these. This duty is of the greatest importance and can be performed with the smallest cost and in a short time, once the appropriate time for the voyage be known, something experience will soon demonstrate to those observant in such matters.

The third *fragata* could, as I have stated, be occupied in transporting people, food, and cattle such as calves, cows, young bulls, mares, horses, and sheep, rams, goats, pigs and other animals, of which there is a great plenty on the coast and in the country of Culiacan, Maçatlan and Compostela. With this all the kingdom could be settled with ease, and the settlers could enjoy comfort and be of greater service and benefit to His Majesty than in other conquests which we have seen in New Spain. The reasons besides those mentioned which convince me that the first settlement should be made at the Cabo de San Lucas, and that the two *fragatas* should be sent from there to explore all the Sea of California, are the following: first, the nearness of the Puerto de Maçatlan to the Punta de la California, not more than fifty leagues, and the fact that from that coast all the food supplies and necessities for the settlement, as stated, can be transported with very great ease. What would be necessary can be brought from Mexico to Maçatlan by land, perhaps a hundred and fifty leagues of good road, well settled with Spaniards and many ranches. The soldiers and settlers can go by land to that port, and embarking there can in two days of sailing reach the Punta de las Californias, the most convenient place which can be found for the settlement and pacification of that kingdom. Another reason is that the ships coming from the Philippines, which are in the greatest need of men and food when they reach this place, can obtain here what is necessary, and also take refuge here for safety if they receive news that enemies are waiting on the coast to plunder them. If they should be in bad condition and the men should be sick, they could assist here in rendering every relief. The third reason is that the ships which proceed from Peru to New Spain by the new course now in use and who come in sight of this coast in forty days, can take port at the Cabo de San Lucas, where they could receive information of what was going on and could sell what they brought. If the city which should be built be one of trade, such a communication would be good for everybody.

The city to be built here has to be as they say, the *Plaza de Armas* for the conquest and pacification of the whole kingdom. From there all those destined to make other settlements therein must depart, for which time, necessity, and interest will open the door. By this sea the ordinary supplies which are provided

for the account of His Majesty for the provinces of New Mexico can be sent much more quickly than by land, and at much less expense than up to the present has been done. If Our Lord, Jesus Christ, should be pleased that the City of Quivira, the Kingdom of the Rey Coronado, the Island of the Amazon Giantess, and the other cities and great towns in New Mexico should be discovered, the safest traffic with these would be by way of this Sea of California. In thus frequenting it, the great riches which it contains of pearls and amber, and the silver of the kingdom itself, would be enjoyed.

In the province of New Galicia, the coast of Culiacan and of Topia, there are many people who desire to see California settled in order to move there with their property and cattle. If a passage be given to them, and if His Majesty should make them the same grants he has made to other conquerors and settlers in new kingdoms, there will be sufficient to settle the whole kingdom at their own expense. Thus the natives could be instructed in the matters of our Holy Catholic faith and receive the holy baptism, in this way securing the glory for which they were created. The Cabo de San Lucas having been settled with a good city, as stated, they can from there go on making other settlements in such places as may seem convenient and as time shall indicate, and if His Majesty should order an instruction and treatise to be observed which I composed about the method he should pursue in the conquest of these new kingdoms, I think that all this great kingdom can be pacified very peaceably in a very short time, and from there an entrance can be made to the Kingdom of Anian, and from there to Great China, and Great Tartary, to all of which the Holy Evangel could be preached and all could be reduced to our Holy Catholic faith. Thus His Majesty could come with great ease to be king and supreme emperor of all the world with a good and quiet conscience, if he observes in all respects what is contained in my treatise. I beg whomsoever reads this account, for the love of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, and his most precious passion, to commend to him the conversion of so many souls, and to me to solicit of him this great good for them, in which I am certain our most loving Jesus would be much pleased, because he tells us in his Evangel "Pray Our Lord of the harvest to send workers to cultivate the vineyard." All that I relate herein I saw with my own eyes, and to confirm its truth, I sign it with my own name. In this New Spain. This copy agrees with the original in my possession.

FRAY ANTONIO DE LA ASCENSION.

CHAPTER XII

THE PROJECT TO SETTLE MONTEREY

Vizcaino had sent the Viceroy by his post from Mazatlan a short account of what had happened after the *Santo Tomás* left Monterey, and March 26 the Viceroy wrote the King a short letter with a resumé of what the expedition had accomplished. He did not neglect to state that some who came back were of the opinion that certain of the sierras they had seen showed signs of containing metal.[1] May 23 Vizcaino addressed a letter to the King in which he also gave a rather brief summary of his expedition, somewhat mixed, as he attributed to Monterey and its inhabitants much of what he had seen farther south on the coast. The burden of his song was the wonderful qualities of that port. He offered to dedicate himself and what remained of his property and health to the task of settling it and also asked for remuneration. He said nothing about the Strait of Anian or any other strait but on the contrary claimed that the coast continued on and that when he had been in 42° he had been near Japan and China, Tartary and the famous City of Quinsay.[2] The Viceroy sent by the *Flota,* which must have departed some time in June or July, a book containing an account of the voyage, a record of what was done on the ships, the plan of each port by itself with its description, and a graduated map on which the most important and necessary ports were noted. From his accompanying letter it appears that he was well satisfied with the results and only regretted that Vizcaino had not been able to examine the Gulf of California. It is quite apparent that Vizcaino had convinced him of the great advantages of Monterey as a port. He recommended that Vizcaino and the private persons who went with him should be honored and rewarded.[3]

Vizcaino now set about preparing his claim for reward. He filed a petition with the Audiencia about the first of July, requesting that body to receive an *informacion de oficio* of his merits and services and of the expenses he had incurred, as he desired to present this to His Majesty in seeking some official appointment and a grant of Indians in *encomienda.* The Viceroy as president of the Audiencia appointed one of the *oydores,* Dr. Francisco Alonso de Villagrá, to receive the testimony. Vizcaino presented eight interrogatories and, September 16, the process of taking testimony began, Captain Esteban Peguero then appearing as a witness. Others followed: Francisco de Bolaños; Pedro Lopez de Contreras (one of Vizcaino's partners in his first enterprise); Fray Andrés de la Asuncion; Miguel Ruiz de Peña; Francisco Benitez; and Captain Pascual de Alarcon y Pacheco who testified October 1. What facts of importance were related by any of these men have been already incorporated in the preceding chapter. On November 20 the Audiencia certified that they considered Vizcaino to be a man who had rendered important services and recommended that the King bestow some honorable office on him.[4]

While this proceeding was under way there was a change in the government. In September news reached Mexico that the Conde de Monterey had been promoted to the government of Peru and that his successor, Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marqués de Montesclaros, had arrived at Veracruz. The new viceroy reached Mexico October 27, 1603, and the Conde de Monterey remained in Otumba awaiting a ship to carry him to Peru from Acapulco. The Marqués was not at all satisfied with the appointments of his predecessor, especially with that of Vizcaino as *general* in command of the ships which were to leave Acapulco in the spring for the Philippines. He had brought with him from Spain a soldier of long service, Diego de Mendoza, to act in that capacity and therefore did not hesitate to remove Vizcaino, whom he appointed *alcalde mayor* of Tehuantepec. The Conde de Monterey had also appointed Captain Palacios to command the *Capitana* and Bolaños as chief pilot on the approaching voyage. The Marqués discovered that the papers of Captain Palacios were forged. He had him tried for the crime and executed him.[5] Bolaños apparently finally made the voyage together with one of the captains, whether Peguero or Alarcon is not known. These changes were not to the liking of the Conde, and November 22 he wrote the King that he was under obligations to Vizcaino, whom he thought had conducted himself very well, was well qualified for further engagements, and entitled to a reward.[6]

There must have been some extraordinary delay with the correspondence sent in June or July, 1603, or else it was lost and only the duplicates sent in December reached Spain, as it was not until July, 1604, that the Council took up the matter. The result of the considerations in the Council was a cedula issued to the Marqués de Montesclaros, July 30, 1604, which evidently contained a recommendation to him to reward Vizcaino and give him some employment.[7] The Viceroy in acknowledging the receipt of this attempted to justify his appointments and stated that as far as Vizcaino was concerned he thought that his services had been abundantly rewarded by the appointment he had given him. It seems from this letter that Vizcaino, probably before the departure of the Conde de Monterey, had written to some person of standing in Mexico to tell the Marqués that the way to get rich was to appoint him *general* of the voyage to the Philippines. Naturally much affronted at this, the Viceroy wrote that he would not give Vizcaino anything unless he presented an order from the King with a special clause inserted directing him to comply with it, notwithstanding this charge which he now made against him. This letter reached Spain about July 1, 1606.

In the meantime the Council had been considering the matter, and January 19 of that year had made a recommendation to His Majesty regarding the Puerto de Monterey. The cosmographer, Andrés Garcia de Céspedes having been called in to give his views on the matter, the Council was of the opinion that, considering the convenient situation of this port for ships returning from the Philippines, in which they could provide themselves with necessities and

make repairs, the King should order the Marqués to hunt up Vizcaino and arrange with him to go to the Philippines in the first ships, or, if he was not alive, Captain Gomez de Corbán. The chief pilot, Bolaños, should also be taken. Vizcaino should be honored and helped at the expense of the King for what seemed justly due him and a promise should be made to him that his services in this matter would be taken into consideration. It was recommended that on the return voyage Vizcaino make a call at Monterey, and once the other pilots and seamen had learned the navigation and the Viceroy was thoroughly acquainted with it, he would have the necessary facts which would enable him to settle the port with Spaniards. This he should then proceed to do, conceding just privileges to the settlers and helping them with what money seemed necessary from the royal treasury, being empowered to spend 20,000 pesos on the business.[8]

On March 4, 1606, the Council presented another recommendation, in which, after setting forth a resumé of what had been accomplished on the expedition of 1602-1603, and stating that the diaries and plans had been examined, the advice given in January was reiterated.[9] The King ordered this to be adopted, and July 9 it was recommended to write the Viceroy to send out Vizcaino to the Philippines in 1607 as *general* of the ships, unless some very considerable inconveniences should present themselves to him in carrying out the order. July 10 the letter of the Marqués of October 28, 1605, was read in the Council, and on the 17th that body again advised employing Vizcaino, notwithstanding what he had written. They also recommended that an order be sent to the governor of the Philippines to assist Vizcaino as much as possible and to send with him two individuals of intelligence and capacity to investigate the Puerto de Monterey and who could return from Acapulco in the following year, 1608, as *general* and *almirante* of the ships.[10] In accordance with this advice a series of cedulas was issued August 19, 1606. The principal one simply embodies the views of the Council of March 4.[11] A special letter was issued to the Marqués reprimanding him for having appointed Diego de Mendoza in place of Vizcaino and ordering him to comply implicitly with the general cedula, issued the same day, to appoint Vizcaino to conduct the ships to the Philippines in 1607.[12] Another was issued to Pedro de Acuña, the governor of the Philippines, in which the same antecedents were recited as in that to the Viceroy, and he was ordered to send two persons from the islands with Vizcaino on his return to become acquainted with the port so that they could go back in the following year as *general* and captain of the Philippine ships, as Vizcaino would have to go and settle the port.[13] October 5 a memorial written by Garcia de Céspedes was sent to the Viceroy, which was to be carried by the person who undertook the expedition. This apparently contained a set of questions regarding the situation and condition of the port which were to be answered either by Vizcaino or by whomsoever accompanied the expedition and was competent to do so.[14]

The cedula of August 19 is somewhat celebrated and is generally supposed to contain a definite order to make a settlement at Monterey. A careful reading

of the document, however, shows that the execution of the order was subject to some contingencies. A translation of the mandatory part is herewith given:

It has seemed advisable to me that all the ships coming from the Philippines should enter this port [Monterey], as they sight that coast, and therefore should make repairs and obtain supplies there. In order to make a beginning and establish the arrangement with full information, I have thought it good to order you as I do by these presents to search for the said *General* Sebastian Vizcaino with all care and diligence, as the man who made the exploration, having run all along the coast from Acapulco to Cabo Mendocino and if he is not alive to search for his *Almirante*. As soon as he is found make arrangements for him to go to the Philippines and to take his chief pilot or that of the *Almiranta,* honoring him and helping him for the purpose from my royal treasury with what seems proper to you and telling him on my part how much he would serve me in this, and that I shall take care to reward him and remunerate his services and particularly those he may render in this case. In order that his departure on this business can take place soon, I have agreed to order you to dispatch the ships which are to go to the Philippines in the coming year 1607 in the usual form and that followed up to the present time, in view of the fact that Don Pedro de Acuña, my governor and captain-general of the Islands, cannot have finished building the ships of 200 tons which are to be used in the trade in conformity with the new order which I have ordered to be given about this business. I therefore order you to appoint Sebastian Vizcaino as *general* of these ships, notwithstanding the difficulties and inconveniences about this business, which you have written as occurring to you, and for his *almirante* the one he had on his expedition to the Puerto de Monterey, if they are both alive. If one is dead you will send as *general* the survivor, and as chief pilot, that of the *General* or his *Almirante* as stated, without paying any attention to any other considerations except my absolute service, as I am confident you will do, so that on the return voyage in bringing back the ships under their charge they can examine the method in which the Puerto de Monterey should be settled, leave the call there introduced and the pilots and seamen of the ships trained in the navigation, especially the two individuals whom by another cedula of this date I am ordering the governor, Don Pedro de Acuña, to send with Sebastian Vizcaino. These men are to be of good qualities and with the intelligence and capacity requisite to examine the port, and who can return from Acapulco to the Islands as *general* and *almirante* of the ships which are to go there in 1608. It is my wish that these and Sebastian Vizcaino and his *almirante* should receive the ordinary salary which other *generales* and *almirantes* on that course have received and that they be paid beginning on the same days and in the same form and manner that those have been paid. In order that the said port may be safe, as this is advisable, it has seemed to me very important to endeavor to settle it and that this be done with Spaniards, committing the project to Sebastian Vizcaino as he, by reason of the confidence held in him due to the knowledge which he has of the character of the port and the disposition of the country, having inspected it all with so much care and intelligence, seems to be more than any other person the most appropriate one to go back and settle it after he has gone out to the Philippines and returned and introduced a call in that port. I therefore shall consider myself served if you will commit the settlement to Sebastian Vizcaino provided no considerable inconveniences to doing so present themselves to you, taking such action as seems most advisable to you to secure the end in view, the affair being remitted to your good zeal and your prudence, care and wisdom, on which I can depend. In order that good Spanish people may be induced to settle the port you will concede to all the settlers the grants and prerogatives which seem advisable to you and may be just, and aid them with the necessary funds from my royal treasury to enable them to move their households and convey materials for making settlements, on their assurance that they will return this within such time after the port is settled as seems proper to you. This is my wish and I approve your spending from my royal property up to 20,000 pesos, taking it out of my royal treasury, it being understood, however, that the settlers must return and restore to my royal property at the times and in the manner which seems advisable to you as above stated what you give and draw out for them. Of all that you do and are doing you will advise me, with your opinion, so that I may keep informed about it. I ordered the accountants attached to my Council to make a note of this cedula. San Lorenzo, August 19, 1606. I the King. [Countersigned by Juan de Ciriça, and signed by those of the Council.]

The inconvenience or objections referred to in this document soon became manifest. When the order reached the Marqués, April 11, 1607, the ships for China had already departed and Vizcaino had gone to Spain the year before in the *Flota*. The Marqués had been appointed viceroy of Peru and only awaited

the appointment of his successor. This turned out to be Luis de Velasco, who was then living on his estate in Mexico. As the execution of the business would fall to Velasco, who did not become viceroy until July 2, the Marqués felt free to express his opinion on the subject in a letter he wrote May 24. He agreed that it was important to find a port where the ships on the return voyage could stop and, in default of a better one, the best thing would be to be content with Monterey. He then adds:[15]

In order to better judge of the character of this port it is to be remarked that it seems to be in 37°[16] on the coast of what they call New Spain, which extends from Cabo Mendocino to Acapulco, according to the survey made by Sebastian Vizcaino. Although it is a fact that the ships generally sight land in this neighborhood (within one or two degrees more or less), it is to be understood that they always consider the voyage made and the danger over on the day when they reach there. This feeling is so pronounced that there have been ships which being at the entrance of the Puerto de Monterey have not been willing to enter it after sighting it, but have continued their voyage under full press of sail, because from the time they sight land in whatever part it may be, they arrive at the Puerto de Acapulco with good and favorable weather in twenty-five or thirty days. The misfortunes occasioned by the hurricanes which put in travail the ships from China and force them to turn back with such loss usually occur after they leave the Cabo del Espiritu Santo of the Isla de Manila and while prosecuting their voyage along the string of the Islas de los Ladrones until they mount the head of Japan in the part called Cabo de Cestos in 32° or 33°. Thus it is that when a ship becomes unrigged it always happens before entering the great ocean of New Spain, and then there is no other recourse except to go back to Japan or to the Philippines. In case their condition permits them to reach a sight of the coast of Cabo Mendocino, in which they ordinarily consume fifty days from this port, it can be clearly seen that there can be nothing more to worry about.

Now then it has been set out that the Puerto de Monterey is in 37° on the coast of New Spain where, when the ships of the Philippines reach it, they always have an assured voyage to the Puerto de Acapulco in twenty-five or thirty days. It has never occurred that after having sighted land they have gone back to the point of departure. If it is desired that these ships have a safe place to which they can go back or in which they can stop to provide themselves with what may be necessary, it follows that one should be provided for them or at least sought for where it may be of advantage to them before entering the great ocean of New Spain.

For this purpose it may be observed that in 34° to 35° there are two islands called "Rica de Oro" and "Rica de Plata," directly west of the Puerto de Monterey, almost on the same parallel but at a great distance of longitude. These islands or some of them are the ones which all those who have treated about this navigation and have followed it say that it would be convenient to examine and settle in order that the ships may stop there.

In conformity with this, Sire, it looks as though it would be best that the exploration and settlement now being considered should be principally made from the Islands and that for this purpose, a person of care and fidelity should be demanded. I understand that Sebastian Vizcaino would be an appropriate person because, aside from his ability, he already knows how to find the Puerto de Monterey with which he is acquainted. If this is to be done and your Majesty pleases, he can leave the Puerto de Acapulco as *general* of the ships of the ordinary fleet and sail from Manila with two light ships without cargo and, with no other object in view than the discovery, because if he should come back as *general* on the return voyage the goods of the citizens of Manila would run a great risk by reason of the delay, and if any loss occurred thereby they would have a right to ask a recompense from your Majesty. Once the port be found, which is the object sought, Vizcaino could go as *general* the following year and begin stopping in it, and with this the call would remain introduced into the voyage.

The Marqués was clearly worried and before departing for Peru saw fit to unburden his mind somewhat further on the subject. In a letter from Acapulco dated August 4, 1607, he wrote:[17]

In the letter of May 23 of this year I advised your Majesty that I did not consider it of any importance to explore and settle the Puerto de Monterey. As the inconveniences of this business do not stop in its simply being of little necessity, but in my view are obviously

prejudicial, I cannot excuse myself from speaking to your Majesty with clearness about it, at a time when this business is already in the hands of another.

The greatest security and strength in these kingdoms on the coast of your Majesty in the South Sea lie in the difficulty of enemies coming to it and the little assistance they would have in the ports even when in it. In order to do away somewhat with this inconvenience, they have always been hunting for new ways, always looking for a strait or passage above Cabo Mendocino or by the opening of the Californias. It seemed to them that the day they should find it they would have secured with little effort what would be the best for them.

See, your Majesty, ask yourself what would happen if on our part you should aid them by reconnoitering those coasts, giving occasion for them to become acquainted with them, and opening ports. For my part I think that once it was explored and settled it would be common ground for friends and enemies where, besides finding shelter for their ships, they would find Spaniards with whom to treat and trade for food, clothing and goods as they do in the north of Santo Domingo. If they should once gain this, with the spread of the news, it is easy to see how risky everything would be and how necessary it would be that each merchant ship which went to the Philippines should have two armed ships to protect the passage, with extraordinary expense and perpetual alarm on the coasts of Peru and New Spain. It seems likely that this would happen in seeking a port in a place which is not necessary and so removed from these provinces from which it would have to be helped and supplied, that even the news of the losses would not come to the ears of those who have to remedy them for a long time. I beg of your Majesty to order this to be looked into again as there is time before putting it into execution. This is my opinion and I have so stated to the viceroy Don Luis de Velasco.

It is to be noted that in his first letter the Marqués advanced precisely the same arguments against opening a port on the northwest coast that the Marqués de Villamanrique had used twenty years before. In reality, all the talk about the returning ships sighting that coast in the neighborhood of Cabo Mendocino or farther south in that of Monterey was baseless; there was no necessity for doing so, and the ships almost invariably turned southeast before they came within several hundred miles of the coast. Thus they rarely sighted it north of the Isla de Cenizas. Under almost any conceivable condition, to enter Monterey meant a delay, a matter of great detriment to the owners of the goods on the ships and of problematical advantage to the crew, even if they were sick. In the second letter the views can be discerned of a hard-headed Spaniard, about the fears said to have been entertained in Mexico concerning contemplated English settlements on the northwest coast. A Spanish settlement on that coast would have been of more service to the English than one of their own even if they could have maintained it, just as the Marqués states was the case with those of the Spaniards on Santo Domingo and, for that matter, in other places in the West Indies which he did not mention. August 29 the new viceroy, Velasco, wrote endorsing his opinion.[17]

While this correspondence was being carried on, Vizcaino was in Spain seeking preferment and remuneration for his services. It will be recalled that the Marqués de Montesclaros had appointed him *alcalde mayor* of Tehuantepec. Among the services for which Vizcaino asked a reward was for opening a new road across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and the conveyance by it of some cannon, anchors, and cables which were sent to the Philippines in the winter of 1604 for the contemplated attack on the Moluccas. Velasco, his successor, in reply to a request from the King for his opinion about this road wrote that he

himself had had the road constructed during his first term as viceroy, and that it was not feasible to use it. Nevertheless, it seems from a letter addressed by Vizcaino from San Juan de Ulua, October 10, 1608, that Velasco had decided to try the road again and had sent him there for the purpose of again conveying some artillery by it across the isthmus.[18] Vizcaino also recounted his services on his two expeditions and on several occasions when he had been sent to warn the ships coming from Manila of the suspected presence of enemies on the coast.

While engaged in this pursuit he presented various memorials to the Council, giving his opinion as to the best method of making a settlement at Monterey, harping on the great riches to be obtained from the country, and the advantages which would accrue to the returning Philippine ships. In his petition,[19] which he presented with his *informacion de servicios* and various certificates of the officials in Mexico, his pretensions were very extravagant. He asked for 10,000 ducats of income during his life and that of two others, payable from the import duties at Acapulco or in *Indios vacos;*[20] a confirmation of the title of *general* of the Philippine navigation, which had been given to him by the Conde de Monterey, to be held exclusively and with the salary and perquisites which had been given to Pedro de Acuña, to be enjoyed from the time he should set sail from San Lucar; and to receive the title of *adelantado* of the country he had discovered in the South Sea with the privileges given to new discoverers, not only for himself but for his sons and successors. June 3, 1607, a cedula was issued to the viceroy of New Spain to give him for his life and one other only, a number of *Indios vacos,* or if there were none, the first which should become available in Mexico, sufficient to produce in each year a rental of 2,000 pesos of 8 *reales* each, and to give him 1,000 pesos in cash each year from the royal treasury in Mexico until he entered into the enjoyment of this revenue. The cash was to be payable from the date of the cedula and was not to form any part of another 4,000 pesos granted him in payment of his expenses by another cedula.[21]

The letters of the Marqués de Montesclaros just previously translated reached the Council while Vizcaino was in Spain, and they began to consider the matter anew in September and October, 1607. They now decided to recommend to His Majesty, in view of the objections of the Marqués, to send an order to Velasco to do nothing further in the Monterey business before discovering the Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata, for the purpose of settling one of these islands as being more appropriate for the call of the Philippine ships, and to use in the work the 20,000 pesos which had been ordered to be spent in settling Monterey and more if necessary, conceding to the settlers the same privileges as would have been granted to them if they had settled in Monterey. If, however, it should seem to Velasco that Monterey was more appropriate than one of these islands, he was to follow the original plan. They also recommended that Vizcaino conduct the voyage to discover and settle them.[22] Before sailing for Mexico, Vizcaino wrote a letter from San Lucar in which he referred to the charges the Marqués de Montesclaros had made against him, and refused to make any statement about

the letter to which the Marqués referred, which it seems had been written to the Viceroy's confessor, Fray Pedro Ramirez, saying God knew the truth about that. He claimed that the Marqués had removed him from the position of *general* of the fleet in order to give it to his uncle, Diego de Mendoza, who, he alleged, came back from the Philippines loaded with bales and boxes of merchandise. This time he only regretted those innumerable Indians who were awaiting the light of the Holy Evangel.[23]

It was not until September 27, 1608, that a cedula was issued to the Viceroy to suspend for the time being the introduction of Monterey into the Manila-Acapulco route and its settlement, and to endeavor to discover and settle either the Rica de Oro or Rica de Plata.[24] Much time was lost in preparing this expedition. It was finally decided to send out Vizcaino from Acapulco with orders to proceed direct to Japan. He sailed March 22, 1611, taking with him twenty-two Japanese who had come to New Spain the year before.[25] He finally reached Japan, where, assuming to be an envoy to the Emperor, he succeeded in stirring up some trouble for himself and the Spanish Government.[26] Needless to say, he did not find the Rica de Oro or Rica de Plata, and indeed, does not seem to have made much of a search for them. He had nothing to say in his account about the return voyage, except that he sighted the northwest coast in the neighborhood of Cabo Mendocino, December 26, 1613. He reached Acapulco January 22, 1614.[27]

Before Vizcaino left on this expedition he had come into his *Indios vacos,* which turned out to be in the Province of Avalos. Here we find him in 1615 when Speilbergen made his famous descent on the Mexican coast. As soon as he heard of the arrival of the Dutch, he enlisted what force he could and set out to defend the country. Speilbergen had reached Salagua where he went ashore with a large number of men. We have Vizcaino's word for it that he ambushed these with his poorly equipped and organized force, and drove them back to the boats. Just what really happened is uncertain, but he finally wound up with some Dutch prisoners in his hands who all said they had deserted. The Dutch went away and Vizcaino examined his prisoners, sending a full account of the proceedings to the Viceroy.[28] From that time he disappears, but he died before 1629,[29] perhaps in 1628, although this is by no means certain, as the statement regarding it made by his grandson is somewhat ambiguous.[30]

Looking over Vizcaino's career, so much of which has appeared in the foregoing pages, it can be said without bias or prejudice that he was stronger in words than in deeds. Indeed, there was hardly any Spaniard of his day, living in Mexico at least, who wrote more and accomplished less than he did. He was, as the Conde de Monterey expressed it, of mediocre talent, and although perhaps he displayed more spirit and enterprise than could have been expected of a mere merchant, as the Conde also declared, yet he never seemed to have enough to bring any enterprise to a successful conclusion. There were not wanting in his day those who attributed the failure of his expeditions to incompetence, and

although perhaps this may be a somewhat hard judgment, emanating from his rivals, and his lack of success may in a measure have been due to circumstances over which he had no control, yet the fact remains that he was not strong enough to surmount unforeseen obstacles.

The most interesting member of the expedition was undoubtedly Fray Antonio de la Ascension, whose account of it has been translated. He must have been a young man at the time, probably about thirty years of age. His account seems to have been written long enough after the return to give him time to become obsessed with the idea of a Strait of Anian and the extension of the Gulf of California to a connection with it, so prominent in all his writings. In later years he appeared as a supporter of pearl-fishing enterprises, not probably because he had the least interest in this business, but because the promoters of such schemes were always bringing forward the settling of the peninsula and the reduction of the natives to the Christian faith as a bait to get concessions, and because, as he once explained, the Spaniards would not move unless they could expect some profit for themselves. His efforts were no doubt prompted in large measure by his desire to secure a field of missionary labor for his own Order, the Carmelites, who had come to New Spain after the other Orders had appropriated all the occupied territory available for such enterprises. He lived at times in Valladolid and Puebla, and is said to have died at the age of sixty-three in the latter place, just when does not seem to be known, but certainly not before 1632, as in that year he gave his testimony regarding the best method of settling California.[31]

Both the account of Father Antonio and that ascribed to Vizcaino strike us as having a certain air of unreality. It is only from a mere incidental allusion here and there that one would gain any idea from reading them that the coast they followed had been previously explored. There is nothing in either account to indicate that the authors had knowledge of any other expedition than that of Cermeño, and even of that no mention is made except of the loss of his ship. After leaving Cabo de San Lucas and until the arrival at Cabo Mendocino, every place visited was given a new name by Vizcaino. Even Cedros was changed to Cerros by both him and Palacios and Bahia de San Francisco to Don Gaspar, the old names being retained only by Father Antonio. This renaming of every place in spite of the instructions of the Viceroy is proof that Vizcaino intended to convey the impression that he had discovered something new. All this we know to be false or at least a mistake. To anyone who has carefully read the accounts of the voyages translated in the earlier part of this work it will be manifest that he discovered little or nothing. If we add to the knowledge of the northwest coast obtained by Cabrillo what had been seen and recorded by Unamuno and Cermeño, we shall find that he only discovered the Harbor of Monterey and the Rio de Santa Inez. It is even probable that Cermeño had examined the coast farther north than he, or even those in the *Tres Reyes,* and besides, Cermeño too, as well as Cabrillo had been in Monterey Bay. The only tangible

result of the expedition was a new set of names for the capes, bays, points, and islands on the coast, names which have largely survived to the present day.

A certain degree of exaggeration is discernible in all the accounts of the voyage, in fact, many of the statements are demonstrably incorrect. Vizcaino, who in this respect was the most blameworthy, had engaged in the affair with the hope of receiving some personal benefit and advancement. He therefore labored to demonstrate that he had accomplished a great feat, and never ceased calling the attention of the King to the voyage as something which had produced great results. The motives of Father Antonio are not quite so obvious. As a true Christian, we cannot believe him capable of stooping to deceit, but, like other devout priests filled with missionary zeal, he saw everything through rose-colored glasses, and thus unwittingly fell in with the views of his chief. The evangelization of the Californias was, according to both of them, the great object to be achieved. In this work the promise of success, based on some casual signs which they understood to be reverence and docility, lay in the alleged readiness of many of the natives to accept the Christian faith. They deceived themselves, the work of conversion when undertaken long afterwards proved to be an extensive and arduous task.

CONCLUSION

The search for a port on the northwest coast of America ended with the voyage of Vizcaino. A fairly thorough examination of the coast had been made as far north as Pt. Reyes and some knowledge of the coast beyond to Pt. St. George had been obtained. The Conde de Monterey appears to have been satisfied with the results and Vizcaino afterwards claimed that if the Conde had not been promoted to be viceroy of Peru at such a critical juncture a settlement would have been made at Monterey. Doubtless, Vizcaino had good reasons for this opinion, but it is certain that the Conde's successors were very skeptical about the advantages which he expected to derive from such a settlement. No particular criticism was indulged in regarding his choice of Monterey. Father Antonio in his account, as will be recalled, stated that they all had felt that San Diego met all the requirements the government had in view. Such, of course, was the fact; San Diego in reality was a far more appropriate place than Monterey. The port was much better sheltered and could be entered by ships coming from Manila without the necessity of having to beat against contrary winds in order to reach Monterey. Furthermore, it was nearer to the settlements on the coast of Mexico, from which the supplies necessary to maintain it would have to be secured. If the account of the Cabrillo expedition had been lost or mislaid, as we may suppose to have been the case, the publication in 1615 by Herrera of an account of his voyage must have brought to the attention of the authorities the superior advantages of San Diego. This also, no doubt, helped to reinstate in its proper place Cabrillo's voyage and to dim the lustre with which the chroniclers of the Vizcaino expedition had adorned his. Cabrillo was not looking for a port, otherwise he would have discovered the Harbor of Monterey when in the bay. If we compare the equipment of his vessels with those furnished Vizcaino and realize that he made the voyage to Pt. Reyes in much shorter time and with, we may feel certain, much smaller loss of men, we cannot but feel that his was much the greater achievement. When he set out nothing was known of the coast beyond Cedros, unless we assume that Ulloa had returned after reaching a point perhaps as high as 31½°. Vizcaino, on the contrary, had the advantage of having with him Bolaños who had accompanied Cermeño along the whole northern part of the coast, even if he did not carry with him records of other voyagers from Manila who must have seen that coast at different points and perhaps followed it south from the neighborhood of 42°, as was so frequently asserted.

All the contemporary evidence found by the writer that the Spanish government sent out any of these expeditions with the view of finding a strait to the north has been set before the reader. It will be for him to judge what part, if any, this object may have played. It is astonishing that it is so little, in view of the importance afterwards attributed to it by writers on the subject. The

Spaniards seemed to have been glad to let well enough alone. They felt comparatively safe in the Pacific and did not propose to furnish any assistance to the freebooters of the age who would take advantage of any such passage when once discovered. The Conde de Monterey seems to have voiced this attitude in his instructions to his successor, when he said that he had always thought it a good plan to do no more than explore the pearl fishery and the coasts, feeling it unwise to push the discoveries too far north for fear that something might be found which would awaken someone still asleep. The repeated efforts of the English to discover the eastern entrance to the Northwest Passage always elicited the interest of the Council of the Indies, as might be expected. That body advanced on one occasion the academic opinion that Coronel's proposal to search for the western entrance was an important matter, and that was all.

The other theory which has been exploited to some extent that the expeditions after 1580 were brought on by Sir Francis Drake's intrusion into the Pacific finds no foundation whatever in any document seen by the writer. Just when the Spanish authorities became aware of the fact that Drake had been on the northwest coast is very uncertain, but it never seems to have given them any concern. No doubt they reasoned, and reasoned correctly, that there was nothing on that coast enticing enough to induce anyone to make a settlement there.

California presents to the traveler by sea a frowning face, only here or there is there an opening in the range of cliffs or mountains which gives a glimpse of the interior. Mountains and more mountains everywhere are the features of the landscape. The indications of agricultural possibilities enlarged upon by Vizcaino as well as mentioned by Cermeño and Unamuno were more apparent than real. Only limited sections of California adjacent to the coast will produce grain without irrigation. The great agricultural parts of the state are somewhat removed from the coast and were never seen by any of the early explorers. The Indians, except those living along the channel and on the islands opposite, were on a very low level of civilization, living largely on natural seeds, fruits, and nuts, what game they could snare and what fish they could catch. One would gather from the accounts of the various explorers that, except along the channel they were not very numerous, at least in Upper California, nor, with some striking exceptions, were they particularly friendly. The last thing they wanted, probably, was the intrusion of strangers. They were willing to barter what they had for beads and iron and were evidently interested in the actions and dress of the strangers. These, in turn, have left us some interesting descriptions of some of the tribes they encountered from which ethnologists can draw much interesting information.

Living as we do in a great commonwealth, famed for its mineral and agricultural riches, we are apt to forget that these, with the single exception of gold, are riches only because of modern transportation conditions. At the time that Cabrillo and Vizcaino visited the territory gold was the only resource that could have been exploited, and that lay too far from the coast to be discovered by any

maritime expedition. The timber, grain, fruits, petroleum, and the multitudinous products which now bring wealth to this region were valueless or would have been had they been produced. One of the reasons why gold and silver occupied such a large share of the attentions of the many adventurers from the various European countries and were so eagerly sought, lay in the fact that by reason of their great value in small bulk they and they alone could be exported to purchase necessities or luxuries of life.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

B. M. British Museum.

B. & R. The Philippine Islands, by Blair & Robertson.

Bib. Mar. Biblioteca Marítima of Navarrete.

Col. docs., Second series. The second series of P. & C.

Docs. inéd. Esp. Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España.

Icaz., *Docs. Coleccion de documentos para la historia de Mexico,* by Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta.

Nueva coleccion. Nueva coleccion de documentos, published by Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta.

P. & C. Pacheco y Cárdenas, *Coleccion de documentos inéditos . . . en America y Oceania.*

Smith's *docs. Coleccion de varios documentos,* by Buckingham Smith.

The numbers standing alone represent those of *legajos,* or bundles of documents, in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

Bibliographical Note

[The numbers of documents without any designation of place are those of the bundles of papers in the Archivo de Indias in Seville which contain the documents.]

The material for writing a history of New Spain from the fall of Mexico City in August, 1521, to 1550, is awaiting some patient and industrious investigator. It is not to be gleaned from the general histories written by contemporaries, but must be sought in the voluminous records of the lawsuits in which Hernando Cortés was engaged, in those dealing with the *visita* of Francisco Tello de Sandoval, and in the few extant *residencias* and *relaciones de servicios* of some of the leading actors in the events. Some letters of prime importance exist, many written by Cortés, a few by Antonio de Mendoza, Pedro de Alvarado and Nuño de Guzman, and others by individuals connected with the government or members of the monastic orders, but the records of the numerous expeditions which scoured the country in search of gold and reached as far perhaps as Kansas on the one side and the boundary of Oregon on the other are nearly all lost. How numerous these were can be seen in the brief summaries of the services of many of the captains engaged in them, as published by Francisco A. de Icaza in his *Diccionario autobiográfico de conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España.* Whether fuller accounts will be found buried in more extended *relaciones de servicios* or in some of the many lawsuits regarding *encomiendas* remains to be seen. Notwithstanding this paucity of original documents, it is possible to recognize in Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo's account of the expedition of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, and in the summary of the expedition of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, extracts from others. As far as they go, these extracts no doubt contain the substance if not the actual words of the original reports.

The period has attracted very little attention from the students of Spanish-American history, and still less from the writers of popular works who have invariably set before us the more dramatic incidents of the conquest, drawing their material from readily accessible published works. Mr. Arthur Scott Aiton alone has dipped into the mass of material existing in the archives in Spain dealing with it. In his *Antonio de Mendoza,* recently issued, he presents a long list of documents, many hitherto known only by their *legajo* numbers, from which he has made extracts of such matters as are pertinent to his subject. The only other important work dealing with this period is George Parker Winship's *Coronado Expedition.* Mr. Winship did not have access to the archives in Seville, but obtained his material from previous publications, with the exception of a document in the possession of Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta and the manuscript account of Pedro de Castañeda in the New York Public Library. This had been previously published in French by Ternaux-Compans in Paris in 1838. Mr. Winship did not, however, miss much, if anything, by not having examined

the documents in the archives, as since the publication of his book nothing more has been found there of any value dealing with the expedition.

If modern writers have passed lightly over this period, the same may be said of the great Spanish historians of the sixteenth century. The first to publish anything like a connected account of the enterprises of Cortés was Francisco Lopez de Gómara in his *Conquista de Mexico*. His *Historia de las Indias*, published in the same year, although not specifically referring to Mexico, contains some information about events in that country. Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Navigationi et viaggi*, first published in 1556, contains Italian translations of many Spanish documents of which the originals have never been found.

In this Introduction the writer has made little or no use of any of these works, but has taken the facts almost entirely from documents existing in the archives in Seville, very few of which have ever been published. The main source has been the famous *Proceso*, No. 1-1-2/21, of which Part I was published in Volume XV of the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos* (title in full below). Parts 2a to 9a comprise most of the documents which were filed in the suit by the various participants, although 2a contains some petitions which were presented to the Council. A few documents picked from these parts as being of interest have also been published in the same collection and elsewhere. In addition to this *legajo*, use has been made of the *Cartas de relacion* of Cortés which were published in his lifetime and other letters of his which have only appeared in print in recent years in the *Cartas y relaciones de Hernan Cortés*, by Pascual de Gayangos, in the *Escritos sueltos de Hernan Cortés*, and in P. Mariano Cuevas' *Cartas y otros documentos de Hernan Cortés*. It is not impossible that other facts might be obtained from the records of some of the suits which Cortés brought against Guzman and the various members of the Audiencia, but so far as the writer has examined these, he has not yet found anything of interest regarding his expeditions, not set out by him or his representatives in some of the numerous petitions which he presented in Spain or Mexico.

Notes

1. The so-called third *Relacion*, printed in Seville the following year.
2. Printed in P. & C., XXVI, 59.
3. 1-1-3/17, printed as No. XXIV in his *Cartas* by Cuevas, who erroneously attributes it to the year 1533. At the end it bears a notation: *En Burgos XIIII de Jullio*, evidently the day it was presented.
4. This is clearly a reference to his lost first letter which must have been written about July 1, 1519.
5. Rodrigo de Albornoz in his letter of December 15, 1525, estimated that the Moluccas were six or seven hundred leagues from Zacatula. Icaz. *Docs.* I, 496, and P. & C., XIII, 45.
6. In the letter as printed by Cuevas this appears as 1532, an obvious error.
7. Printed in P. & C., XII, 213. This is only an extract containing the order here referred to. The complete cedula, which is a series of instructions to Cortés about the government of the country, is printed in Vol. XXIII of the same series.
8. In reality Andres Niño, a partner of Davila, conducted the expedition. Niño had a contract with the Crown, dated June 18, 1519, which gave him the right to discover in the South Sea for 1,000 leagues to the west of Panama, but Davila was appointed

commander of the expedition. The actual exploration began in the spring of 1522; Davila proceeded by land while Niño prosecuted a voyage by sea and according to Davila reached as far along the coast as the latitude of 17½°. Davila returned to Panama June 5, 1523, and reached Santo Domingo about March 1, 1524. There was therefore time for Cortés to receive the news before he wrote the Emperor October 15, 1524. The account of Davila's expedition was published in Madrid in 1883 by Manuel M. de Peralta in his *Costa-Rica, Nicaragua y Panama en el Siglo XVI.*

9. Usually called the fourth *Relacion,* printed in Toledo in 1525.

10. 1-2-1/10.

11. Cortés already in his letter of October 15, 1524, had stated that his soldiers who conquered Colima had brought back some pearls, and an account of the lords of a province named Ciguatan who strongly affirmed that there was an island entirely populated by women ten days' journey away and that many of them had gone there and seen it. "They tell me also that it is very rich in pearls and gold. I will labor to find out the truth as soon as I have equipment and will send a full account of it to your Majesty." Gayangos, 288. Writing September 3, 1526, Cortés stated that even before he wrote October 15, 1524, he had sent a captain to Colima to follow the coast to the north for 150 leagues to find out if there were any ports on it. The party went 130 leagues and discovered some ports and many towns, had some fights, and pacified many of the natives. They did not go farther because they were few in number and there was no grass for the horses. They had brought back a story about a large river ten days' journey beyond the farthest point they reached, and many strange stories about the people near it. Not a word was said about pearls or women which were certainly the objects sought. Cortés now declared that he was going to send another more powerful party to find out about that river because, according to the story of its width and size, *"no ternia en mucho ser estrecho."* 1-1-2/16 R. 4, printed in Gayangos 492.

12. Cortés' letter of September 11, 1526, 1-1-2/16 No. 1 R. 5, printed in Gayangos, 375.

13. 1-1-2/16 No. 2 R. 19, printed in P. & C., XII, 490. The contract was dated October 27, but the cedula was issued November 5.

14. This contract was dated November 4, and was filed by Cortés before the Audiencia in September, 1539. 1-1-2/21, Part 9a.

15. These instructions were filed by him in his proceedings before the Audiencia in September, 1539. 1-1-2/21, Part 9a, printed in *Escritos sueltos de Cortés,* 196.

16. A mass of documents filed by Cortés exists about this expedition but very little of value can be gathered from them. It is plain that he based his claim to send an expedition to Cibola largely on a discovery of the coast at 27° which he alleged had been made by Hurtado. Unfortunately he was apparently never able to find a survivor of the party which had gone on with Hurtado when he sent back the other ship. There were three survivors of this latter vessel who gave evidence, but all Cortés could find out about Hurtado's party he apparently learned from someone who had accompanied Diego de Guzman. One of the suits Cortés brought against Nuño de Guzman was for the vessel Hurtado sent back and its equipment and arms which had been abandoned by its crew on the coast. Diego de Guzman's account was filed by Nuño de Guzman in the suit in Madrid, 1-1-2/21, Part I. He left Culiacan August 4, 1533, and in September reached the Yaqui River which he named the San Francisco. November 23, on his return, he discovered some relics of dead Christians and heard from an Indian woman that fifteen of them had been killed while asleep at a place five days' journey distant. He afterwards found farther south the Indian town where they were said to have been killed, or the river on which it was located, probably the Fuerte. This expedition was subsequent to that of Hurtado and it was for this reason that Cortés claimed prior rights.

17. *See* his letters from Tehuantepec of January 25, and February 10, 1533, 1-1-2/16, No. 1, R. 11-13, Gayangos, 515, 521 and 525.

18. A full account of the events of Becerra's expedition up to this point is contained in an *Informacion* drawn up in December, 1533, at the request of Juan de Carasa, the purser of this ship; most of the survivors who had been landed testified. 2-2-1/1 R. 52.

19. Gómara, 427, makes a definite statement that Ximenez was killed where Cortés afterwards made his camp. One hesitates to question such an authority as Gómara who should have known what he was talking about, but Cortés' own failure to mention the fact in any of his numerous petitions creates some doubt about it. He in fact insisted that Becerra had discovered some country which could hardly have been any other than this, although Becerra did not discover the peninsula, or any island near it, as we now know positively from the Carasa *Informacion.* It is just possible that Cortés used Becerra's name inadvisedly for that of Ximenez.

20. According to Navarrete a copy of some declarations made in Mexico before the Audiencia, perhaps in 1537 or 1538, and which contain some details about this expedition, exists in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. *See* his Introduction to the voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana,* Madrid, 1802.

21. 1-1-2/21, Part 4a, presented before the Council by Guzman himself March 6, 1540. The testimony is most interesting. Most of the witnesses were asked the name Cortés bestowed on his camp and they all said they knew of none other than Santa Cruz.

22. 1-1-2/21, Part 9a. In a petition of September 4, 1539.

23. *Relacion,* first edition, Zamora 1542, second edition, Valladolid 1555.

24. First made in his petition to the Audiencia of September 4, 1539.

25. A recent publication by William H. Babcock, *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic,* New York 1922, gives an interesting account of this legend.

26. *Coronado Expedition,* 472.

27. Icaza, *Dicc.,* No. 1323.

28. *Segunda relacion anónima,* Icaz. *Docs.* II, 303.

29. All the writer could find about this interesting character was published in his *Spanish Southwest.*

30. His story has been frequently translated from the Italian version published in 1556 by Ramusio.

31. Letter of Fr. Jerónimo Ximénez de San Estéban dated October 9, 1539, *Nueva coleccion,* I, 194.

32. This resumé of the history of the Coronado expedition has been largely taken from Winship's *Coronado Expedition.*

33. That such is the case can be inferred from two letters Cortés wrote to Mendoza from Cuernavaca dated July 26 and August 6, 1539. In the first he answers a letter from Mendoza which evidently contained some news from Niza. These letters were filed by Mendoza in the suit which Cortés brought before the Audiencia September 4, with the evident purpose of discrediting statements which Cortés was apparently even then making that he himself had furnished Niza with the information which the latter brought back. This is proved by the fact that Mendoza had Niza appear September 2, and make a declaration that before he had set out on his journey he had not received any information whatever from Cortés about the country which he discovered. He added that if Cortés had really known about it he would never have sent his ships to Peru (as he did in 1536). 1-1-2/21 Part 2a. The document was filed by the Council's legal adviser, Villalobos, in Cortés' suit in Spain, October 14, 1540.

34. 1-1-2/21, 9a.

35. The reason for this was the return of the *Santo Tomás,* one of Ulloa's vessels which had become separated from the others. Cortés maintained that this left Ulloa short of men and supplies. See also his petition of November 20, in the same *legajo.*

36. These documents in 1-1-2/21, mostly in Part 2a. The order of June 25, 1540, was in reality issued as three cedulas, two to Mendoza, July 10 and 19, and one to the Audiencia, July 27, but their tenor is the same, not to interfere with Cortés' discoveries in the South Sea. 1-1-2/16 No. 2 R. 49 (all 3). This order must have resulted from a remarkable protest delivered by Cortés to the Council June 25, that is, the same day as the order was made. It is in 1-1-2/21, Part 2a, and is printed in the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España,* Vol. IV, 1844.

37. The exact date of his departure does not seem to be known. He was in Vera Cruz December 23, when his representative, Alvaro Ruiz, presented another petition to the Audiencia again asking a license to send one or more ships to Ulloa's aid. He complained that the officials in Guatulco had taken away from the *Santo Tomás,* the sails, the oars and the rudder. He asserted that Cortés had sent to Guatemala and to other places for some soldiers whose salary he was now paying, and who were then in Tehuantepec. Some ships there were ready to depart with these under the command of Bernardo de la Torre. There were also others of experience and capacity to go with him. He also declared that news had been received that Pedro de Alvarado was preparing a force with which he intended to invade the northern part of Mexico and asked that a stringent order be sent him to keep out of it. This the Audiencia readily agreed to and decreed that an order be sent Alvarado to that effect, but a license to send a ship to Ulloa's assistance was again refused, although the request regarding the vessel in Guatulco was granted. 1-1-2/21, Part 2a (25).

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

Bibliographical Note

The first published account of the Ulloa expedition appeared in a very short chapter of Francisco Lopez de Gómara's work, *Conquista de Mexico*. We have no definite information about the various sources from which Gómara obtained his facts, but it is usually supposed that these were the published letters of Cortés or information obtained from him. This was not entirely the case, however, especially for the latter part. Most of the work was finished about 1541, while the end, which contains an account of Cortés' death, could not of course have been written until after that event. Of the intervening period little is said, perhaps because the subject which Gómara was treating had been practically covered. We are therefore left at a loss to know where he obtained his account of this voyage.

In 1556 an extended account of the expedition appeared in Italian in the third volume of Ramusio's *Navigationi*. This purports to have been written by Francisco Preciado, whose name will be found as a witness to several of the *actas* of possession attached to Ulloa's narrative. It has much the form of a diary and at the end Preciado states that it was finished May 17 in Santiago de Buena Esperanza. As Preciado was a Spaniard he wrote in all probability in the Spanish language, but, if so, the original text has disappeared. Some of the chapter headings in Ramusio's translation could not possibly have been made up from the text, nor is it likely that he had any other information about the voyage, as, if he had, he would have corrected some of Preciado's obvious errors. The inference then is that he translated the account from one published in Spanish, which had chapter headings made up from different sources. This version was translated by Richard Hakluyt and published in 1600 in the third volume of his *Principal Navigations*. Hakluyt made several interesting interpolations, chiefly the word "California" several times, and one at the end regarding the movements of Ulloa subsequent to leaving Cedros, an important addition, elsewhere referred to. Antonio de Herrera inserted quite an account of the expedition, taken entirely from that of Preciado (presumably from the pages of Ramusio), in *Caps.* VIII-X of *Lib.* IX, *Dec.* VI of his *Historia* published in 1615.

A few years ago an account of the expedition written by Ulloa himself was discovered in the Archivo de Indias in Seville in 1-1-2/20 No. 5, R. 11. The document, of thirty-five small folio leaves written on both sides, is in the form of a legalized copy made in Mexico City May 29, 1540, for the purposes expressed in the preamble. A copy was brought to this country to which a reference has since been made by several writers who were under the mistaken impression that it had been written by Pedro de Palencia, a clerk who accompanied the expedition. Palencia, however, had nothing to do with writing it so far as known, but simply drew up the various *actas* of possession made by

Ulloa which are appended to the narrative. These *actas* were no doubt on different sheets of paper and in copying them in Mexico the order of the first two became reversed. The document has become separated from those which originally accompanied it. From its nature it seems that it was filed by Cortés as an exhibit in the famous *Proceso* over the rights of discovery in the north. Unfortunately, the lower part of the first leaf is torn off with the resulting loss of several lines which evidently contained some account of the maps made by Ulloa's pilots. The text is extremely difficult to read and required the combined efforts of Miss Irene A. Wright, who has made this translation, and the experts in the archives, to make anything out of some of it. Indeed, parts were so illegible as to defy satisfactory translation.

A leaf of paper exists in the archives in Seville with a notice of this voyage. The only statements of any interest in it are that Ulloa discovered the Islas de Tiburones and that his account fell into the hands of Mendoza, who, seeing that at the end of the gulf there might be a river by which one could reach the "Seven Cities," sent Alarcon to discover it. (Printed in *Docs. inéd. Esp.* IV, 218.)

Some collateral information has been obtained regarding the expedition from a calendar of some thirteen hundred and eighty-five *relaciones de servicios* of individuals prominent in the conquest of Mexico or in the period immediately following, which was published in 1922 at the expense of the Mexican Government. The work was prepared by Francisco A. de Icaza and in his Introduction a vague reference occurs to the various *legajos* in the archives in Seville in which these documents are supposed to exist. A careful search, however, has developed the fact that few of them can now be found. It moreover appears that Icaza found in 87-5-1 a ready-made calendar in a sixteenth century handwriting of a number of *relaciones* which he copied bodily into his list. So far it has not been possible to find a single one of the originals of these, although a few others concerning the same individuals have been located. These contain different facts and are therefore not identical with those calendared by Icaza. In the original list which he copied there are fifty-six entries relating to the expedition of Cortés to California and five to that of Ulloa. The list seems to have been drawn up about 1552 in connection with some scheme for redistribution of *encomiendas* of Indians, and if so, all of the *relaciones* must have been presented previous to that date. Many of them mention facts which prove that they were drawn up between 1547 and 1550. What seems to have occurred is that the original documents were never sent to Spain, the calendar being thought sufficient, and that they were therefore ultimately destroyed in the fire in the Palace of Mexico in 1692.

The only other documents bearing on this expedition which the writer has found in the archives are those in 1-1-2/21, Part 2a, relating to the return of the *Santo Tomás*. Cortés frequently referred to it in his various petitions and memorials but never gave any details concerning it to the writer's knowledge.

Boundary between Mexico and the United States
LOWER
CALIFORNIA
GULF
OF
CALIFORNIA
M E X
Pt. Loma
Ensenada
Pt. San Miguel
Pt. Baja
Pt. Antonio
Bluff Pt.
Pt. Canoas
Rocky Pt.
Lagoon Hd.
Pt. Malarrimo
Morro Hermoso
Abreojos
Pt. San Eugenio
Pt. San Bartolome
Pt. San Fermin
C. San Quentin
Digg Pt.
Calamahue or Sta. Catalina Mt.
Cape Colnett
Pt. San Miguel
Pt. Banda
San Jose Pt.
San Isidro Pt.
Pt. Rosario
Remedios Pt.
Rancs Pt.
Angel de la Guarda I.
C. Lobos
C. Tepoca
San Ignacio R.
C. S. Miguel
Sa. Gabriel Pt.
Rino Pt.
C. Virgenes
C. Chivato
Chivato Pt.
Concepcion Pt.
San Ignacio Lagoon
Pulpito Pt.
Mangles Pt.
Sn. Domingo Pt.
Pt. San Juanico
Loreto
Carmen I.
Sta. Catalina I.
Monserrate I.
Pt. San Ignacio
Sn. Marcial Pt.
Sn. Telmo Pt.
Nopolo Pt.
C. San Lazaro
Mechudo Hd.
MAGDALENA BAY
Almejas Bay
Sta. Margarita
Coyote Pt.
Espiritu Santo I.
Ceralbo I.
Marquis Pt.
Pescaderos Pt.
Arena Pt.
Los Frailes
Cape San Lucas
Variation increasing 6' annually
Rio Mayo R.
R. Alan
Rio del Fu
Estero de Tastiola
Tiburon
Sn. Miguel Pt.
Sn. Esteban I.
Sn. Pedro Mtr. I.
Sn. Pedro Nolasco I.
Sn. Lorenzo I.
Sn. Pedro Bay
Sn. Carlos Bay
Trinidad Pt.
Sn. Juan Bautista Bay
Sn. Ana Bay
Sn. Maria Cove
Sn. Rosalia
Sn. Marcos I.
Sn. Lucas Cove
Concepcion Bay
Sn. Nicolas Bay
Sn. Basilio Bay
Sn. Ines Bay
Sn. Pablo Bay
Sn. Bruno Bay
Sn. Hipolito Bay
Sn. Cristobal Bay
Sn. Juanico Bay
Pequeña Bay
Loreto Anch.
Port Escondido
Boca Comondu
Boca de las Animas
Boca de Sn. Domingo
Boca de Soledad
Agua Verde Bay
Sn. Francisquito Bay
Sn. Thomas Bay
Sn. Jose I.
Espiritu Santo B.
Almejas B.
Coyote Bay
Sta. Maria Bay
Marquis Bay
Pescaderos Bay
Arena Bay
Los Frailes Bay
Sn. Pedro
Sn. Cristobal
Sn. Jose del Cabo Bay
Sn. Lucas Bay
Todos Santos
Sn. Jose del Cabo
Sn. Lucas
Sn. Ignacio
Paradise
Sn. Diego I.
Las Animas
Sta. Cruz I.
Sn. Francisco
Sn. Diego
Sn. Ignacio
Sn. Jose
Sn. Marcial
Sn. Telmo
Sn. Cristobal
Sn. Lucas
Sn. Pedro
Sn. Jose del Cabo
Sn. Lucas

Cartographical Note

The maps reproduced herewith form only a very small part of the number issued during the sixteenth century that display the discoveries of Ulloa, but as they are the earliest, they have been selected to illustrate the progress of his voyage. Many of the names he gave persisted in the cartography of the peninsula until maps appeared showing the results achieved by Vizcaino, and indeed some of them were even retained mixed up with his. It is plain that one or other of the two maps which Ulloa and his pilots made reached the *Casa de Contratacion* in Seville and from it his discoveries were incorporated in the general map. The reason for making this assumption is that they appear on the Cabot map (Plate IV), and also on that made by Sancho Gutierrez of 1551. This latter map in many respects is the same as the Cabot map, thus affording some assurance that they were both copied from the general map. The Gutierrez map has been only recently discovered in the old Royal Library in Vienna. Photographs of the American section were brought to this country by Dr. Waldemar Westergaard, who kindly loaned them to the writer. Although this part of the map does not show the signature or the date, Dr. Westergaard states that he was assured that it is dated 1551 and signed by Gutierrez on another part of the map.

It is not easy to account for the Agnese map of 1542. It could hardly have been taken from the general map, and the supposition presents itself that it was made from some account of the voyage. The appearance on the map of one or two names not found in either of the accounts of Ulloa or Preciado arouses a suspicion that still another account of the voyage existed and had been printed.

PLATE II

From a photograph, somewhat reduced, of a manuscript map in the Archivo de Indias in Seville, stated by Pedro Torres Lanzas in his catalogue of *Mapas, Planos, etc. de Mexico y Floridas,* to have been found accompanying the *acta* of possession by Cortés at Santa Cruz. The *acta,* dated May 3, 1535, is in 1-1-2/21, Part 9a, and was filed in Madrid in the suit over the rights of discovery in the north March 7, 1540. The map was probably made after Ulloa returned to Mexico in 1536 or 1537 to show the extent of the explorations of Cortés and his men up to that time. It may be noted that the island in front of the harbor of the Baia de Santa Cruz is named "perlas" and not San Miguel or San Cristóbal as named by Cortés himself in May, 1535. The map is of interest as showing that Cabo San Lucas had already been discovered, but from the peculiar prolongation of the coast to the west from a point about opposite the Baia de Santa Cruz, it is obvious that but little of the coast had been seen. On the Sinaloa side a short extension of the coast appears north of the San Pablo and San Pedro, two rivers shown separately, which it might appear from the map were supposed to be the one now known as the "Fuerte" and either the Oguirre or Alamos. The corrections, evidently contemporary, of the names of the two rivers to the south of these, show that this original conception was probably erroneous, or at least was considered to be so at the time the corrections were made, and that the San Pablo and San Pedro were really the Sinaloa. The name "Petatan" (an error for "Petatlan") was one applied by Lope de Samaniego to the Sinaloa, when he discovered it some distance above its mouth in 1531, and Remedios was farther south, not a river but a port.

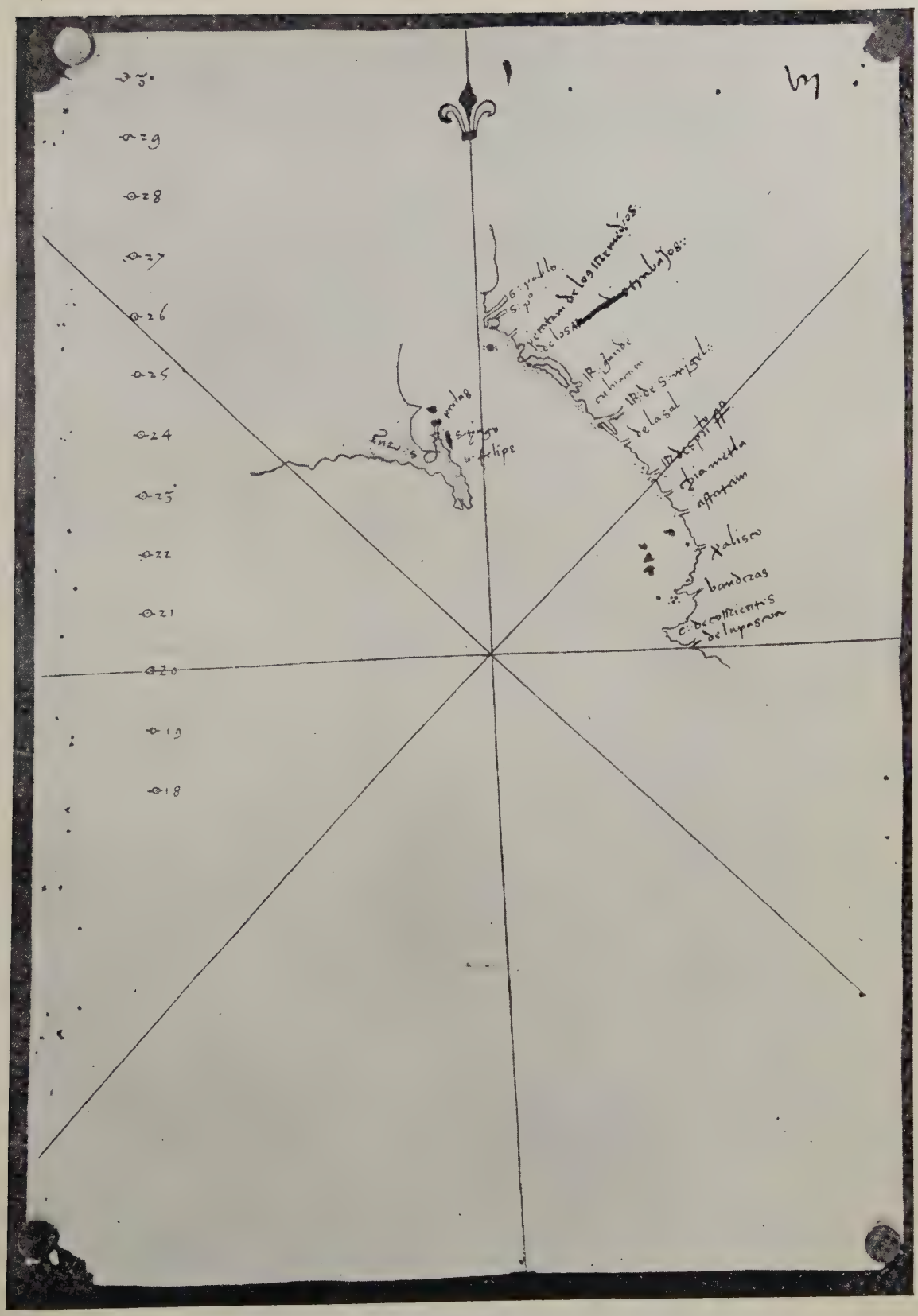


PLATE II

PLATE III

PLATE III

From a photograph, original size, of a section of the manuscript map of Alonso de Santa Cruz, as reproduced by E. W. Dahlgren in 1892, from the only one known, now in the Royal Library at Stockholm. The map is dated 1542 and is drawn in thirty-six gores, divided between two hemispheres north and south. Above the Gulf of California, in which various islands appear, is a legend which translated reads: "The land to which Don Antonio de Mendoza sent out to discover," and at the lower end of the peninsula, which here appears as an island, is another: "The island which the Marqués del Valle discovered." Dahlgren was of the opinion that the map shows no discoveries after 1539 and this seems obvious from a simple inspection. The first legend indicates plainly enough that when Santa Cruz made the map he knew that Marcos de Niza had set out on an expedition and had not returned, or else he was ignorant of Niza's journey and referred to the expedition of Coronado. Niza's return was known in Spain in 1540, and Santa Cruz should have been aware of the fact by 1542. The same can be said of the voyage of Ulloa, of which no trace exists on the map, although his discoveries were known in Spain in 1541. The map must then have been copied from one made in the early part of 1540.

Our main interest in this map lies in the complete severance of the lower part of the Peninsula of California to make an island, thus illustrating the views which were undoubtedly current for some years after it was discovered. No name is applied to this island, nor to three other small ones located in the gulf proper on that side. The peculiar circular form of the gulf appears to indicate that the whole of this part of the map is imaginary, the only fact which Santa Cruz knew being that a body of water extended to the north between the coast of New Spain proper and some land to the west which consisted of three small islands, and a large one separated by a narrow strait from some continental land to the north. This is the only sixteenth century map that the writer has seen which displays a long peninsula at the end of which is a large island, except possibly one he saw in the Department de Marine in Paris some years ago. This was a large manuscript map of about this period and where the Peninsula of California is now located were some words at its lower end which to the best of the writer's recollection referred to it as being an island in which pearls were found. Desiring to examine it at leisure an order was given to have it photographed but the Department has refused to give permission to do so, although granting other similar requests.

As contemporary with this map may be noted the globe belonging to the New York Historical Society dated 1542 and made by Euphrosynus Ulpius, probably in Rome. A photograph of most of the American part of the globe was inserted in Winship's *Coronado Expedition.* A description of it, written by B. F. Da Costa, can be read in the number for January, 1879, of the Magazine of American History, and another in Vol. I of Dr. Edward L. Stevenson's work, *Terrestrial and Celestial Globes,* New Haven, 1921. A few names: "Maratta," "Avis" (probably an error for "Acus"), "Tontonsac" (that is, "Tontonteac") and "Civola" show that knowledge of Niza's expedition in 1539 had penetrated to Europe by the time this globe was made. Da Costa claims that the Peninsula of California is not shown but as Ulpius knew of the Niza expedition it seems strange that he had not heard of the discoveries of Cortés, which antedated those of Niza by several years. In June, 1924, the writer made a careful inspection of the globe and found that on the west coast at about 25° a bay is shown which enters the land to the north. The coast line then continues some two degrees more to the north where it ends abruptly. The size of the bay more or less corresponds to the information which had been obtained regarding the gulf by 1537, but no island is shown, such as we would expect to find if the globe had been intended to represent the discoveries of Cortés.

PLATE IV

From a photograph of a small section of the famous Cabot planisphere, of which the only known copy is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The map was first reproduced by M. Jomard in his *Monuments de la Geographie,* Paris, 1842-62, and afterwards, much reduced, by Winship in the *Coronado Expedition.* In spite of one of the legends in the margin which expressly states that the map was made in 1544 by Sebastian Cabot, many writers have asserted that it was engraved somewhere in the north of Europe and that Cabot had little or nothing to do with it. Whoever drew it had Ulloa's map or maps and no later information about that part of the world as it contains no record of the Alarcon expedition of the following year. Furthermore, it is the only map on which we find only names referred to in either the Ulloa or Preciado narrative, except the two farthest north on the west coast; "ỹs: de caçenes" and "cº de lengagno," where the coast line ends. This cape is placed in nearly 32°, while the mouth of the Colorado River is in a little short of 34°. No names are shown on the eastern side of the peninsula, although islands are strung promiscuously along the shore. The Colorado appears with two mouths, one of which has a name evidently intended to represent "Mar Bermejo." The "Ancon de S. Andres" is between the two branches of the river and might be considered to be applied to the one on the east. On the Sonora shore all of Ulloa's names are shown.

The numerous errors of the map indicate that it was engraved by someone who did not know the Spanish language and the supposition that this work was done in northern Europe is therefore probably correct. The map is essentially Spanish, however, and the topography delineated on it indicates that it was wholly or in part a copy of the general map in the *Casa de Contratacion,* made about 1541, when the news of Ulloa's discoveries reached Seville. That this is the approximate date is also demonstrated by the fact that the map shows the discoveries south of the Strait of Magellan made by Alonso de Camargo's ship, which returned in 1541. (Sir Clements Markham's *Early Spanish Voyages to the Strait of Magellan,* London, 1911, p. 150 *et seq.*)

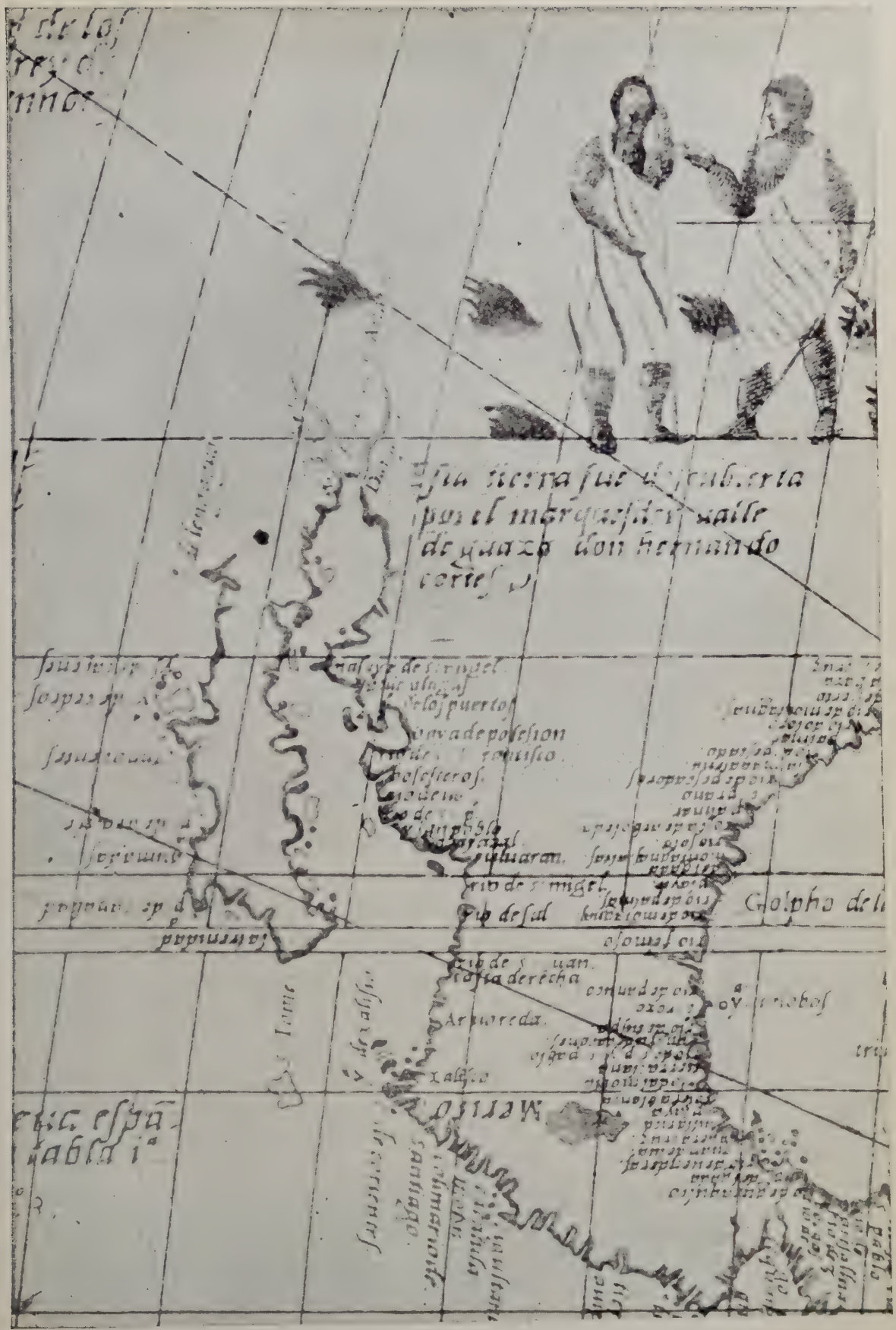


PLATE IV

CIRCVLVS ARTICVS
TROPICVS CANCRI
INSVLE MALVCHE
AEQVINOCTIALIS
TROPICVS CAPRICORNI
CIRCVLVS ANTARTICVS
INDICVM MARE
CAPVT BONAE SPERANZAE

Plate V

PLATE V

From Plate XXIV of the *Periplus* of A. E. Nordenskiöld, who reproduced the map from a portolan atlas in the Royal Library at Stockholm. The atlas does not contain a map like Plates V and VI, but has one similar to those, except that the Peninsula of California is not shown, indicating that it was made before May, 1542, and before an account of the exploration of Ulloa had reached the author, who is supposed to have been Battista Agnese, from the general similarity of the maps to those known to have been made by him.

The principal point of interest in the map herewith reproduced is the group of islands in the Pacific opposite "s. michel" and labeled "y. de fernãdo cortese." On the north of the mainland are some names from the account of Niza, even including his "nuevo regno de s francesco." The map cannot be earlier than 1540, nor later than 1542, as in that year Agnese produced a map, Plate VI, which shows Ulloa's discoveries. It was therefore probably made about 1541. The outline of North America is intermediate between that of the 1536 maps of Agnese and the one adopted after the Peninsula of California appeared on his maps of 1542. In an atlas in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, also made by Agnese, is a map almost identical with this, showing Niza's names but not the islands.

PLATE VI

From a photograph, original size, of a manuscript map in a portolan atlas in the Morgan Library, New York. One of the maps is signed "Battista Agnese," and dated May 15, 1542.

Agnese was an Italian cartographer living in Venice who made a large number of manuscript portolan atlases still in existence, ranging in date from 1536 to 1564, besides a number of undated ones. It seems very likely that this is his earliest portrayal of California, the undated ones which show it being later. There is an atlas in the Huntington Library in San Marino which contains a map almost exactly like this, only on a somewhat larger scale. The delineation of the gulf and the peninsula is different from that of the Cabot map and resembles in some respects that of Castillo (Plate VIII). The nomenclature is Spanish, indicating a direct derivation from a Spanish source. Some errors occurred in copying and a few names will be found which cannot be traced either to the Ulloa or Preciado narratives, but as they are descriptive, they probably appeared on the original map. There is no indication that any were derived from accounts of the Alarcon expedition. Beginning at the San Pablo and the San Pedro on the mainland coast and reading the names with the abbreviations written out, around the gulf and up the west coast, we have the following: Rio Albosedo, San Francisco, Puertos, Punta Tabursa, Isla Blanca, Puerto Escondido, Baia Canoas, Baia de Los S., Santa Cruz, Punta Balenas, Laguna de Santa Catalina, Baia de San Abad, Punta de las Ancoras, Basos, Islas Innocentes (?), La Madalena, Isla Riparo, Los Cazones and Punta Engaño. Albosedo appears to be a mistake for "Arboledo" and Tabursa for "Tiburon." Madalena seems to be applied to Natividad. This name also occurs on the Homem map of 1568 (Plate IX), but it there apparently represents one of the San Benito group.

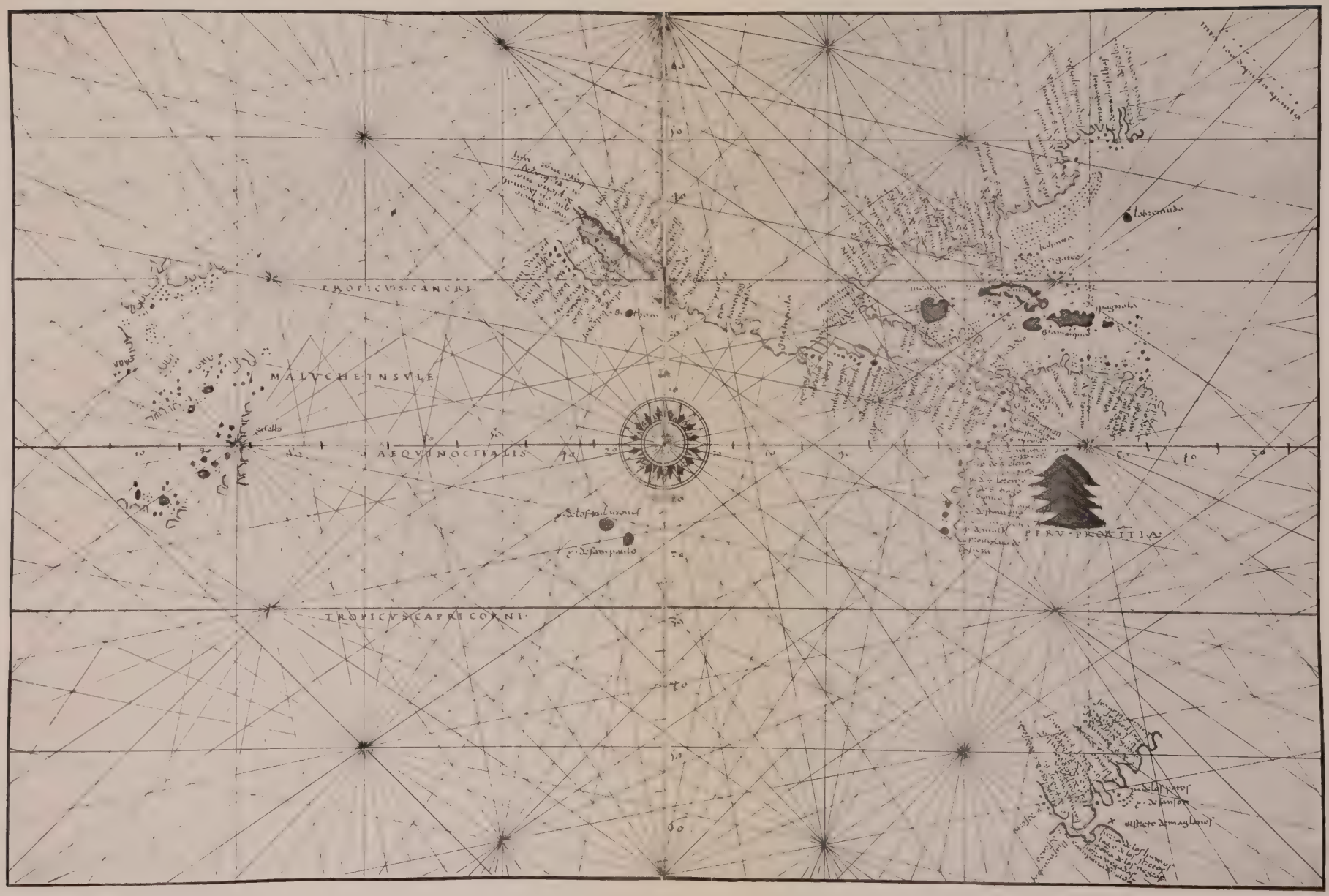

TROPICVS CANCRI
MALVCHE INSVLE
AEQVINOCTIALIS
PERV PROVINCIA
TROPICVS CAPRICORNI

Plate VI

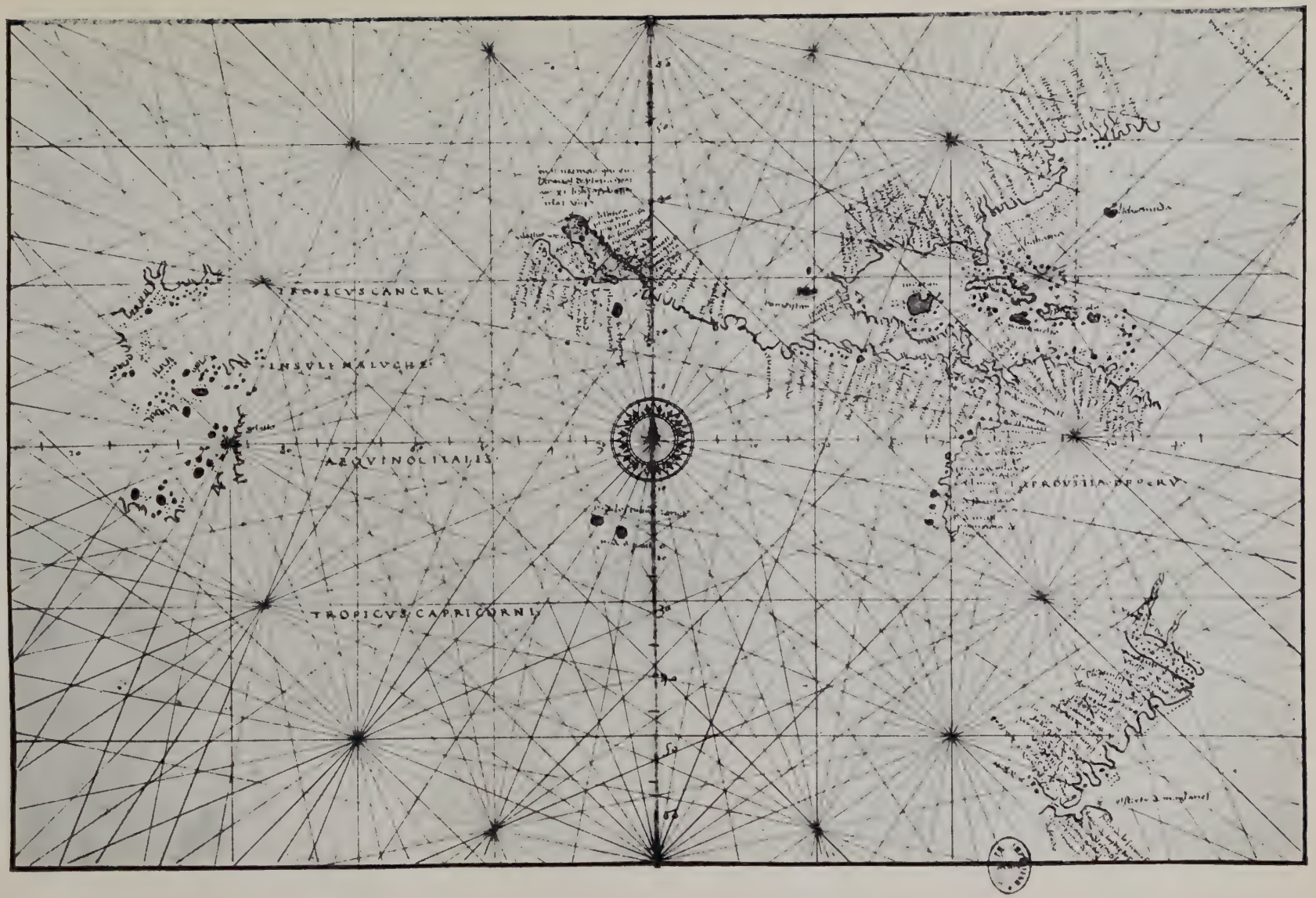

TROPICVS CANCRI
INSVLE MALUCHE
EQVINOCTIALIS
TROPICVS CAPRICORNI

Plate VII

PLATE VII

From a photograph, the size of the original, of a map in a manuscript portolan atlas in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. One of the maps is dated June 25, 1543, and signed by Battista Agnese.

This map shows a few changes from the one reproduced in Plate VI, the most noticeable one being the addition of an almost undecipherable name on the northwest coast of the gulf. This from later maps can be made out to be the "Puerto de San Cristobal," the origin of which has not been discovered. Santa Cruz has also been inserted on the Sinaloa coast north of San Pablo, and there are a few corruptions. In this form the map was reproduced for a number of years and it is probable that nearly all the later makers of sixteenth century maps took from this the nomenclature of the peninsula.

PLATE VIII

From a photograph, slightly reduced, of a map in Francisco Antonio Lorenzana's *Historia de Nueva España,* Mexico, 1770, which purports to have been made by Domingo del Castillo in Mexico in 1541. He had not accompanied Ulloa but was one of Alarcon's pilots and the map primarily depicts his discoveries. Castillo had, however, some map of the Ulloa expedition which he used as a model for that part of the peninsula Alarcon had not visited. His map contains numerous errors, not only in the topography, but also in the nomenclature, errors especially noticeable on that part of the Sinaloa coast previously known. The extreme unreliability of the map has been remarked and it has been suggested that when engraved it was badly copied from the original. As an illustration of the errors it is sufficient to point out that the name "Punta de Santiago" has evidently been shifted from the Sinaloa coast to the southwestern cape of the peninsula. Cedros appears as a "Puerto de Reparo" and north of that two islands are shown with the name "Punta de Cazones."

Altogether, the map is far inferior to the Cabot map and the writer's belief is that Castillo constructed it largely for the purpose of belittling the discoveries of Ulloa and magnifying those of Alarcon. Ulloa's Ancon de San Andrés, that is, the mouth of the Colorado River, is moved down from about 34°, where the mouth of the river appears on the map, to a point on the Sonora coast in about 31°, and Cabo de Engaño is in about 27½°, the end of the coast.

The map has been reproduced a number of times, as it has acquired considerable celebrity owing to the fact that it bears the name "California" lengthwise on the lower end of the peninsula. It is therefore usually characterized as the earliest map to show the name. That the original had borne the name may be doubted as it would be nothing unusual if the name had been added when the map was engraved in 1770.

Este Mapa esta sacado de el Original que para en el Estado de el Marques de el Valle: Enlo alto pone una Ciudad, que estorazes o por Relaciones se creio cierta i la llamaron Quivira. En la desembocadura del Rio Colorado en el Golfo de Californias pone dos Rios el uno le llama de Buena Guia, i puede ser el Colorado el otro de Miraflores, ipuede ser el Gila que incorporados en una Madre entran en el Seno de Californias.

PLATE VIII

Plate IX

PLATE IX

From a photograph, original size, of a section of a manuscript map in an atlas made by Diego de Homem and dated 1568, taken from a reproduction by Hantzsch and Schmidt in their *Kartographische Denkmäler zur Entdeckungsgeschichte von Amerika,* Leipzig, 1903. The original atlas is in the Royal Library in Dresden, and contains a number of very beautiful maps. Homen paid great attention to the geography of the regions depicted, and in 1558 had made a map of California, now in the British Museum, which unfortunately has no names north of the lower part of the peninsula, although it extends as far perhaps as to 40° of North latitude.

This map, herewith reproduced, seems to have been taken from some Spanish original different from those on which the Cabot, Castillo and Agnese maps were based. Although made in 1568 it shows no traces of the Cabrillo expedition, but seems to show those of some expedition along the coast north of Cabo Engaño, which may have been that of Ulloa in the *Trinidad.* The map is so much more accurate than other early maps that it may be safe to identify the places named on this part of the coast. Almost opposite the north end of Cedros is C. tiburon with a small island just south of it. These can hardly be anything but Rocky Point and Elide Islet, as named on U. S. charts. C. del enganho with its island opposite would be Punta Antonio and San Gerónimo, the Laguna de los apostoles and its island to the south would be Puerto San Quentin and San Marcos, and the B. de Sa Joan perhaps Bahia Colnett or Bahia Santo Tomás.

NOTES

1. This coast was known to the Spaniards in the sixteenth century as that of Nueva España, just why is uncertain but possibly to distinguish it from that part of the coast now included in the states of Sinaloa and Jalisco, and then usually referred to as Nueva Galicia, Acaponeta, Culiacan, Colima, etc. During this period the word "California" or "Californias" was not in use except to represent the peninsula, and first only a point or island or sometimes a port at the lower end. The extension of the name to include what is here called the "northwest coast" did not occur in Spanish documents until much later. In the latter part of the seventeenth century the region was sometimes referred to as "The Californias," an expression which did not mean Baja California and Alta California together, but was simply a relic of the time when "Californias" stood for "Islas Californias." This term originated very early, probably at the time when the lower end of the peninsula was thought to be an island. It may be of interest to note here the various names which were applied to this by followers of Cortés, who accompanied him to Santa Cruz, in their *relaciones de servicios* made about 1550. In the *Diccionario* of Icaza there are fifty-six of these and among them we find the following expressions:

a la isla, 25.
a las islas, 1.
a la isla California, 17.
a la California, 5.
a la tierra nueva with Cortés, 3.
a una tierra en la mar del sur, 1.
al descubrimiento, 1.
en la jornada, 1.
a la isla del cardon, 1.
a las islas de cardoñas, 1.

2. *See* Note 33 to the Introduction. After Cortés arrived in Spain he presented to the Council in Madrid, June 25, 1540, a petition in which he reiterated this charge at some length. He claimed that Niza had repeated to Mendoza what he told him and as a result Mendoza had sent Niza to the north to hunt for the "Seven Cities." He denied that Niza had ever seen them and stigmatized the Franciscan as a notorious liar. 1-1-2/21 Part 2a page 5.

3. That the notion that Cortés' land of Santa Cruz was an island was current in 1539 can be seen on the map of Alonso de Santa Cruz and that of Battista Agnese in the Royal Library at Stockholm, Plates III and V.

4. In the heading to Preciado's account in Ramusio it is stated that the *Santa Agueda* was of 240 *botte,* the *Trinidad* of 70, and the *Santo Tomás* of 40. A *botte* was an old Italian liquid measure. In translating these figures Hakluyt evidently considered that a *botte* was equal to half an English ton, as he divided the above figures by two and called the result tons. The *Santa Agueda* was the *capitana,* the *Trinidad* the *almiranta.*

5. Fray Raimundo's signature appears attached to several of the *actas.* He probably signed his name to each in the same way but so poorly that the copyist could not clearly make them out, as he has transcribed this word in different ways: Anyelibus and Amilinus.

6. The most important information contained in the statements of these men follows. They were all made about 1547 to 1550, so far as can be ascertained from their statements:

"Francisco Preciado (the author of the account in Ramusio) deposed that he was a native of Molino da Aragon and a citizen of Colima. His father had been a servant of Ferdinand and Isabella and had taken part in the war of Granada and others. He had come to New Spain sixteen years before, and was married to a daughter of Alonso de Arevalo, and had three daughters and a son, and a settled abode. He said that he had accompanied an expedition with a fleet which Cortés had made on a voyage of discovery in the South Sea.

Francisco de Terrazas, the younger, deposed that he was a native of Llerena and had come to New Spain eighteen years before, in company with his father, Alonso de Vera. He had accompanied Cortés to California, and afterwards Ulloa in the capacity of *veedor.* He had not married as he had no means to support a wife.

Juan de Montaño deposed that he was a native of Portogalete in Vizcaya and had come to New Spain seventeen years before. He had gone with Cortés to the Isla California, and afterwards with Ulloa on his voyage of discovery in the South Sea. He was married and had a daughter. He declared that he had had a royal order for his support which he had given to Lic. Altamirano, who had lost it.

Gonzalo Hidalgo de Montemayor deposed that he was a native of Villanueva de la Serena and a *regidor* of the city of Los Angeles (i. e., Puebla) and had come to New Spain

fourteen years before. He had gone with Cortés to the New Land, and afterwards with Ulloa on his voyage of discovery. He was married and had three daughters and two sons.

Martin de Espinosa deposed that he was a native of Espinosa de los Monteros and had come to New Spain seventeen years before. He had gone to the Isla de California with Cortés, and afterwards with Ulloa to discover in the South Sea. He had a settled abode and a salary from Cortés.

7. Cortés in his petition referred to in Note 2 stated that this occurred at Santiago but from the letter of Juan de Toledo in which he tells Cortés what Manuel Alfonso had written him, it appears that the man was put ashore at Acapulco. 1-1-2/21, Part 2a, page 65.

8. In his petition cited in Note 2.

9. Various letters written by the pilot, Vicente Lorenzo and Juan de Toledo regarding this affair are to be found in 1-1-2/21, Part 2a.

10. Mendoza wrote Cortés a letter December 8, 1539, making him a kind of apology for this proceeding. The original was filed by Cortés in his suit, July 25, 1540. It is in 1-1-2/21, Part 2a, page 67.

11. *Conquista de la Nueva España* II, 418.

12. In a memorial written after the Argel campaign, probably in 1542, printed in *Escritos Sueltos,* 320.

13. 51-6-5/22, printed by Cuevas in his *Cartas* No. XXXV. The declaration was made May 17.

14. This strange stray document which is printed in Vol. IV of the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la Historia de la España,* page 218, seems to have been taken from various sources.

15. In the document referred to in the preceding note Ulloa is said to have discovered some islands called "Tiburones," that is, Shark Islands. *Cazones* are small sharks, usually called dog-fish. The similarity of meaning would lead us to believe that the islands were the same. As *cazones* are extremely common in the Bahia de Sebastian Vizcaino in front of which lies Cedros, it seems on the whole likely that the Cazones or Tiburones were Cedros and Natividad, or the Islas de San Esteban as Ulloa named them.

16. Plates IV and V.

17. *See* Homem's map, Plate IX.

18. Mexico City.

19. The map unfortunately is lost. Apparently two were made judging from what is left of the paragraph referring to them.

20. As Castellon returned on the *Santa Agueda,* the pilot who went on must have been Pedro de Bermes as Preciado names him as one of the two.

21. Attention is called in various notes attached to the narrative to the errors in the observations of latitude noted by Ulloa. The farther north he went the greater the errors. This was not a fault peculiar to Ulloa's pilots but was a common one in the sixteenth century and was chiefly due to errors in the tables of declination of the sun then in use. Depending on which statement we use, whether that of the *acta* or that of Ulloa, the error at the mouth of the Colorado was from 1° 45′ to 2° 15′, whereas at Cabo San Lucas the error was very trifling.

22. As spelled in the narrative throughout.

23. Now one of the small ports in the Bahia de Manzanillo.

24. As has been seen the *Santo Tomás* was not lost.

25. In spite of the assertions of Manuel Orozco y Berra, H. H. Bancroft and other writers that no island existed here there is abundant reliable contemporary evidence that there was one, with this name with some variations, on the coast in the sixteenth century, between the Mocorito and Culiacan rivers. It was a long, narrow sand-bar covered with chaparral about a mile from the mainland, and at low tide the passage between seems to have been dry. A port of Guayaval is sometimes referred to in documents of that day which may have been where Altata is now located, just north of the mouth of the Culiacan.

26. Hakluyt adds the words: "In California," which are not in the Ramusio text.

27. Isla de Ceralvo.

28. Isla del Espiritu Santo. This island had been named either San Miguel or San Cristóbal by Cortés but on his own map it appears as "Las Perlas." Its further identification is rendered certain by the reference to it in the misplaced passage in the account of Preciado, hereafter referred to in Notes 78 and 90, in which Isla de las Perlas is certainly Espiritu Santo. Furthermore, Preciado at the end of Chapter VI refers to the Isla de Perlas in the same way as Ulloa. The Hakluyt translation reads: "called Isla de Perlas lying over against *the point of California supposed to be* firme land." The words in italics are interpolated.

29. The vessel probably grounded in the San Lorenzo Channel but it might have been on the sand-bar at the south end of the Isla de San Juan Nepomúceno.

30. The Puerto de Santa Cruz must have been the small harbor now known as Pichilingue in 24° 15′ between the mainland and San Juan Nepomúceno. The entrance is from the south and there is plenty of water for vessels of considerable size in the harbor. It would appear from Ulloa's description that the site of the settlement of Cortés was on the mainland opposite the island, probably at the mouth of the ravine in which there is still to be found a well of water (*Mexico and Central American Pilot,* 1920 Edition).

At the time José de Galvez was in California in 1768, a plan of the Puerto de la Paz was drawn by Joseph de Urrutia (104-3-2, 1). On this plan the small harbor above referred to is marked, "Puerto de Cortés" and the island "Isla de Cortés."

31. There is nothing that resembles a river in the neighborhood of La Paz but during the rainy season, or perhaps better said, when it rains, water may come down from the Cacachilas Mountains through the ravine referred to in the preceding note.

32. Preciado, September 12, in error.

33. This name appears on Cortés' own map, being the most northernly one shown on the Sinaloa coast. Very likely he or some of his men named it. It was probably the Sinaloa River, previously named by Guzman's explorers the "Petatlan." An island at its mouth divides the stream, thus probably giving rise to the idea that there were two rivers there.

The second of the *actas* is merely a declaration that Ulloa commenced his exploration at this point, indicating that Cortés was not aware of the explorations of Diego de Guzman in 1533 as far north as the Rio Yaqui, or else ignored them. The *acta* puts the latitude in 26½°. The actual latitude is about 25° 15′—error, 1° 15′.

34. Apparently the Fuerte which, although it has only one mouth, empties on both sides of a sand island in front of it. Ulloa possibly considered that either the Oguirre, a short distance to the south, or the Alamos, a short distance to the north, was one of the mouths of the river. Preciado said they looked as large as the Guadalquivir at Seville.

35. The mouth of the Fuerte is in 25° 55′—error, 1° 20′. It seems probable that Hurtado de Mendoza was killed on this river and Ulloa's remark in the preceding sentence would seem to indicate that the explorations of Cortés had reached as far as this.

36. That is, El Dulce Nombre de Maria, September 11. The name is not mentioned by Preciado.

37. After La Exaltacion de la Santa Cruz, September 14. It was apparently the Rio Mayo which empties just east of Punta Rosa in latitude 26° 40′—error, 1° 20′. This cape is apparently the one referred to by Preciado as Capo Rosso. He placed it in 29° 45′ but Hakluyt corrected it to 27° 45′.

38. Here Preciado mentions an island about a league in circumference, evidently Isla de Lobos. His account of the course from San Pablo y San Pedro to Guaymas is not very clear, although much more detailed than the one given by Ulloa.

39. This must have been the Yaqui, although the distances mentioned to it and from it in the narrative are very wide of the actual ones. They correspond much better to the old mouth of the Mayo in 27° 10′. The name was given after Las Llagas de San Francisco, celebrated September 17 and was, curiously enough, the same that Diego de Guzman, who discovered it on the day of San Francisco, October 4, 1533, bestowed on it. The mouth of the Yaqui is in 27° 38′—error, 1° 22′, or slightly more, some indication that Ulloa's San Francisco was the Yaqui.

40. This is a good description of the Puerto de Guaymas. Isla de Pájaros in the Harbor is in 27° 53′—error, 1° 52′ or, if we take the latitude given in the *acta,* 29° 40′—an error of 1° 47′.

41. *Sp., cardon.* When the Spaniards first came across the tuna in Santo Domingo they described it as a kind of *cardo,* the Spanish word for thistle. A *cardon* of course is a big thistle and was probably only applied to the cactus of the giant variety, or possibly any columnar cactus. The first use of the word the writer has seen was in Oviedo's *Historia* published in 1535. It was probably used by Cortés to designate the giant cactus in Lower California and one of the names applied to California when first discovered was "Isla del Cardon," a name eminently appropriate considering the immense number of giant cactuses to be found on the peninsula and especially near La Paz where Ulloa had no doubt seen them.

42. According to the *acta* this ceremony took place September 18. Preciado gives an account of it, stating that he set up a cross on the hill by command of Ulloa. His account of the surroundings of the harbor is very different from that of Ulloa, claiming that the country was full of fresh green grass and that inland they saw great, very green mountains.

43. San Pedro Nolasco in 27° 58′—error, 2°.

44. September 29, although Ulloa seems to have passed through the strait about the 22d or 23d. From his somewhat limited description it appears that his Estrecho de San Miguel was the passage between Angel de la Guarda and Tiburon, the latter of which he took for the mainland. The two little islands at the entrance could hardly be San Lorenzo and San Estéban, as they are not small islands. Possibly Ulloa referred to two small islands called in the *Pilot* "Turner's Island" and "Seal Rock," which are off the southern end of Tiburon. Preciado's account is quite different. After leaving Guaymas he states that they began to plainly see the western shore, some thinking it to be a continuation of Santa Cruz and others that it was nothing but islands. Before reaching the strait they passed some point which he called "Capo delle Piaghe." *Piaghe* means wounds and this was translated by Herrera as "Cabo de las Llagas." *Piaghe* must be an error for *piaggie,* that is, "beaches," no doubt the correct translation into Italian of the word Preciado must have used in Spanish, *playas,* and this is what Hakluyt called it. It seems possible that the point was that known as Kino Point. Speaking of the strait, Preciado describes it as twelve leagues broad, very deep and with two islands in the middle, four leagues apart, i. e., San Esteban and San Lorenzo. After passing the strait he mentions a bay which extended six leagues into the land, the one now known as Tepopa, just north of Tiburon.

45. This must have been Rocas Consag in about 31° — error, 1° 45′. Preciado mentions the rocks but without naming them, but Ramusio names them "Diamanti" in the chapter heading.

46. The channel in which Ulloa anchored was probably the one near the Sonora shore, still the main channel of the river. He possibly took possession on Gore Island. Montague Island opposite Gore Island is in 31° 45′ — error, 2° 15′, if we adopt Ulloa's latitude of 34°, but 1° 45′ if we take that of the *acta.* According to this document possession was taken September 28.

47. Looking up the Colorado River which here runs southeast the mountains in California can be readily seen in the distance.

48. Neither Ulloa nor Preciado speaks of the two mouths of the Colorado east and west of Montague island, but they certainly observed them, as the maps plainly show them both. The changes in the delta of the Colorado are so continuous that it would be difficult to picture just the exact topography in 1539. Perhaps Gore Island did not exist; perhaps not even Montague Island. If we could consider the conditions unchanged since then, it would appear that Ulloa anchored near the head of Montague Island opposite that part of the Sonora shore subject to overflow at high tide, as he states. Nevertheless, as neither the Cabot nor the Agnese map shows the island there, it is evident that Ulloa did not sail far enough up the channel to see that the land on the left was an island, if such existed.

On the Agnese map, just above the mouth of the river is a legend which translated states: "The Red Sea where in the channel at high tide there are 11 fathoms and at low tide 8." Preciado mentions the eleven fathoms as apparently the depth of water in the channel at low tide, but in view of Ulloa's statement that at low tide there were eight fathoms of water in the channel, it is probable that Preciado meant to say that at high tide there were eleven.

49. The word *ancon* is usually translated as "bay" in the modern dictionaries, but in the sixteenth century it was not used as synonymous with bay, but rather meant a tidal channel connecting one body of water—the sea for example—with another. Perceval, in the Minsheu edition of 1599 of his English-Spanish dictionary, defines *ancon* as "the breaking in of the sea on the land into a creeke." J. N. Baskett, on pages 257-8 of Vol. X of the *Texas Historical Society Quarterly,* has examined the subject and deduced its meaning from Oviedo and Cabeza de Vaca, as more or less synonimous with the "pass" so familiar on the Gulf coast. The old writers did not always, however, make such a fine distinction, and the word frequently occurs as synonimous with estuary, that is, the tidal body of water at the mouth of a river. Ulloa apparently used the word in the latter sense, as there is nothing to show that he knew of any body of water inland with which it connected. Preciado, however, says, "It seemed that there was an inlet of the mouthes of certaine lakes whereby the Sea went in and out. There were divers opinions amongst us, and some thought that that current entered into those lakes, and also that some great River there might be the cause thereof. And when we could perceive no passage through, nor could discern the countrey to be inhabited . . . ." It may be noted that Ulloa was there during the period of low water in the river.

50. The day of San Andrés is November 30, a fact which the friars must have known very well, so Ulloa's statement is a very strange one.

51. September 28 was a Sunday and not a Monday, as just previously stated.

52. In latitude 31° 30′ there is a circular bay called Ometepes Bay on the U. S. Charts. No mention of this is made by either Ulloa or Preciado but a Puerto Escondido appears on the maps in about that locality, which was probably derived from Ulloa's map.

53. Almost certainly the Bahia de San Luis Gonzaga, or, as it appears on some U. S. Charts, San Luis Gonzalez. On Chart 619 of the Hydrographic Office a small island is shown at the north end of the bay corresponding to that described by Ulloa. The eastern end of this is called Willard Point and is in about 29° 48′—error, 1° 42′. Preciado enlarges considerably on the seal story.

54. This settlement was probably at or near the mouth of the arroyo usually known as Calamujuet, which runs into the gulf at about the distance from the anchorage indicated by Ulloa.

55. These Indians were Cochimies and spoke a very different language from those near La Paz.

56. *Sp., lievres,* usually translated "hares." They were no doubt jack-rabbits.

57. *Sp., adibes,* a word defined in the old dictionaries as "A kind of Barbary dog which howls in the night." They were undoubtedly coyotes and it seems curious that Ulloa did not know them under their Mexican name of *coyotl* or coyote as corrupted in Spanish.

58. Southeast.

59. Angel de la Guarda.

60. *Sp., Está prolongada con la tiera firme a dos y a tres leguas de ancho y está en termino de la tiera de la tiera firme y de ella.*

61. Bahia de los Angeles in about 28° 55′. They anchored in the upper part of this bay just west of Smith's Island in about 29° 03′. As Ulloa went south his errors in latitude diminished and here it is only about 1° 27′. There is nothing in the description to identify the place more closely except the subsequent remark that they sailed six or seven leagues from there before they disembogued between the island and the mainland. This indicates that their landing place was in the northern part of the bay or even possibly in Bahia de los Remedios in 29° 13′.

62. The *acta* gives the date as October 6, although the day of San Marcos is October 7. Preciado by mistake calls it the Ancon de San Andrés, in which he was followed by Herrera.

63. At this point Preciado began to fear that they were going to return to Santa Cruz without finding any strait and regretted that they had not examined more carefully the Ancon where they had been obliged to turn south.

64. San Lorenzo and its northern extension known as White Rock. The identification is rendered positive from Preciado's statement that opposite to it was a great bay (that is, San Rafael), and that before it a point stretched far into the sea (that is, San Francisquito).

65. If this is not Tortuga there must be a mistake in the narrative as the next island mentioned is certainly San Marcos.

66. Preciado in Hakluyt: "On Sunday the twelfth of October we found ourselves altogether inclosed with land, on the right hand with the maine, which compassed us before and behinde, and on the left hand with an island of a league and a halfe; and betweene the maine and the Island in the midst of the sea there lay a small Islet, and also betweene the sayd maine and the Island there were two mouthes, through which there appeared a passage whereby afterward we passed through."

67. Caleta de San Lucas in about 27° 10′—error, 1° 30′.

68. As the difference in latitude between these two places is given as 1° 50′, Ulloa's league was here about twenty to a degree on a course a little east of south. It would appear therefore, that measured on a meridian, about seventeen and one-half of his leagues would make a degree, that is to say, his league was the usual marine Spanish one of the sixteenth century.

69. As in the original, but probably an error as the general trend of this coast is consistently a little east of south.

70. In Chapter V just preceding this account, Preciado states that as they came out of the channel between the island and the mainland, they saw on land some high green grass. The pilot went up to the top and saw the mouth of a river which ran through this green country. They did not stop as the *Trinidad* was under sail far away. The river was no doubt the Santa Rosalia on which the village of Mulegé is located.

71. Bahia Concepcion. There are a number of islands near the entrance.

72. Punta Concepcion.

73. The place was named "Carrizal" in the *acta* which was taken October 15, and the latitude is given as 27½°. It seems likely that the river was the San Bruno, the mouth of which is in about 26° 13′—error, 1° 17′. It may, however, have been Loreto in 26°.

74. Preciado in the Italian text: *cerase & di piccioli pomi.* The *piccioli pomi* probably were the fruit of the *manzanita,* a quite common shrub in Lower California.

75. Neither Ulloa nor Preciado mentions the Isla Carmen. It would appear likely therefore, that they passed to the outside of it and did not notice that it was an island.

76. Preciado, *prune,* presumably the *ciruela (Tapirira edulis),* a small yellow plum the kernel of which has a similar taste to that of the pistachio nut.

77. Preciado, *pithayas,* presumably the *pitahaya agria (Lamaireocereus Gummosus)* which ripens at that season of the year. This is the earliest reference noted to the *pitahaya,* although no doubt we would have an earlier one if the accounts of Cortés' expedition to Santa Cruz could be found. If there is not some omission before this sentence Preciado is here referring to the mountainous land, part covered with grass and part void, which he had just described before indulging in the digression about the strait. This place at which Ulloa apparently stopped was probably the one called the "Puerto de Canoas" on the Castillo map, and must have been either the Bahia Dolores or near there.

78. The sentence in brackets is taken from the following Chapter No. VII, where it has no connection with anything that goes before or after. It is there followed by the expression: *& ci trouāmo dentro il porto di Santa Croce,* that is, "we found ourselves in the Puerto de Santa Cruz." This sentence puzzled the writer greatly when first reading the account in Ramusio. The narrative is obviously confused but not at that time having seen Ulloa's narrative it was impossible to straighten it out. In an article in the first number of the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society the possibility of there being two ports named Santa Cruz was therefore suggested. Ulloa's narrative is perfectly clear that the ships were at the time actually some miles north of Cabo San Lucas on the west side.

79. Preciado's reference to the well of Grijalva is an indication that they landed at the site of Cortés' camp.

80. Preciado, *cardoni,* really "cactus."

81. The reason given for this action seems to indicate that Ulloa's Indian interpretor had not originally been taken from this place, in spite of the numerous statements to that effect.

82. This does not refer to Ulloa's previous visit to Santa Cruz but obviously to the stay there of Cortés himself and his party. There seems but little doubt that he or his men treated the Indians very badly.

83. So named by Cortés. Now named "Ceralvo."

84. Punta San Lorenzo.

85. This reference to Isla de Perlas is sufficient to identify it positively as the one now known as Espiritu Santo.

86. The account given by Preciado of the movements of the ships during this period of storms is extremely confused.

87. The text has September, an obvious error.

88. Cabo San Lucas in 22° 52′—error, 8′, astonishingly small. It is possible that when the cape had been previously discovered a fact which Cortés' map plainly demonstrates, the latitude had been taken by someone with greater skill than Ulloa's pilots.

89. This is a further indication that the cape had been previously discovered and the northerly trend of the coast ascertained.

90. Preciado states that they sailed only ten leagues from November 9 to November 15 and that on November 10 they were about fifty-four leagues distant from California, always on the southwest side. This is one of only three times in which the word "California" is used in the Italian text. It has therefore been argued that California was identical with the Puerto de Santa Cruz and especially because Ulloa stated that at Cabo San Lucas they were fifty leagues from where they set out (that is, the Puerto de Santa Cruz). It seems likely that both writers were referring to the same place and if we could be sure that Ramusio had not interpolated the word "California," the evidence that the Puerto de Santa Cruz had another name, "California," would be quite convincing. All the old writers and translators were, however, in the habit of changing names of places to correspond with what they thought were those by which they were known to their readers. The Italian text twice mentions the Isola California and continually uses the expression, "Porto di Santa Croce." We can therefore hardly suppose them to have been different names for the same place.

Just after speaking of being fifty-four leagues distant from California, Preciado refers to the depth of water on the coast and the sand hills and then inserts the misplaced sentence referred to in Note 78.

91. While at about this point Preciado tells us that they saw an Indian in a canoe near the shore.

92. From the 16th to the 24th Preciado states that they sailed only fifteen leagues and were then only seventy leagues from the watering-places of the Porto di Santa Croce. On Monday, the 24th, he states they began to see plains covered with beautiful short green grass which looked as if it had no thorns, and even previously referred to seeing similar plains on the 16th. They were therefore evidently at that time off the Magdalena Plains.

93. This is the bay which has Punta Tosco on the west and the Isla Cresciente on the north. It was the one which seems to have been named "Santa Marina" by Vizcaino later.

94. This statement is important as furnishing evidence that some of Cortés' men had crossed the little narrow neck of some twenty-seven miles between the Bahia de la Paz and the Pacific near 25°. Little is known of these expeditions, but that such were made is apparent from the statements of Juan de Jaso and Jorge Ceron (Icaza *Dicc.* Nos. 536 and 529).

95. Bahia de Almejas.

96. The text has the 27th in error.

97. From the description it appears that the watering-place where they took possession was at the south end of Isla Santa Margarita, near Punta Tosco. In none of the accounts of this island does any mention appear, however, of a watering-place at this point. Father Clemente Guillen, who reached the eastern side of the Bahia de Magdalena in 1719, said the Indians told him that there was plenty of water on the island, which was then called "Santa Rosa."

98. Preciado gives us a very similar account of this incident, naming himself as the hero.

99. These Indians inhabited a section of the country which appears on José Antonio de Alzate's map of 1768 as that of the Monquis, but there seems to be no record of any actual expedition to the island before the nineteenth century, except that of Vizcaino, nor does there seem to be any description of the Indians who at that time inhabited it.

100. In the original there is an unintelligible word here; it may be an abbreviation for *arcos*.

101. Bahia de Almejas.

102. Punta Tosco.

103. Bahia de Almejas. Santa Catalina's day was November 25 and not October 4. Possibly those on the *Trinidad* named it, as she reached here about November 25.

104. According to the *acta* this occurred October 1, but it seems probable that the proper date is the 4th as stated in the text. Preciado also states that they sailed on the 4th but does not mention taking possession. The *acta* put the latitude at 25°—error, 42′.

105. Bahia de la Magdalena. Preciado states that they called it "Porto di Santo Abate" and it so appears on maps. October 5 is the day of San Sabás Abad, no doubt the Abad referred to in the name. Ulloa's statement in this and the following sentence seems to argue some sort of knowledge of it, not to have been obtained by passing by the entrance; perhaps some captain of Cortés had explored it from the land side.

106. About here is where the name "Ancoras" appears on the maps, evidently a reference to the incident here mentioned. From the indefinite description given it is impossible to identify the place but it must have been near Punta San Juanico. Some of the maps have near the same place the name "Aumadas," that is, "fires," a reference to the smokes just previously mentioned. This neighborhood seems to have been famous for smoke signals as about here Vizcaino afterwards noticed a great number.

107. According to Preciado, after the anchors broke they went back to look for the Baia del Abad, and not being able to reach it lay under the lee of the land and went fishing. They then repaired to the watering-place, some six leagues distant. It is perfectly plain from Ulloa's account that this watering-place was the same one at which they had previously taken water.

108. Preciado nowhere speaks of these.

109. In Hakluyt's translation this is referred to as "a garland made of parats feathers or sparrowes feathers painted red." So far as known there were no parrots in Lower California.

110. The Italian text states that this Indian was born on the Isola California and a few sentences farther on refers to the language of the Isola California. These are the only uses of the word "California" in the Preciado account, except the one mentioned in Note 90. If Preciado actually used the expression in his original narrative, it would be some proof that California was an island, some small one near Bahia de la Paz, and not the peninsula, which Preciado had now discovered not to be an island. In his *California Under Spain and Mexico*, Irving B. Richman discusses the point on page 363. He thought California must have been Ceralvo or Espiritu Santo. The writer is unable to agree with his conclusions. There is nothing to indicate that any island near La Paz was named California except the inferences from these passages in Ramusio, all of which, in the writer's opinion were interpolated. The use of the name somewhat later indicates clearly that it was applied to something at the southeast end of the peninsula.

111. The text is torn here a little but the word seems to be *piedras*.

112. Sp., *buhannos,* probably an obsolete word for *buhos,* "owls." Preciado states that they were like hawk feathers.

113. The Spanish word looks like *cuasa;* it is probably an error for *guasca,* "a cord."

114. *Sp., cascabeles.*

115. This was Preciado himself, according to his account.

116. This is proof positive that they were again at Punta de la Trinidad.

117. *Sp., versos,* a small cannon in use at that time.

118. The same in Preciado, who stated that the place was thirty-five leagues from the point of departure, that is, the Punta de la Trinidad.

119. Preciado's account of what followed is somewhat different: on Christmas, the 25th, they began to have a favorable wind; on the 27th they anchored near a point and the next day, the day of the Innocents, they began to sail and after going three or four leagues, met a point which stretched out towards the west; January 1, after sailing forty leagues, they discovered two small islands and January 4 saw a high land ahead somewhat separated from the main shore; January 5 they came to this and it proved to be two islands, one small and the other large; they coasted these islands for six leagues and then saw ahead of them to the north a high land eight or ten leagues away, where they rode on Monday at night. It would appear from this that the point found on the 27th was Santo Domingo, the two small islands, San Roque and Asuncion, the high land which appeared to be separated from the shore, either Punta San Eugenio or the high land on Cedros, which was the large island, Natividad being the small one. What he means by saying they saw high land eight or ten leagues to the north after coasting Cedros is uncertain. The mainland to the north seems to be too far away to have been visible. Neither Ulloa nor Preciado mentions the rocks at Abreojos but on Cabot's map appears "p^{a} de aracife" and on the Agnese map "basos" in that neighborhood. "Los Innocentes" is also shown on both at some distance to the north of the Basos or aracife; perhaps they were the two small islands San Roque and Asuncion.

120. As the storm drove them northwest or north, it is most likely that it was from the southeast. In the text there are two unintelligible words here; they look like *con tiros,* which might be translated "with squalls" or "gusts."

121. Preciado does not mention this storm but simply says that they were assailed by two or three windy showers. His account is quite different from that of Ulloa. From both, however, it can be made out that the vessels must have been driven out to sea some distance.

122. As Cedros was afterwards located by Ulloa in 29½°, it would appear that this point was half a degree north of that island or at least of the upper end where possession was taken. He must therefore have here been somewhat less than half a degree north of the island and therefore somewhere in the neighborhood of the Bahia Playa Maria.

123. A contradiction will be noticed here, as he just previously said they had been driven off by a storm.

124. Cedros, on the southwest side of the island.

125. According to Preciado this happened on January 13.

126. This proves that their shelter had been on the west or southwest side of the island, perhaps in South Bay.

127. *Sp., barcas.* They were really *balsas* and Ulloa sometimes uses that word.

128. Morro Redondo.

129. With arrows from the *ballestas* or cross-bows.

130. Preciado gives a long and somewhat different account of this fight.

131. Preciado states they carried away a lot of these seal-skins which, however, they returned before they left the island.

132. *Sp., cardones,* no doubt, *viznagas,* the spines of which were generally used by the Indians for fish-hooks.

133. Preciado states they did get a little water here in skin paunches.

134. They probably sailed northeast, although Preciado states that they sailed north in order to see the end of the island and approach the mainland, but that on the 16th, while endeavoring to double the point, a storm from the north struck them and drove them back again.

135. Preciado states that they again tried to double the point of the island.

136. Just below the northeast end of the island, where a sand-point makes out, forming a little harbor.

137. At this point Preciado describes the kelp around Cedros, stating that it grew in fifteen or twenty fathoms of water.

138. Although according to the *acta,* possession was taken January 20, it seems most likely that it happened on this occasion, that is, the 21st. According to the *acta* the latitude was 29½°. As the watering-place is in about 28° 17′, the error was about 1° 13′. Hakluyt

inserted a marginal note that the latitude was 28° 15′, almost correct. No mention is made in Preciado of taking possession, but the fact is stated in the heading to the chapter in which the account occurs in Ramusio.

139. This watering-place is still there, although not so much used as the one near the southeast end of the island. It is about three miles south of the northeast point.

140. That is, the Morro Redondo.

141. On the 23d Preciado states that they had a gale from the southeast and that during the night and the next day they sailed eighteen leagues.

142. Between the 8th and the 11th of February, Preciado states that they sailed twenty small leagues and lay in sight of the "said point of the firm land," (that is, from where they had been forced back before). Here he says they were in a great bay running into the mainland, where they had previously seen the five or six fires (that is, in 30°).

143. On Ash Wednesday, the 11th, Preciado tells us that Fray Raimundo said a dry mass and gave them ashes.

144. On February 22 Preciado states that Ulloa went ashore with the frairs and the greater part of the men. After hearing mass, the soldiers and sailors with the dogs went up the valley and found some deer. They took a female, small but fat, whose hair was more like that of a wild goat than a deer; she had four teats like a cow, full of milk, and the flesh tasted more like that of a goat than that of a deer. They also killed a gray rabbit like those of New Spain, and another one as black as ebony. In the settlement they found some pine nuts.

There were no real wild goats on the island so far as known, and the goatlike animal could hardly have been a female mountain sheep. It might appear from what he says about the taste of the flesh that it was an antelope.

145. Here they must have been on the coast, nearly at the center of the Bahia de Sebastian Vizcaino.

146. On Palm Sunday, according to Preciado, they went on shore with the friars who read the Passion to them and said mass, after which they went in procession with branches in their hands.

147. His day is December 26. This is not the first reference to the three islands. Which they were is uncertain. Ulloa never refers to the San Benitos, although he must have seen them; perhaps he considered them to be one island. The point is of some importance, because on the earliest maps, islands named "Cazones" appear north of Cedros. They traveled about considerably on later maps and it has always been a question as to just what islands the name was applied. On the Castillo map the name appears as Punta Cazones. *Cazon* means a dog-fish or a littoral shark, which are very common in the Bahia de Sebastian Vizcaino. Unless the islands had some fancied resemblance to these sharks, it follows that whoever named them must have done so from the number to have been found there. That of course connotes discovery and a visit. Neither Ulloa nor Preciado mentions seeing or visiting any islands north of Cedros. On the whole it appears likely that "Cazones" was simply a nickname for what Ulloa called the "Islas de San Estéban."

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

Bibliographical Note

The principal sources for writing this chapter are the contracts made by the Emperor with Alvarado of August 5, 1532, and April 16, 1538; Alvarado's letters of November 30, 1535, November 18, 1539, and March 28, 1541; Mendoza's letters of November 24, 1540, October 6, 1541, and March 10, 1542, and his instructions to Juan de Aguilar; the contract between Mendoza and Alvarado made at Tiripitio November 29, 1540; the instructions issued by Mendoza and Alvarado to Diego Lopez de Zuñiga and Gonzalo Dovalle April 29, 1541; the declaration of Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero made in Guadalajara, December 13, 1574; and an *Informacion* made at the request of a grandson of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo in Guatemala in 1617-18, embodying a copy of another drawn up in 1560. Most of these documents are to be found in the archives in Seville. In 139-1-3 there is a small book containing Alvarado's contract of April 16, 1538, and copies of a large number of cedulas making appointments in Alvarado's "Province of the West" or granting privileges of one kind or another to him and his officials. At the end is the approbation of the Emperor of the agreement made between Mendoza and Alvarado at Tiripitio, dated July 26, 1541, the whole thus comprising what must be practically a complete list of all the cedulas issued regarding this project.

Most of the above documents will be found briefly calendared in *Catálogo de los documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla* by D. Pedro Torres Lanzas, the recently retired chief of the archives. Some of the documents have been published in various works and such are specifically cited in the Notes.

The incidental allusions in the documents of the period to these various enterprises described are too numerous to mention. They are, however, important in many respects as furnishing details which have been passed over in the published accounts. The letters and petitions of Cortés and Guzman, the proceedings in the *visita* of Mendoza are full of these. The various lawsuits of Cortés with Guzman and the *oydores* of the Audiencia contain numerous documents about some of his expeditions, and the suit in Spain between Cortés, Guzman Soto and Alvarado about the rights of discovery in the north contains others. Many of these documents have been published in the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones Españolas en America y Oceania*, but many others of equal or greater importance still remain unedited. Some original documents of the period, notably some accounts of Guzman's progress up the west coast, were published by Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta in his *Documentos para la historia de Mexico*, Mexico, 1858 and 1866.

Many of these documents were exploited in his *Conquest of Mexico* by William H. Prescott, who had in his possession either many copies of documents

in the archives which had been made by Juan Bautista Muñoz, or else copies of his copies which still exist in the Real Academia de Historia in Madrid. Muñoz, however, apparently had not found the numerous files of Cortés' lawsuits, nor the documents of the *visita* of Francisco Tello de Sandoval. Arthur Scott Aiton in his recently published *Antonio de Mendoza* has made extensive use of the *visita* documents, but the proceedings in Cortés' various suits still remain to a large extent unexplored, although Mariano Cuevas has published a few stray documents contained in them in his *Cartas y otros documentos de Hernan Cortés,* Seville, 1915.

Notes

1. A short biographical sketch of Alvarado will be found in *An Account of the Conquest of Guatemala in 1524 by Pedro de Alvarado.* Alvarado, like Cortés, was not a *don* by birth.

2. José Milla in his *Historia,* Vol. I, 238, asserts that Cortés proposed to Alvarado to form a company to carry on discoveries. No authority is cited for this nor any date given but it appears that Milla intended to convey the impression that it was after Alvarado returned to Guatemala from Mexico in 1530 and therefore after Cortés' own contract of October 27, 1529, and before Alvarado's of 1532 had been made.

3. 139-1-1, printed in P. & C., XXII, 307 — It was signed by the Queen.

4. A copy of this letter made by Buckingham Smith is in the Bancroft Library among the Squier MSS. Alvarado gives a resumé of it in his letter of November 30.

5. 63-6-9; one of the amusing statements in this letter is that while in Peru he had lost 13,000 pesos to Almagro in gambling, which he had paid him, but when he came to be paid for his ships, the 13,000 pesos was deducted from the 100,000 due him, and the balance which was in bars of silver turned out to be half copper when assayed in Guatemala.

6. Made September 26 in Guatemala, 2-2-1/1, R. 66.

7. 1-2-1/4, R. 34, printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion,* V, Docs. XXII and XXIV. Juan de Mazuecos, another survivor, had previously made a declaration September 17, 1534.

8. 1-2-1/4, R. 36, printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion,* V, Doc, XXVI.

9. He arrived in Lisbon, August 7, 1537.

10. Both his wives were relatives of the Duke of Albuquerque, his marriage with the first having been arranged by Francisco de los Cobos, the Emperor's influential secretary.

11. *Sp., Vuelta que haze la tierra.* Presumably Alvarado meant a turn towards the east, as the expression usually did when used in this connection.

12. 139-1-3, printed in part in *Col Docs,* Second series, II, Doc. 2. With the original are the cedulas growing out of it.

13. It is to be remarked that this cedula to Mendoza was not issued until October 3, 1539, but it does not seem possible that Mendoza had not heard of Alvarado's contract and its terms long before.

14. Certainly Cortés had some kind of understanding with Alvarado about his expedition of 1540. In his memorial of 1543 asking *residencia* against Mendoza, Cortés set out among other charges that Alvarado had come to Guatulco with a fleet of twelve or thirteen ships to take some 1500 quintals of biscuit, 2500 or 3000 hams, and many calves, sheep and pigs, and other supplies which Cortés had ordered to be given to him from his estate. 48-1-1/23, printed in *Escritos sueltos,* 334. Mariano Cuevas also printed this as No. XXXIII, apparently from a copy in 1-1-2/16. He attributed it to the year 1542 but the original bears a notation attached to it: *"En Valladolid a Seis de Julio de 1543 Años."*

15. Cortés went to Spain either in December 1539 or January 1540 and on arrival at once commenced his proceedings in the Council to establish his rights under his contract of 1529 against those of Alvarado and Mendoza.

16. Hernando de la Torre died before the expedition left, but Bernardo de la Torre, who had also been with Loaysa, presumably also went with him as he accompanied Villalobos as captain of one of the ships. Bernardo was in Tehuantepec in December, 1539, in the pay of Cortés. As Cortés had brought some soldiers from Guatemala, perhaps he also brought him.

17. These cedulas in 139-1-3.

18. Alvarado's letter from Gracias a Dios, August 4, 1539, P. & C., II, 253, where he says he left Santo Domingo March 20.

19. 63-6-9, printed in P. & C., XXIV, 339.

20. He was one of the principal witnesses examined in the *Informacion* in Guatemala in September, 1536, referred to in Note 6.

21. See the letter of Fr. Jerónimo Ximénez de San Esteban, *Nueva Coleccion,* Vol. I, 194.

22. Quoted in Milla, *Historia,* 310. Others were the *San Jorge,* the *San Antonio,* and the *Diosdado.* It will be noted that several of the names are those of individuals and not of ships.

23. Fuentes y Guzman, *Recordacion Florida,* Madrid, 1882. Vol. I, 147.

24. *Recordacion Florida,* Vol I, 152, states that Alvarado left Guatemala City for Acajutla May 25, and sailed from there at the beginning of June, but Oviedo's statement quoted in the next note is more reliable.

25. Oviedo, *Historia,* IV, 20. He had some first hand information on the subject, and said that the ships were built at Ystapa and from there Alvarado went to Acajutla, from where he was to commence his voyage. Alvarado in his letter of March 28, 1541, wrote that he had with him nine ships with top masts, a galley and a *fusta,* 1-2-2/15, R. 59. He did not say how many soldiers he had and the figures given by others are not, probably, any too authentic.

26. *See* Note 13; the cedula should have reached him before August, 1540.

27. As Castilla was in Mexico October 15 according to the records of the Cabildo (Information from A. S. Aiton), he could hardly have reached Guatulco much before that date.

28. Cortés in the document cited in Note 14.

29. The only records found of the stop in Acapulco occur in evidence given by Luis Gonzales in the *Informacion* by Cabrillo's son in 1560, and in a later statement that one of Alvarado's small vessels had gone ashore in that port.

30. 48-1-9/31 (Kindness of A. S. Aiton). There probably is no foundation for Herrera's statement, *Historia, Dec.* VI, *Lib.* VII, *Cap.* VIII, that Mendoza sent to Guatemala to call Alvarado to make an arrangement with him about discoveries. In *Dec.* VII, *Lib.* II, *Cap.* X, he also states that Alvarado went to Mexico by land to consult with Mendoza, sending the fleet to the coast of New Galicia with 800 soldiers, 150 horses, and some Indians.

31. 48-1-9/31 The charge that Castilla was refuting was one made by Cortés in the document cited in Note 14 and was as follows: "Constrained by necessity, the *Adelantado* went with his fleet to the port of Santiago, in the province of Colima, without taking that food [i. e., in Guatulco] to hunt for a place where he could secure some food, and here also the Viceroy sent the before mentioned [Castilla and Cherino] and Augustin Guerrero his major-domo. They prevented him from taking supplies, to such an extent that those on board the ships left them and went away. Alvarado, seeing himself lost and without any remedy, gave the half of the ships and everything that was in them to the Viceroy, so that he would supply him with food."

32. Quoted by Oviedo, *Historia,* III, 540.

33. Letter dated Jalisco, March 28, 1541, 2-2-2/15, R. 59, printed in *Col. Docs.,* Second series, II, No. 1.

34. 1-1-2/21, No. 3, R. 2, printed in P. & C., XVI, 342. Approved by the Crown, July 26, 1541, 139-1-3, printed at the end of No. 2, of *Col. Docs.,* Second series, II. Tiripitio was an Indian town about seventeen miles southwest of Morelia, then known as Valladolid. Juan de Alvarado was the *encomendero.*

35. Villalobos was a son-in-law of Pedro Dircio, the brother of Martin Dircio who had married Mendoza's sister and was believed to have had a very rich mine.

36. *Recordacion Florida* states explicitly that this man was a nephew of Alvarado and went with him from Guatemala, I, 153.

37. A rather clear indication that the port was named at that time. In the first item of the instructions to Lopez de Zuñiga Navidad is called a "new port." It was undoubtedly on what is now known as Navidad Bay in lat. 19° 13′, about on the boundary line between the provinces of Colima and Jalisco. It was usually said to be in Jalisco, and this probably accounts for its selection by Mendoza, as Cortés always had a kind of claim to Colima, in which Santiago was located. Juan Fernandez de Hijar, the founder of Purificacion, not far from there, claimed about 1548 to have discovered it. There is no likelihood that it had been used before Alvarado arrived on the coast, in spite of the fact that Pedro de Castañeda in his account of the Coronado expedition said that Alarcon set sail

from there in 1540. He probably mixed that expedition up with the following one of Alarcon which did leave there in 1541.

38. The above information is from Mendoza's answer to charge No. 36 against him, 48-1-2/24.

39. 2-2-2/15, R. 59.

40. This document is in the library of the Escorial and is translated in the Appendix.

41. Smith's *Varios Documentos,* No. I.

42. Milla, *Historia,* 318, discusses the date of his death, and concludes that it must have taken place about June 29, because he says Mendoza wrote July 5 to the Cabildo in Guatemala about his death. Herrera also gives the same date. Milla was mistaken about the date of the letter, which was July 15. Tello in his *Crónica,* 371, asserts that Alvarado's will was dated July 4, but it is not possible to place much reliance on his statements. Mendoza in his letter to Oviedo, Peralmildez Cherino in his to the Emperor of July 28, 1541, (58-6-9), and Santa Cruz in his *Crónica,* state that Alvarado died three days after the accident, while Oviedo, *Historia* IV, 26, himself said that he died eight days after being carried to Jalisco. In his answer cited in Note 38 Mendoza states that he died six days after the accident.

43. According to Question No. 261 of the fragment of the *Visita* published by Icazbalceta in his *Documentos,* some of the creditors began suit before the Audiencia and received justice.

44. The return is noted in the Tiripitio contract of November 29, 1540. *See* Note 34.

45. Mendoza in his answer cited in Note 38. He said: "As Juan Fernandez de Ijar wrote from Purificacion to the Port of Navidad that all the Indians were coming on that town, they disarmed three ships which were under sail to go with Captain Hernando de Alarcon to make a settlement on the Rio de Buena Guia, and to assist Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, because I had ordered Luis de Castilla in case of necessity to put aside everything even though the equipment and supplies which he had ready for those discoveries should be lost, and with the men to go to the relief of that province. He took the men out of the ships, and sent them to the relief of Purificacion, with the arms and munitions of those ships. As the men did not wish to go, he made them a new advance at my expense."

46. Tello, *Crónica,* 353 and 471. Mendoza in his answer; he added that Hernando de Alarcon was stationed in Autlan with thirty soldiers.

47. Translation in Winship's *Coronado Expedition,* Washington, 1896. Mendoza in his letter to Oviedo of October 6, 1541, in speaking about the progress of Coronado states that he had already reached 900 leagues from Mexico and "had heard that farther on there were many gold receptacles, pearls and great cities and houses and a country with very abundant food, especially cattle (of which they say there are more than in Spain)." He admitted that Coronado had not found any gold or silver but only some white and beautiful women and abundance of food.

48. A full account of this fable and its origin was published by the writer in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1926, under the title *Some Imaginary California Geography.*

49. His letter from Cuzco, March 4, 1572, 1-1-2/33.

50. Winship, *Coronado Expedition,* 594. The original text first published in Smith's *Docs.,* and then in P. & C., III, 511.

51. The Cabrillo *Informacion,* evidence of Lázaro de Cárdenas, 1-4-34/3, No. 2, R. 4.

52. It is strange that Mendoza nowhere mentions the Bolaños expedition except in the most indirect manner.

53. *See* his evidence published hereafter.

54. Evidence of Francisco de Vargas in the Cabrillo *Informacion.*

55. *Cartas de Indias,* Madrid, 1877, No. XLV.

56. 48-1-1/23. It afterwards transpired that when Francisco Tello de Sandoval went out to New Spain with orders to investigate Mendoza's administration, these, with a few exceptions, were precisely the charges about which the witnesses were questioned, and were the ones which Mendoza labored to refute.

57. 1-1-2/21. The first part of this *legajo* was printed in P. and C., XV, 300 *et seq.* Iñigo Lopez de Mondragon the representative of Cortés filed a petition before the Council of the Indies March 1, 1540, asking that a royal order be despatched that no one without the express license of the King or that of Cortés should go to the new countries which he had discovered (i.e. Cibola). Guzman himself and Alvarado's representative each filed similar petitions the same day and Soto's representative March 3. Luis Salido in the name of Compostela and the town of San Miguel filed another March 6. The petitions and letters presented by Mendoza's representative do not appear in the record. A large

number of documents were now filed by various parties. April 21 the Council referred all the documents to Juan de Villalobos for his opinion and this he presented May 25. His contention was that none of the parties had any rights, their claims being mutually destructive. It is in the course of this that he made the statement that "in effect each one asked for himself the new conquest of the cities which lately had been discovered by the hand of D. Antonio de Mendoza your Viceroy in New Spain who sent to discover them in your name." He seemed to think that this was sufficient to withdraw the territory from the field open to the various contestants, that is, merely because, as he alleged, Mendoza had sent Marcos de Niza, who was said to have discovered them, at the expense of the King. The point looks like a pure legal quibble, even supposing the fact had been true, which the writer very much doubts. Soto appears to have had the best right; the contract was made with him April 20, 1537, and even supposing that Cabeza de Vaca's story had not reached the court at that time, it certainly had before the Queen issued a cedula December 30 to Mendoza and all the authorities and individuals in New Spain to keep out of the territory allotted to him. This cedula was notified to Mendoza August 9, 1538, long before Niza set out. Possibly it was because of this order that Mendoza organized the Coronado expedition in the name of the King. That he did so appears from his own statement in one of his answers to a charge in the *visita* (48-1-2/24, fol. 58 verso). He did not say that the necessary funds came from the royal treasury, nor is there the least likelihood that they did, as the royal officials would never have permitted such use to be made of the King's property. The Emperor soon ordered him to take over the enterprise for his own account.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. Smith's *Docs.*, 3.
2. *Ib.*, 8.
3. In the *Informacion* of Gerónimo Rodriguez de Aldana.
4. *Calendar of Spanish Documents* II, No. 398.
5. Ladrillero in an *Informacion* in Mexico about 1545, made a similar declaration. Icaza *Dicc.* No. 723.
6. The writer has not been able to discover anything in the accounts of this expedition to prove that this Ladrillero was the same as the one of whom we are treating but he must have been, as the name is identical and Ladrillero is known to have gone to Peru after his return from the Bolaños expedition.
7. An additional piece of evidence of this is furnished by a statement of Juan de Torquemada in his *Monarchia Indiana,* I, 694. In speaking of what, from the context, was evidently this voyage, Torquemada states that it reached the Baia de Santiago, which he placed in 25°, confounding it with Magdalena.
8. The earliest map on which the name "California" is found applied to the peninsula (unless perhaps that of Domingo del Castillo, reproduced in Chapter I) is one made by Abraham Ortelius dated 1587 and included in an edition of his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum,* but there are earlier examples of the practice in Spanish documents.
9. In his letter of March 10, 1542, *Cartas de Indias.*
10. The first appearance of the name on any map to the writer's knowledge (except possibly that referred to in Note 8), occurs on that of Diego Gutierrez, dated 1562, as "C. California," that is, "Cabo California."
11. Icaza, *Dicc.* No. 1354.
12. Dr. Orozco was President of the Audiencia of New Galicia in 1574, a fact which in consequence disposes of any question which might arise as to the date of the document from Ladrillero's statement that he had come to New Spain with Mendoza only twenty-eight years before.
13. This was the northwest point of the Bahia de Banderas.
14. Presumably he included Guatemala as a part of New Spain, as he himself declared that he came from there with Alvarado's fleet.
15. An error for thirty-eight, as previously pointed out.
16. The description of this bay of San Mateo corresponds in many respects to that of the Bahia de Ballenas and is an additional proof that it was named Santiago by Bolaños as it was so called later by Cabrillo.
17. This name does not appear in later narratives but the mountains may have been the same as those north of Cedros where Ulloa saw so many fires.
18. Isla Isabel, formerly known as San Andrés.
19. One of the numerous names for the Rio Grande de Santiago.
20. This word seems to be an error for *margarita,* a "seashell" or sometimes a "pearl," it might even be an error for *marquesita,* "pyrites."
21. These were perhaps round stones of some kind.
22. This story seems to have become current in Mexico only about 1555.
23. Ladrillero's memory was better here; perhaps even the figure for the number of Spaniards with Alvarado is correct.
24. Possibly this happened in 1539 when Andagoya was in Panama preparing his expedition.
25. It is not certain just when this expedition took place. Twenty-three years before 1574 would place the date as 1541, but the more or less is as usual a saving clause. There is no likelihood that Bolaños returned to the mainland before the spring of 1542. It is not unlikely that Ladrillero accompanied Cabrillo's ships to Peru after they returned from the expedition to the north. If he had not stated that he brought back a message it might be concluded that he had remained in Peru until after 1560.
26. Translated from a copy of Navarrete's copy in the Depósito Hidrográfico. It is to be regretted that the original cannot be discovered, as the copy evidently contains numerous errors.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

Bibliographical Note

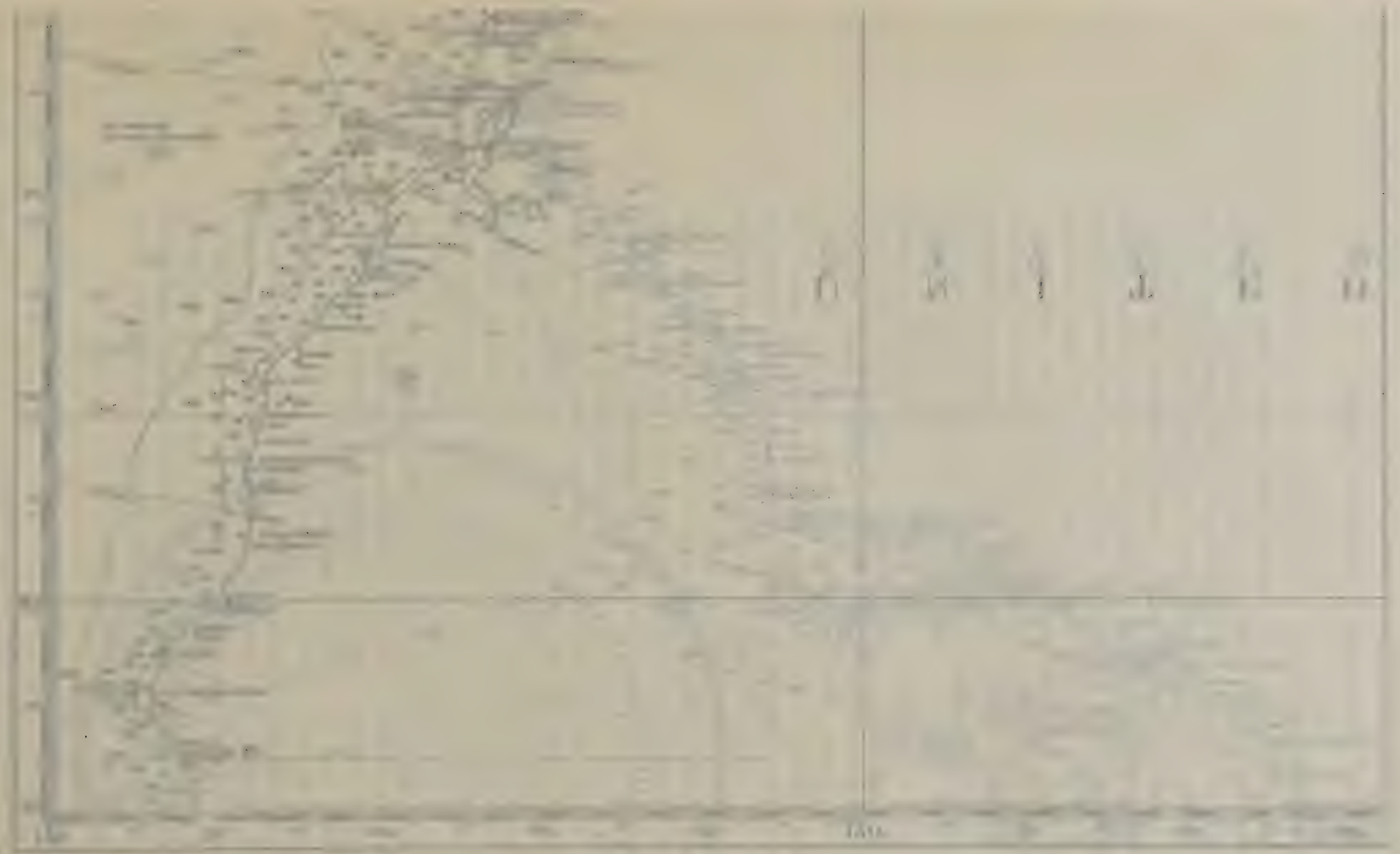
Our knowledge of the expedition of Cabrillo is derived from four sources: the account in the Archivo de Indias in 1-1-1/20, R. 23; that published by Antonio de Herrera in 1615 in his *Historia General;* the *Informacion* drawn up in Guatemala in 1560 and 1561 at the instance of Cabrillo's son; and a short description of the west coast by Francisco Lopez de Gómara, published in 1552 in his *Historia de las Indias.* The last named author makes but the slightest allusion to the voyage in his *Conquista de Mexico,* not even mentioning Cabrillo's name, and writing as though the voyage were too well known to warrant insertion.

From the fact that the document in the archives has "J^{u} Paez" written at the top of the first page many have supposed that the account was written by a man of that name, and indeed such a statement was made when it was printed in 1870 in Vol. XIV of the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos.* The same name also appears, however, at the top of the first page of an account of the Coronado expedition written by Juan Jaramillo. The probabilities are that J^{u} Paez was Juan Paez de Castro, the official chronicler of the Indies about 1555-1560, and that these documents, which he intended to use for writing a history of the Indies, had been found among his papers after his death. There is a strong indication that the Cabrillo document was to be used for that purpose in the notation at the upper left hand corner—*Para el año de 1543,* that is, "for the year 1543." The manuscript is written almost entirely in the third person, a practice not followed in any original narrative of an early voyage which the writer has seen. This is almost proof that it is merely a summary of what was probably a long detailed account. In making this, some facts were omitted which Herrera, who probably had the original, thought interesting enough to insert in his book.

A copy of the document made by Juan Bautista Muñoz is now in the Real Academia de Historia in Madrid and another, made by Martin Fernandez de Navarrete shortly afterwards, is to be found in Vol. 19 of his manuscripts in the Depósito Hidrográfico in Madrid. From this latter copy Buckingham Smith made the first publication in 1857 in his *Coleccion de varios documentos.* Generally speaking, Navarrete's copy is a very accurate one, as is that published by Smith. Navarrete, however, made one blunder which has misled all subsequent students of the voyage. He wrote out the name "S. S." of one of the Channel Islands as "San Salvador." If anyone had compared this account with that given by Herrera, he would have seen that the "S. S." stood for San Sebastian, named on his day, January 20. Navarrete gave his copy a title, as the original had only a notation, and when it was again printed in the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos,* this time from the original in the archives, the editor supplied it with a different one. As usual with the publications in this collection at that period the text was printed with great carelessness.

In the Introduction to the voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana,* published in 1802, Navarrete inserted a good account of the voyage from the original text and that of Herrera, and from this, A. S. Taylor, well known as an early student of California history, made a translation which he published in the San Franciso *Herald* in 1853, subsequently issuing it in separate form as *Discovery of California and Northwest America. The First Voyage to the Coasts of California; made in the years 1542 and 1543 by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo and his pilot Bartolome Ferrelo,* San Francisco, 1853. In Vol. VII of the U. S. Geographical Survey of 1879 a complete translation from Smith's text by Richard Stuart Evans was published with an introductory article by H. W. Henshaw. Notes were attached to the translation in which Lt. Commander H. C. Taylor attempted to identify the places mentioned. Evans' translation was republished with some corrections in Washington, 1886, by Professor George C. Davidson, in the report of the superintendent of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey as *An Examination of some of the Early Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Coast of America from 1539-1603.* With this, Professor Davidson published a map and also identified the places named by Cabrillo, his conclusions being still usually accepted as final authority. In 1916 Dr. Herbert E. Bolton published a new translation of Smith's text in *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest.* In identifying the various places mentioned he adopted in the main the conclusions of Professor Davidson.

The writer recently obtained from the archives in Seville a copy of a document in 1-4-34/3 No. 2 R. 4, which contains the proceedings before the Audiencia in Guatemala in 1617-18 taken by Gerónimo Rodriguez de Aldana, the grandson of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, to secure some remuneration in view of the services of his distinguished ancestor. It is what was called at the time an *Informacion,* and contains a certified copy of another similar investigation which had been made in 1560 before the same Audiencia at the instance of Cabrillo's son, who was also named Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo. A number of witnesses testified at this investigation, some of whom had known Cabrillo since he first came to Mexico with Pánfilo de Narvaez. Others who knew him later were the Bishop of Guatemala, Bernal Diaz del Castillo and Alvaro de Paz, who had been Alvarado's major-domo. Two, Lázaro de Cárdenas and Francisco de Vargas, had accompanied him on his expedition. Their evidence is reproduced hereafter and, although their stories are very circumstantial, they may be said to be of uncertain value as they differ in some important respects from the text of the voyage and that of Herrera, and also from each other. Thirty-five interrogatories were put to the witnesses, and these contain no doubt the sum and substance of what the petitioner knew about his father's career. As both Cárdenas and Vargas reiterated almost entirely what was stated in the interrogatories regarding the voyage, it may be taken for granted that Cabrillo's son already possessed the same information. Interrogatory No. 23 was as follows: "If they know that after Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo died they all returned



to Navidad from the Isla del Capitan, as there was no captain or head to govern the fleet, in order to give an account to the Viceroy of all that had happened." Cárdenas in answering this stated that it was the fact and that he had given an account and *Relacion* of all that had occurred to the Viceroy. The use of the word *relacion,* which usually meant a written account, would appear to indicate that he was perhaps the author of the one from which the summary in the archives was taken.

Cartographical Note

The lack of a map of the northwest coast made by Cabrillo, or which can be considered as having been copied from one of his, is a serious drawback to any convincing identification of the places he named on that coast. Those which were published subsequent to the voyage for many years and others which were circulated in manuscript, contain only Gómara's names, almost proof that they were drawn from his published narrative. There is just a slight possibility, however, that the configuration of the coast delineated on Plates XIII and XIV may have been copied from some map emanating from the *Casa de Contratacion,* as it is much like the description of it given in the narrative translated herewith. The "Bahia de los Primieros" (error for Pinos) shown on Plate XIII looks surprisingly like Monterey Bay, with which it has been identified by the writer, and there are other points of resemblance. It was not until 1592 that any of Cabrillo's names not found in that book appear on a map. In that year the famous Molyneux globe was produced in London, on which, singularly enough, two of Cabrillo's names on the Lower California coast are to be found which had not previously appeared on the maps. Not only is there a total lack of authentic maps of Cabrillo's discoveries but there is also a singular failure to mention the voyage in the correspondence or instructions regarding later voyages to the coast, or in the narratives written by those who conducted such enterprises. The pilots of Lopez de Legaspi in 1565 seem to have been the only ones to mention any places named by him. His names do not appear even on seventeenth century maps of Spanish origin, except his Isla de San Agustin, and this was more generally known as Cenizas. No further detailed examination of the coast was made, so far as known, until 1602-1603, when Sebastian Vizcaino went over practically the same ground. He applied a new set of names to nearly all the places he visited and these have largely survived to the present day.

The writer has not been able to find any Spanish map made between 1551 and 1601 which shows more than Ulloa's discoveries. In the former year Sancho Gutierrez produced a large world map which so far as the northwest coast is concerned, is similar to the Cabot planisphere of 1544. In 1601 Herrera published a map of America in his *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales* in which the coast is drawn as far north as 45°, where it turns northeast. One name appears on this coast, "C. de Fortun," in about 41°. The configuration of the coast is not such as to inspire much confidence that it was drawn from any

actual map showing Cabrillo's discoveries. We shall see hereafter that the *San Pedro* carried one or more of Cabrillo's maps on her return voyage in 1565. The observations of the pilots of the *San Pedro* were very nearly correct in the latitude of 35°, whereas those of Cabrillo in that neighborhood were over one degree in error. The *San Pedro's* pilots were consequently unable to locate themselves from his maps and their report that they were incorrect may have induced the cosmographers in Seville to discard them.

Another reason suggests itself for the failure of the Spaniards to record Cabrillo's discoveries. At the end of the century, Rodrigo Zamorano, a cosmographer in Seville, in denouncing one Vigliaruolo, a Neapolitan and chief cosmographer in Seville, who had fled to France in 1596 with some maps, said that some of them were secret ones of the navigation of the Indies (*Los trabajos geográficos de la Casa de Contratacion* by Manuel de la Puente y Olea, Seville, 1900, page 87). It is obvious from this that there were then at Seville two kinds of maps, one for general use and another which contained details of discoveries which were not essential for navigation of Spanish vessels on the ordinary routes. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the Spaniards came in for a great deal of criticism, especially by French writers, for their alleged failure to give out the results of their explorations. Navarrete devoted a large part of his Introduction to the voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* to answering this charge. He was able to produce a very respectable list of Spanish works which gave in more or less detail results achieved by Spanish discoverers. He did not allude to the existence in the *Casa de Contratacion* of secret maps, possibly because he was not aware of their existence. When one examines with care his record of discoveries it will be noticed that no reference is made to any in the north Pacific, except those of Vizcaino as published by Torquemada and such accounts as were printed in the *Noticia* of Venegas. In spite of his array of arguments, the writer is convinced that for a long time the Spanish government maintained a fairly strict supervision over historical or geographical works and eliminated in most cases all reference to the navigation in the Atlantic or Pacific and to the coasts of their possessions in America which could be of service to foreigners. About all Navarrete was able to prove was that the censorship was lifted by the Spanish government at times in favor of certain books.

The policy of supression seems to have been inaugurated about 1560, not unlikely by Philip II. We do not have far to go to discover the reasons. His father, Charles V, seems to have had a habit of presenting to prominent individuals elaborate maps which were compiled by the royal cosmographers from the materials available in the *Casa de Contratacion*. Several such maps, made between 1520 and 1530, are still in existence and there is reason to believe that there were once others which had been made between 1530 and 1540; lastly there is the Cabot planisphere of 1544 and that of Gutierrez of 1551. The latter map has not been reproduced and it is therefore impossible to say whether or not discoveries made between 1540 and 1550 are shown on it, but certainly those of

Cabrillo do not appear. By 1550 the attacks of French corsairs on the Spaniards in the Atlantic had begun to assume alarming proportions. In this they were soon joined by the English, and before the end of the century by the Dutch. It almost appears as if the other European maritime powers had combined to plunder the Spaniards. Under such circumstances it would have been the height of folly for the latter to freely disseminate information which could be of assistance to their enemies. The more powerful their enemies became and the more weakened the Spanish marine, the more necessary did it become to withhold such knowledge. As it was, the presence on board of foreign ships of Portuguese and renegade Spanish pilots largely contributed to the failure of this policy. The frequent capture of Spanish ships, and in many cases of the charts they carried, also helped to the same end. The first positive knowledge we have of Spanish charts of the Pacific falling into the hands of any foreign nation is derived from the accounts of the expeditions of Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish around the world. It is probable that from such sources the information embodied on the map which appeared in 1587 in Hakluyt's edition of the decades of Peter Martyr and on the Molyneux globe of 1592 was obtained. There are also indications that the Dutch had obtained possession of some Spanish chart of the north Pacific before the end of the century, and we shall see later that before 1622 one of their vessels had captured another on which the northwest coast at least was delineated.

PLATE XI

From the original, slightly reduced, of a crude woodcut map in the first edition of Francisco Lopez de Gómara's *Historia de las Indias* published in Zaragoza in 1552. It is of the greatest rarity, being found only in a few copies of the book, and was not reprinted in the editions published in 1553 and 1554. It has been alleged that the map was suppressed but there is nothing about its appearance to suggest any good reason for such action. It does not even conform to Gómara's cosmographical ideas as set out in the last paragraph of his account of the northwest coast, translated in Appendix V. It is obviously not a copy of any map in the *Casa de Contratacion* depicting the results of Cabrillo's voyage, but has the appearance of having been sketched from one depicting the discoveries of Ulloa, the idea being to illustrate the views then current in Spain of the general trend of the northwest coast.

Norte.
Islandia.
cabo dl labrador
Cortes reales.
Bacallaos.
España
Canarias.
Lancero.
Florida.
Nueua España.
s. Domingo.
Marañon.
Islas de cabo Verde.
Cabo de corrientes.
Panama.
Equinocial.
Especiena.
El Peru.
Capricorno.
Chili.
Rio de la Plata.

PLATE XI

PLATE XII

From the original, somewhat reduced, of a woodcut map published in Vol. III of Ramusio's *Navigationi* in Venice, 1566. It was probably made by Giacomo Gastaldi about 1553, undoubtedly from the accounts given by Gómara of the northwest coast, of the Coronado expedition to New Mexico and perhaps of Ulloa's voyage, and was obviously inserted in the book to illustrate Gómara's geographical ideas. From the configuration of the coast, it would appear that Gastaldi had seen no map showing the result of Cabrillo's voyage. Only two names appear on it: "y^{a}. di Cedri" and "Sierra Nevadas," the last above the point where the land ends. The map conforms in no respect to those of Gastaldi which were published in 1548 in the Italian edition of Ptolemy, nor to those which he made later.

POLO ARTICO
CIRCOLO ARTICO.
TERRA DEL LABORADOR
TERRA DE BACALAOS
Orbelande
Islanda
Brasil
Mon
MARE OCEANO
Sierra Nevados
Quiuia
Cicuich
Cucho
Cibola
LA NOVA SPAGNA
LA FLORIDA
la bermuda
Streto de Gibilltera
Canarie
CIRCOLO DI CANCRO
Giopam
Rocco partida
S. Tomas
MAR DEL NORT
NICARAGVA
Panama
MAR DEL SVR
PARTE DI AFRICA
C. Verde
Verde
Trinita
EQVINOTTIALE
Gilolo
ISOLE DELLE MALVCHE
EL PERV
Trugillo
Lima
Arequipa
Cusco
Chincha
CHILI
Chili
C. hermoso
Rio Maragnon
BRASIL
Asenhon
CIRCOLO DI CAPRICORNO
MARE OCEANO
Stretto de Fernando Magaghanes
CIRCOLO ANTARTICO
POLO ANTARTICO
PONENTE
LEVANTE

PLATE XII

PLATE XIII

From a photograph, slightly reduced, of a manuscript map in a portolan atlas in the Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago. There is an almost identical map in a portolan atlas in the Library of the University of Bologna, Italy, which was reproduced by Konrad Kretschmer, who dated it after 1554, as Plate No. XXV in his *Die Entdeckung Amerika's,* Berlin 1892 (reproduced by Winship in his *Coronado Expedition*). In both atlases there are maps which resemble those of Battista Agnese of 1542 and they are therefore usually attributed to him. Gómara's names only are used on the northwest coast and the legend in the ocean at about the fortieth parallel of latitude and the mountains opposite to it on the Ayer map, indicate that his book furnished the data for it. If Agnese made the map it is not likely that he did so before 1557.

MARE INCOGNITO
CHICHIMECAS
MAR DEL SVR
GOLFO MEXICANO
MAR VERMEIO
PROV. DE XALISCO
MESICO TEMITISTA
PROV. DE NICARA
Naue del cataio
Sierra neuados
Baia de los primieros
Axa
Tigues
Cuco
Cuola della Granata
Brauo
Culco
Chiametla
Acapulco
S: Tomas
S: Bartholameo
Scala de Miglia 700

PLATE XIII

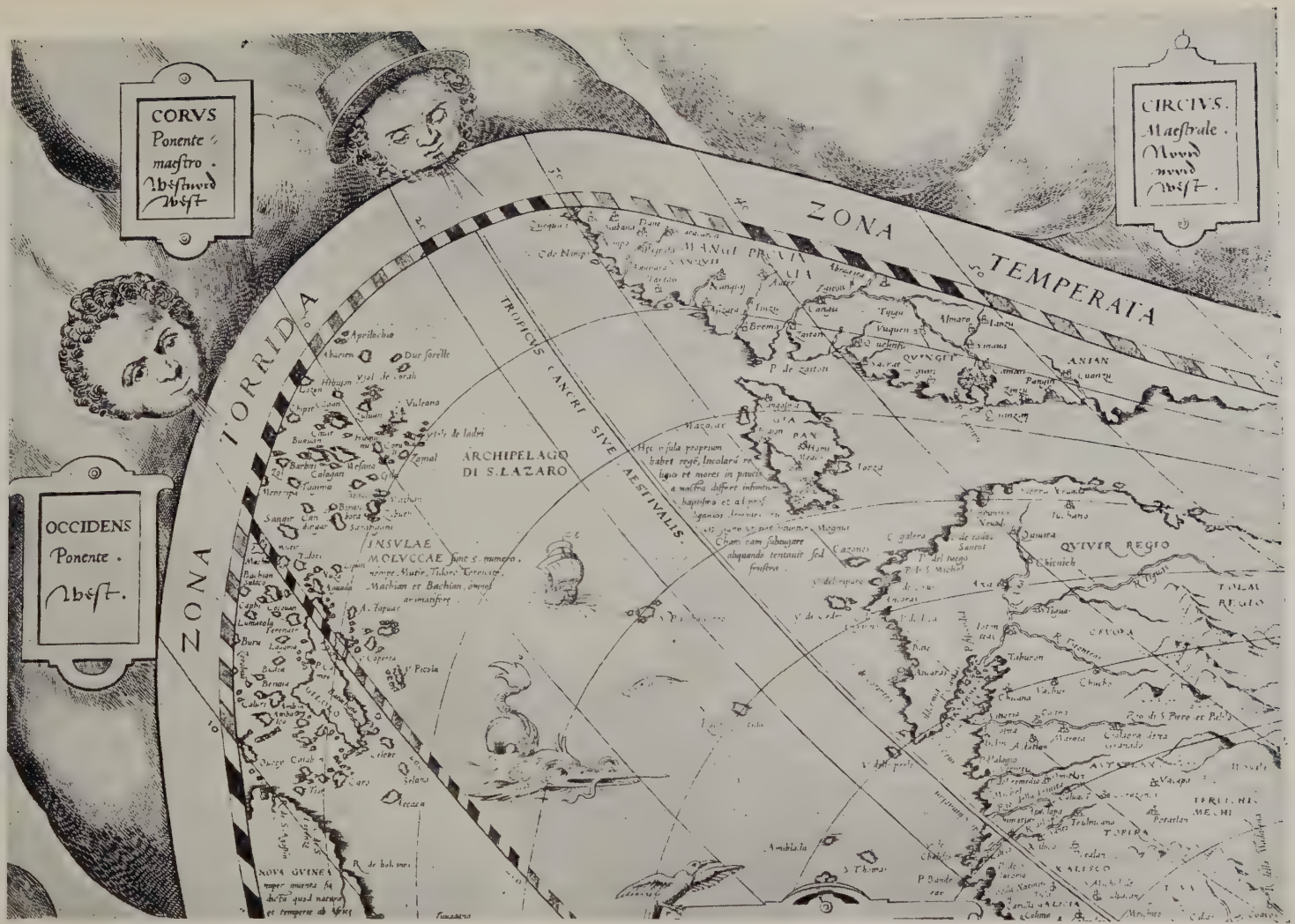

CORVS
Ponente
maestro
West
CIRCIVS.
Maestrale
North
West
OCCIDENS
Ponente
West
ZONA TORRIDA
ZONA TEMPERATA
TROPICVS CANCRI SIVE AESTIVALIS
ARCHIPELAGO DI S. LAZARO
INSVLAE MOLVCCAE
QVIVIR REGIO
NOVA GVINEA

PLATE XIV

PLATE XIV

From a photograph, somewhat reduced, of a section of a very large map in the British Museum published in Antwerp in 1564 by Gerard de Jode, entitled *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Juxta Neo-Tericorum Traditiones Descriptio.* It contains an inscription ascribing it to Abraham Ortelius and follows in most cases the nomenclature of the Agnese map (Plate XIII), although not a copy of it, the errors in that map, especially in the sequence of names, having been corrected. The Cazones are shown as an island separate either from Cedros or Natividad and located about where San Clemente is to be found. There are a few of Ulloa's names on the map, which seem to have been taken from an earlier one of Agnese's, one of these being misplaced. Some of the latitudes are five or more degrees higher than those of the Agnese map and even higher than those given in the Cabrillo account. Gómara's "Primieros" still sticks and it was not until 1587 that in another Ortelius map, *Typus Orbis Terrarum,* this was changed to its correct form "Pinos" (Pinas on the map).

The origin of this map is a matter of conjecture, beyond the obvious fact that it was drawn from some Italian model. In the writer's *Some Imaginary California Geography,* page 17, the opinion was hazarded that it might have been derived from one made by Gastaldi to illustrate the views which he set out in 1562 in *La universale descrittione del Mondo.* On page 10 of the same pamphlet it was also suggested that the map might have been constructed from two maps made by Diego Gutierrez, only one of which, that engraved in Amsterdam in 1562 by Hieronymus Cock, is extant. In other words, Ortelius obtained his data from some Italian map which had been drawn from the Spanish maps of Gutierrez to which additions were made. The writer has discussed the whole matter of the connection of the various maps here described at some length in the paper above mentioned.

Since writing the above the writer has received a copy of Vol. II of Professor G. Caraci's *Tabulae geographicae vetustiores,* in which this theory is criticized. A fresh examination of the maps in question in the light of Professor Caraci's remarks convinces the writer that he was mistaken in suggesting that the maps of Gutierrez might have furnished the information from which Ortelius drew this map (or whoever did draw it). The slight points of resemblance between the Gutierrez map of 1562 and that of Ortelius are not sufficient to warrant the conclusion then arrived at. This being the case, it is useless to enter into any argument regarding a supposed map of Gutierrez, not now extant, on which the Peninsula of California and the northwest coast were shown. That Gutierrez, however, was perfectly aware of the discoveries on that coast made by Ulloa at least, is apparent from the fact that Ulloa's names on the gulf appear on his 1562 map.

NOTES

1. P. & C., III, 363.
2. *Cartas de Indias,* No. XLV.
3. *See* Diaz del Castillo's cancelled note about him to the effect that he was a good soldier, afterwards a resident of Guatemala and captain and *almirante* of thirteen ships of Alvarado. *Conquista* I, 475.

The English equivalent of *almirante* is not "admiral" as usually translated. An *almirante* was the second in command of an *armada,,* that is, a fleet of two or more vessels. The ship which flew his flag was the *almiranta,* while that of the commander, who was a *general,* was known as the *capitana.* What we now call the "captain" of a ship was then known in Spanish parlance as a *maestre.* The *piloto* was the navigating officer. When there was no military officer aboard he was in command and then was called the *capitan.* Most of the *capitanes* who navigated the seas at that time were, however, *capitanes de guerra,* sometimes, *mar y guerra.* In the latter case they corresponded closely to captains of marines.

4. The *Informacion* seems to afford conclusive evidence that this man's name was Ferrer as given by Herrera, and not Ferrelo, as it appears in the summary of the account of the expedition. His name was probably Ferrera, an Italian name.
5. One of the witnesses in 1560 called him Lorenzo Hernandez Barreda, and perhaps that was his name. Vargas, another, said that some of the pilots had been in the Moluccas.
6. Herrera called him Carrera, but Correa was his name. *See* his declaration in Icaza, *Dicc.* No. 1354. He was also a Portuguese.
7. No doubt the man called Remo by Herrera.
8. As Franciscans had accompanied all of Cortés' expeditions, it is natural to suppose that this chaplain was also one, but the failure of the Franciscan chroniclers to more than mention the expedition creates some doubt about it.
9. P. & C., XV, 18.
10. These facts regarding Cabrillo have been gathered from the testimony of various witnesses in the investigation of 1560 and later, embodied in the *Informacion* of 1617-18.
11. Mendoza in 48-1-2/24, fol. 63 *recto,* and Herrera in his *Historia, Dec.* VII, *Lib.* IX, *Cap.* XX. Herrera chronicles the capture as in 1544.
12. *California Farmer* of August 21, 1863.
13. *Handbook of the Indians of California,* Washington, 1925, pp. 552 *et seq.* Father Zephyrin Engelhardt in his work on the Santa Barbara Mission, San Francisco, 1923, gives a long list of names of native rancherias taken from the baptismal registers. Many of these are very similar to Cabrillo names, but as the locations of the rancherias are not given identifications are impossible.
14. Dr. W. R. Livingston of Oxnard, who has made excavations in the vicinity, tells me that there are sites of probably six villages east of Mugu Lagoon. The largest was about two miles inland on a hillside a thousand feet from a living spring of fine water. Dr. Livingston also tells me that in his time Mugu Lagoon has filled up to a very great extent. Originally it was a large body of water and the probabilities are that it extended in the sixteenth century to the foot of the hills on which the principal Chumash town was located. Indeed, it is possible that at that time it was open ocean at that point, the lagoon not having formed. Dr. Livingston states that at one time the Santa Clara River emptied into the ocean in this neighborhood, the old channel being still plainly visible.
15. The town may have been far enough up the narrow canyon not to have been visible from the sea, while those near Mugu Lagoon must have been in plain sight.
16. In *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest,* New York, 1916.
17. The development of Professor Davidson's views on these questions can be seen in various editions of the *Directory for the Pacific.* The first edition was published in 1858, the second in 1862, the third as the *Coast Pilot of California,* etc., 1869, and the fourth in 1886. As late as 1869 he considered Bahia de los Pinos to have been Monterey Bay and the *Cabo* in 40° (Cabo de Pinos) to have been Point Reyes. He thought that Cabrillo had named this Cabo Mendocino. He identified the Bahia de Fuegos as San Pedro Bay, thought that Cabrillo had visited Santa Barbara, where the Pueblo de las Canoas was located, and considered the Puerto de Todos Santos to have been San Luis Obispo Bay.
18. Professor Davidson probably based this identification on Herrera's map on which he says Cabo de Fortunas appears in 43°, and on a statement in Juan de Torquemada's *Monarchia Indiana,* I, 693, that Mendoza's ship when returning from the Philippines had discovered Cabo Mendocino. (*See* Professor Davidson's views on this subject in *Francis Drake on the Northwest Coast of America,* in *Transactions* of the Geographical Society of the Pacific, 1908, pp. 6 and 7.) In the first place, C. de fortun on Herrera's map

appears to the writer to be in 41°, where he said it was, and not in 43°, and in the second place Torquemada was mistaken. He took his statement from the account of the Vizcaino voyage by Father Antonio de la Ascension, who was sadly mixed about the preceding voyages to this coast. He apparently derived his ideas about Mendoza's ships discovering the cape on their return from Juan Gaytan's fable published by Ramusio, as will be seen in a following chapter. Gaytan stated that one of the ships of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos which went to the Moluccas in 1542 returned to New Spain. There is no other evidence whatever that such was the case and even if the statement were true there is no likelihood that the ship ever saw the northwest coast of America.

19. The Sacramento River of course is a great river and if Cabrillo had seen the mouth of it there can be hardly any doubt but that he would have explored it. It seems probable, however, that he passed Point Reyes at some distance at sea as no mention occurs of the Farallons. It is not impossible, however, that he saw these and did mention them but the person who made the summary omitted them as being of no importance.

20. *See* Note 37 to Chapter II.

21. No doubt Cabo Pulmo or in that neighborhood, as it is clear that his Punta was not another name for Cabo de San Lucas as it was afterward considered to be. The first appearance of the name California on a map occurs on that of Diego Gutierrez of 1562 in that neighborhood. Herrera states that they reached Cabo Corrientes on the morning of the 28th, and on July 2 sighted the Puerto del Marqués del Valle called La Cruz. From this statement it would appear that there was some small bay called after Cortés near Cabo Pulmo.

22. This port, directly under Cabo San Lucas and in latitude 22° 52′, was probably discovered by Cortés, as it plainly appears on the map attached to the act of taking possession of Santa Cruz on May 3, 1535. The name which it still bears was almost certainly given by Bolaños on San Lucas' day, October 18, 1541.

23. *Sp., fondable,* a word much in use in this document and other accounts of exploration in the sixteenth century. It always seems to mean "of reasonable depth for anchoring."

24. It is impossible to say whether the "5" is an error for "50," "45" or "35." According to Davidson the distance is 43 leagues. They were here at the anchorage under Punta Tosco, in 24° 17′—error, 43′, which Ulloa named Punta de la Trinidad on December 2, 1540; he also placed it in 25°.

If Cabrillo used the Spanish marine league of seventeen and one-half to a degree, that is, about four geographical miles each, he very much exaggerated the distances. His league hardly ever seems to have been more than about two and one-half miles long, if we compare the distances he measures from one known place to another with the actual ones.

25. *Sp., requesta,* usually translated as "without any irregularity," but the word does not have that meaning. As used at that time it meant "reefs" or "shoals to be looked out for."

26. The water which Ulloa found was on the east side of the island, some little distance north of the port.

27. Almost certainly so named by Bolaños on that Saint's day, October 23, 1541. Ulloa discovered the entrance October 5, 1541, but did not pass in. He apparently named it the "Baia de Abad," after San Sabás Abad. It is now known as "Bahia de la Magdalena" in 24° 32′—error, 58′. Bolaños must have remained in it some little time, and no doubt it was from his account that Cabrillo obtained the information that neither water nor wood was to be found there.

28. Usually translated "gulf" or "bay." Perhaps the first is the more nearly correct, but *ensenada* usually at that time meant a body of water of greater length than width, without protection from storms.

29. Cabo San Lázaro, in 24° 48′—error, 1° 12′.

30. This is a good description of the coast north of Cabo San Lázaro for a long distance.

31. Probably the bay east of Punta San Juanico, or possibly Punta Pequeña as identified by Henshaw and Davidson. Punta San Juanico is in 26° 03′—error, 57′. Cabrillo does not say that the port was in 27°, but that might be a proper inference. The day of Santa Maria Magdalena is July 22.

32. This name had also probably been given by Bolaños, November 11, 1541; the bay seems to have been the one now known as Santa Maria, just north of the entrance to Bahia de la Magdalena.

33. *Sp., ruines,* a word in frequent use in the narrative. It might best be translated by the slang expression "rotten."

34. So named by Bolaños, November 25, 1541, and no doubt Punta San Domingo in 26° 29′, 26 miles from Punta San Juanico.

35. Bahia de Ballenas in 26° 45′—error, 45′. Perhaps named after the Apostle Santiago whose day it was, although it may have been given by Bolaños, as he must have been there on the Martyr Santiago's day, November 27. The "San Mateo" of Ladrillero is probably an error for "Santiago."

36. This is probably an error for the Puerto de Santiago, as the rocks are actually about twelve or thirteen miles from the anchorage at the head of Bahia de Ballenas.

37. Still known by the same name and in latitude 26° 46′—error, 44′. It is probable that Bolaños gave them this name.

38. Named after the Saint whose day was July 26. The island must have been San Roque, as Isla Asuncion is less than a mile from shore. In this case, the point and bay must have been Punta and Bahia de San Roque and not Bahia Asuncion as identified by Davidson. The first sentence in which the first person is used.

39. Although the distance from Punta San Roque to Bahia de San Pablo, in 27° 11′, is not six leagues, yet by reference to the distance given later from this bay to Puerto de San Bartolomé, eighteen leagues, it seems obvious that the anchorage was in Bahia de San Pablo.

40. Puerto de San Bartolomé in 27° 39′—error, 51′. This San Pedro's day is August 1.

41. This is the second time in the narrative that the first person is used, and this same expression, "We have not seen an Indian," with some variations, occurs hereafter several times.

42. This is the island now known as Natividad, in 27° 53′. It was discovered by Ulloa, who called the group the "Islas de San Esteban," a curious coincidence although the saints were different, Cabrillo's of August 3 being Saint Stephen the Pope, and Ulloa's Saint Stephen the Apostle, he having discovered the islands December 26, 1540, or January 2 or 3, 1541, probably the latter.

43. It is doubtful whether this sentence refers to the coast of the island or the coast of the mainland, but from the following sentence probably the latter was meant.

44. That is, the great Bahia de Sebastian Vizcaino.

45. That is, kelp, and so referred to hereafter.

46. Actually in 28° 02′—error, 58′. The island was called "Cedros" by Ulloa, who discovered it, on account of some cedar trees on a mountain at the north end of the island. At the time of the Vizcaino expedition in 1602 the name became changed to "Cerros," probably through an error in copying the name.

47. Whose day was August 12. The port was identified by Henshaw and Davidson as Bahia Playa Maria in 28° 55′—error, 1°.

48. This point was identified as Punta Canoas in 29° 25′ by Henshaw and Davidson, but it is more probable that it was Bluff Point in 29° 34′—error, 56′.

49. Whose day was August 20. It was San Gerónimo in 29° 48′—error, 52′. In transcribing the MS for Navarrete, an error was made in the latitude of this island, making it read 30½°; this was so copied by Smith and in consequence will be so found in all previous translations.

50. By reference to what follows it appears that this Punta del Engaño was what is now known as Punta Baja in 29° 56′—error, 1° 4′, although it is not seven leagues from San Gerónimo but only a little over nine miles. The name was no doubt a variation of the Cabo del Engaño as it appeared upon the maps which showed the results of Ulloa's voyage, but as its location on these differs and there is no mention of it in any account of his voyage, it is quite impossible to say where it was. There is no evidence that Cabrillo had any account of Ulloa's voyage, but his map must have shown the Cabo del Engaño or Punta del Engaño.

51. The second time that this phrase appears.

52. *Sp., poniendoles a monte.* This expression has caused the translators all kinds of trouble, resulting in some ridiculous versions. The expression was a common one at the time, and meant to "lay a ship on shore in some kind of temporary stocks for repair or for other reasons."

53. No doubt Puerto San Quentin in 30° 24′—error, 1° 6′. Cabrillo was now beyond the farthest discovery of Ulloa, so far as known, and began to take possession of the country in accordance with his instructions.

54. There is a blank here which was probably filled with *brazos* or some similar word.

55. The saline is still there.

56. This Indian story, which was repeated several times afterwards farther north, appears here to point to the Spaniards of the Ulloa expedition, as they had dogs.

57. This word seems to be an error for *cotaras,* which Dr. Bolton states in his translation were a kind of Indian footwear, or sometimes Indian clothing in general. *Cotaras*

frequently occurs in the *Relacion de las Ceremonias y Ritos y Poblacion..... de la Provincia de Mechuacan,* published in Morelia in 1904, but only in one case might it be deduced that the article was "footwear." When the messengers from Montezuma came to Mechuacan to try to get aid against the Spaniards they described the horses as *venados (que) traen calzado cotaras de yerro,* page 81. That is to say, they had iron shoes, no doubt a reference to their horseshoes.

58. Whose day is August 28. The island is now known as San Martin and is in 30° 29′, although that island is not two leagues in circumference. It was afterwards called "Cenizas" on account of the ashy appearance of the soil. Cermeño, who was at this island in December, 1595, said it was eight or nine leagues long and four wide. It was then inhabited. He placed it in 31½°.

59. Probably horns of mountain sheep.

60. The accumulation of driftwood on this island was noticed by later visitors.

61. This seems to have been Bahia San Ramon in 30° 49′. The fields of kelp are still there.

62. In the MS this name is written "s. m.," undoubtedly intended for Santa Maria. In the next paragraph the cape is referred to as "s. min.," that is, San Martin. This is an obvious error, as the day the cape was named was the natal day of the Virgin Mary and on such a day Cabrillo certainly would never have called the cape "San Martin." In the Navarrete copy, printed by Smith, the name was written out in the first place, "San Martin," and as such it appears in all previous translations. That the name given was Santa Maria further appears from the Molyneux globe which shows this name in this locality. After leaving Bahia San Ramon the next places named are extremely difficult to identify. It would certainly seem as if Cabo Santa Maria should be Cabo Colnett, but the latitude of this cape, 30° 57′, would make the error 1° 33′, rather larger than seems reasonable. It is, however, only by accepting this identification that it is possible to account for the distance of 17 leagues given from it to Cabo de Cruz, which can hardly be any other than Punta Santo Tomás in 31° 33′, and the trend attributed to the coast.

63. It is not certain whether the "apparently" belongs to what goes before or after.

64. This port perhaps was at the mouth of the Rio San Telmo in the bay east of Cabo Colnett.

65. October 14 was the day of the celebration of the Exaltacion de la Santa Cruz. It is not easy to identify the cape, but from the reference later to the small island passed, which must have been one of the Islas Todos Santos, it seems evident that the Cabo de Cruz was Punta Santo Tomás in 31° 33′—error, 1° 27′. The chief objection to this identification lies in the fact that it is stated in the narrative that there was no water nor wood there, whereas the Rio Santo Tomás empties into the ocean a short distance from the point and there is usually water in that river.

66. Identified by Davidson, and probably correctly so, as Ensenada in 31° 52′—error, 1° 28′. San Mateo's day was September 21, the day Cabrillo was there. Henshaw identified it as San Diego Bay.

67. The animals must have been antelope.

68. The Coronados in 32° 25′—error, 1° 35′. In the text an ambiguous expression occurs: *despoblados de tierra dellos.* Dr. Bolton translated this "denuded of soil," and Evans, "uninhabited."

69. San Diego in 32° 40′—error, 1° 40′. September 29 is San Miguel's day. Although nothing can be more certain than that Cabrillo's San Miguel was the modern San Diego, Henshaw identified it as San Pedro, probably having been misled by the error in his text about the second San Salvador Island. All other investigators are agreed.

70. Although it is easy to misunderstand the gestures and signs of Indians, and questioners usually interpret them to mean what they wish them to mean, this description coupled with similar stories heard later seems to indicate plainly enough that the Indians on the coast had heard about the Spaniards on the other side of the Colorado River. One of the objects of Cabrillo's expedition was to obtain information about the places visited by Coronado, and no doubt most of his questions communicated to the Indians, of course by signs only, were directed towards finding out if the Indians had ever seen people like them before.

71. October 1 is rather early these days for a southwest storm, but it seems to have marked the beginning of the rainy season in that year.

72. It is customary to identify Vitoria as San Clemente and San Salvador as Santa Catalina, but without good reason. The narrative distinctly states that they arrived at daybreak, October 7, at the islands, an expression which would never have been used in referring to islands twenty miles apart, as San Clemente and Santa Catalina are. Cabrillo seems to have passed over to the island from a point somewhere near San Juan, as that

is roughly about eighteen leagues from San Diego. What he saw was undoubtedly Santa Catalina, which always appears to be two islands at no very great distance. Which part he called San Salvador and which Vitoria is not known, as it is impossible to make out whether he landed on the north or south part. On the return in the following April they stopped at San Salvador again and this time no mention was made of Vitoria, so it seems they had found out before they left the first time, or shortly after sailing from there, that there was only one island. The names given were those of his two ships.

73. This bay was originally identified by Davidson as San Pedro but Henshaw thought it was Santa Monica, and in 1886 Davidson changed his opinion to agree with that of Henshaw. Bancroft considered it to be San Pedro, with which identification the writer agrees. The latitude of San Pedro Bay is 33° 43′—error, 1° 17′, much smaller than the error at San Diego. If the bay were Santa Monica, the error would only be 1°, much too small. The principal reasons, however, for the identification as San Pedro are the description given by Cabrillo and the fact that he had not previously referred to it, having passed over to Santa Catalina before reaching it. As the weather was good and his business was to examine the coast, he would have had no excuse for passing by San Pedro Bay, which indeed he must have seen from a distance before crossing over to the island.

74. *Fuegos* and *fumos* were used rather indiscriminately in the early accounts.

75. Undoubtedly Santa Monica Bay, which is an *ensenada* properly speaking.

76. It is not clear whether Cabrillo sent these Spaniards or not.

77. Near Mugu Lagoon where Vizcaino afterward found a town, the remains of which were explored fifty years ago. This place is in about 34° 05′—error, 1° 15′, the same as for San Pedro Bay.

78. As these islands are the first he mentions in this locality and the description, except for the size, corresponds to the Anacapa Islands, it is plain that these are the ones to which he refers. I have been informed recently that a little water can be obtained on one of them.

79. The anchorage that night must have been in the neighborhood of Pt. Gorda, which is about eight leagues beyond Mugu Lagoon. Even if it was at Rincon Point, as suggested by Professor Davidson, it was too close to Ventura to allow for Pueblo de las Canoas having been at that point.

80. Usually identified as the Carpinteria Valley, apparently correctly so, as it is about two leagues from Point Gorda, besides being the only valley on this immediate part of the coast.

81. *Cae,* perhaps *Cue,* as the manuscript is not very clear. As these Indians hardly could have had any knowledge of buffalo it seems likely that the animals they described by signs were elk or deer.

82. After that Saint, whose day is October 18. Usually said to be Santa Cruz and Santa Rosa combined, as these islands appear to overlap to a certain extent when seen from some directions. Subsequently the name San Lucas was restricted to the middle island, Santa Rosa. The names of the towns bear no resemblance to those afterwards given in the narrative to towns on either Santa Rosa or Santa Cruz.

83. There is still on this part of the coast a "Dos Pueblos," evidently a reminiscence of these two Indian pueblos. This was the name of a Spanish land grant which extended along the coast some ten miles or more. Near the west end there is quite a running stream coming down a canyon still called "Dos Pueblos Canyon." The place is an ideal one for Indian settlements, as even today there is quite a lot of timber in the bottom. In June, 1875, some excavations were made on both sides of the creek on the level bluffs which here rise perhaps thirty feet above the sea. Extensive remains were found, indicating that at one time a large population was settled here. The excavators heard that the creek formed the boundary between two different subtribes which spoke different dialects. *U. S. Geog. Survey,* 1879, 41. The small village in the creek bottom is now called Naples.

84. Whether this was the place which is subsequently called in the narrative "Puerto de Sardinas," or whether that name was applied to the two pueblos just passed, is uncertain. Pueblo de Sardinas is stated to have been in 35° 40′, and Professor Davidson considered that the name was applied to some Indian villages at Gaviota Pass in 34° 27′. Later in the narrative it is called "Çicacut" and Çiucut is said to have been the chief town of a province which extended from there to Cabo de Galera. This would rather point to the fact that Çicacut was the western one of the "Dos Pueblos" and Çiucut was further west.

85. Many of these small daggers were dug up at the sites of Chumash villages in 1875 by the exploring party. *Geog. Survey* for 1879, 307.

86. Pt. Conception in 34° 27′ — an error of at least 1° 33′ — and if we take the latitude given by Herrera as 36½°—an error of 2°. The description of the cape is sufficiently exact to make the identification practically complete.

87. Cabrillo apparently recognized these islands as the ones to which he had previously applied the same name. He now saw San Miguel and Santa Rosa.

88. An error was made by Navarrete's copyist, who has here "northeast." What is meant is the general direction of the islands. In Herrera the correct statement is made that the islands trend west a quarter northwest.

89. *Sp., temporal.* A *temporal,* strictly speaking, was a seasonal rainstorm, and the rainy season in Mexico is still usually referred to as that of the *temporales.* No doubt that was precisely what this storm was.

90. This island was San Miguel and the port could hardly be any other than Cuyler's Harbor, as explained by Davidson.

91. *Sp., trabesia,* always an awkward word to translate, as it has numerous applications. From the context it appears that the wind was blowing directly on shore and therefore in this case the word might be translated "on-shore wind," as is usually done.

92. That is to say, the coast north of Pt. Argüello.

93. This is the first time in the narrative that any mention occurs of any particular search for a river. A small stream empties into the ocean at 34° 42′, now known either as the Purisima or the Santa Ynez. They had obviously heard about this from the Indians, to whom it may have appeared very large in their ignorance of any real river. They apparently wasted considerable time in hunting for it. The Santa Maria, which empties into the Pacific in about 34° 57′, is still larger than the Purisima, but perhaps they did not see the mouth of it, or, if they did, rightly concluded that it was not the one they were seeking. The reference to a bold coast would indicate that they were in the neighborhood of Pt. Sal in 34° 54′.

94. This is now called "Cojo Anchorage," a name which looks very much as if it had been derived from this Indian name. November 1 was the day of Todos Santos.

95. It seems likely that it was at this town that some of the chiefs came on board and danced to the sound of a tambourine and the Castilian bagpipe, as related by Herrera.

96. This expression is ambiguous. Perhaps it was meant that the tamales were good food.

97. *Sp., no podrian valerse,* a quite absurd statement. The *no* is an obvious error.

98. Evidently in the neighborhood of San Luis Obispo, perhaps off Pt. Sal. As they had been along this coast before, they obviously sailed at night. This is about where Herrera said they were looking for the Rio de Nuestra Señora without finding it, as explained above in Note 93.

99. The coast range of mountains from Mount Buchon north, which follows the coast some ten or fifteen miles inland and rises to an altitude of nearly 4,000 feet; immediately on the coast in places there is a lower range, not nearly so high as the one in the interior, although when close to shore it might appear to be so. The main range is now usually known as the Santa Lucia Mountains, so named by Vizcaino.

100. Coming from the south, this range of mountains can be seen coming down to the sea some eighteen miles north of Pt. Piedras Blancas, and as at this time Cabrillo evidently did not reach Cabo de Martin, it may be considered uncertain as to whether he meant the cape now known as San Martin in 35° 54′ or Pt. Piedras Blancas in 35° 40′. The latitude which he gives to it of 38° becomes 37½° in the latter part of the narrative, when they were coming down from the north. Later in the narrative it is also stated that the country was inhabited for fifteen leagues southeast of this cape, while just before this it is said to have been uninhabited. Herrera states that Cabo de San Martin was at the northwest end of the Sierras de San Martin.

101. *Sp., deparase,* a word which has no meaning here, and therefore must be an error. I suggest that it might be *amparase.* From Herrera's account it would seem that this occurred on the *Capitana.*

102. Pt. Reyes in 38° — error, 2°. Herrera: "A cape runs out into the sea covered with very tall pine trees. They called it 'Cabo de Pinos,' and taking the sun, found themselves in 40°. More towards the northwest, where they reconnoitered more than fifteen leagues of coast which trended northwest-southeast, everything was high land."

103. It is possible that these sierras and the timber here referred to were north of the Russian River, if this were the country referred to in the previous note. If however, the reference is to what was seen on Wednesday, the sierras must have been the Santa Cruz Mountains.

104. Monterey Bay. The expression, *que venia de vuelta,* which immediately follows, seems to have little meaning in this place. I have translated it "which came from behind," but it is more probable that the expression referred to the fact that they were now coming back from the north.

105. No doubt the Salinas River and Salinas Valley.

106. It is probable that this anchorage was near the mouth of the Pájaro River, where this depth of water can still be found not far from shore. Where the observation of 39° was taken is not stated, but if here, his error is about 2°.

107. Although the statement is explicit that the *ensenada* was full of pines down to the sea, it seems more likely that the reference was to a bay which very likely was merely one in the *ensenada* itself, namely Santa Cruz or possibly Soquel Cove, unless perhaps Monterey Bay at that time had pine trees all around its shores, by no means beyond belief.

108. This is a perfect description of the coast between Pt. Carmel and Cape San Martin, and hardly applies to any other part of the coast Cabrillo saw, certainly none so extended.

109. The northern part of the Santa Lucia range which immediately fronts the coast.

110. As the ships were now going south, and as Cabo de San Martin was at the south end of this range, it follows that the Cabo de Nieve was at the north end, and therefore was Cypress Point in 36° 35′ — error 2° 05′, which is really the end of the range. The difference of one-third of a degree in the latitudes assigned to it and to the Baia de los Pinos would seem to prove that the latter must have been near Santa Cruz.

111. In spite of this plain statement that they went close to the coast from Cabo San Martin south, it is more probable that they were some distance from land.

112. In the narrative this cape appears in some places as Cabo de San Martin, and in others as Cabo de Martin. What was meant by changing the latitude, first put at 38°, to 37½°, is quite uncertain. It might appear that they now decided that the Cabo de San Martin was Pt. Piedras Blancas in 35° 40′. From this point almost down to Pt. Buchon the coast country is more or less rolling, with a high mountain range in the interior, and there were certainly a number of Indian settlements at various points on it. Just why they found no signs that it was inhabited when they sailed north is not easy to see and creates some doubt as to whether this was the particular part of the coast there described. If it be assumed that on this return voyage they changed the name Cabo de San Martin to what is now Pt. Buchon, the fifteen leagues to the southeast would then cover the San Luis Obispo Bay region and the inhabited valley of the Santa Maria. This hypothesis, however, does not seem suitable, all due allowance being made for the various factors which have to be taken into consideration.

113. In spite of this explicit statement there is good reason to believe that it is not correct. In the *Informacion* two witnesses appeared who had accompanied Cabrillo. Lázaro de Cárdenas said that "he [Cabrillo] reached an island, which he named the 'Capitana,' where he decided to winter as he had encountered a violent tempest at sea and thought that the ships would be lost. As he was going ashore in a boat with some soldiers he fell between some rocks and broke a leg. From this fall a fatal illness ensued from which he died within twelve days and was buried there. Before the end he called Captain Ferrer and gave him the appointment as captain-general of the said fleet in the name of His Majesty by reason of a royal commission which he carried. He admonished and begged him to take charge of the service of God and His Majesty and the handling of the fleet until he could go to give an account of it all to the viceroy of New Spain. By reason of his death, which occurred there, the island retains the name 'Capitana.'" 1-4-34/3, 2, 4, fol. 22 *verso*.

Francisco de Vargas testified that "he [Cabrillo] discovered the island named 'Capitana' and according to what the pilots said there, from the observations which they took, he was very near Maluco and the spice country and in the neighborhood of China. The pilots were Matia, Bartolomé Ferrer and the Corsican, Lorenzo Hernandez, some of whom had before been to the said Islas del Maluco. With the natives of this island he had some great fights as they came out in a warlike manner. During all the time the fleet was at the Isla Capitana the Indians never stopped fighting. One day, a large party of soldiers having gone ashore to take water, a number of Indians attacked them and handled them so roughly that they were in danger. General Juan Rodriguez, seeing from the ship the difficulties in which the Indians had his men and hearing the clamor, hurried up to give them assistance. He himself with some soldiers went ashore, and as they were landing his foot slipped from the boat and his shinbone was shattered on a rock. From this he died on his own ship in ten or twelve days, first having extracted his soldiers from the dangers in which they were." 1-4-34/4, 2, 4, fol. 24 *verso*.

114. As in the text. The "no" seems from the context to be an error, but some of the Channel Island Indians are said to have had a kind of bed or bunk, so perhaps this bald statement is as originally reported by Cabrillo.

115. In the MS this is "s. s.," but the date, January 20, the day of San Sebastian, proves that the "s. s." stood for his name. Furthermore, Herrera refers to the island as San Sebastian. Whoever wrote out the MS for Navarrete thought that "s. s." stood for

San Salvador, thus injecting into the narrative a confusion which has brought great trouble to all writers on the voyage, who concluded, of course, that this San Salvador must have been the one previously named, that is, Santa Catalina. The island was Santa Cruz.

116. Just previously, this town was called "Estocoloco." The island was the one now known as Santa Rosa. From the narrative it appears that the name "San Lucas" had now been restricted to that island.

117. It is rather useless to speculate about which islands these six might have been, but it seems probable that they included the three they had just left.

118. This seems to have been a long tack to the southwest with a west-northwest wind.

119. This mention of the Cabo de Pinos is sufficient to show that Ferrer considered it a landmark, and goes very far towards demonstrating that it must have been Pt. Reyes.

120. Pt. Arena in 38° 57′. Twenty leagues from Pt. Reyes would have brought them about to this point at which the coast, as a matter of fact, does turn from northwest to north-northwest. This point Herrera called "Cabo de Fortunas," placing it in 41°, that is, 1° north of Cabo de Pinos — error, 2° in the observation, the same as for Cabo de Pinos.

121. Allowing for a correction of 2°, they were then in about 41°.

122. The text is a little ambiguous; it might mean that the sea molested them by breaking over the ships. From the context it is certain that they were now going northwest.

123. *Sp., puente,* strictly speaking a deck over a compartment; it is no doubt used in that sense here.

124. During the rainy season a number of rivers from Eel River north carry large quantities of water into the sea with plenty of drift timber.

125. A further indication that the Cabo de Pinos was a notable landmark.

126. In the *Informacion* in one of the interrogatories, it is asked if the fleet did not go up as high as 55°. No one answered this question except Francisco de Vargas, who said they went up as far as 45°, according to the charts. This figure was very commonly given later as the highest point reached by the expedition. At the end of Herrera's account it is said that they went up as high as 44°, in this respect probably following the original account of the expedition. As it has been previously seen that there was almost certainly an error of at least 2° in the observations above the thirty-sixth parallel, there is in consequence little likelihood that any of the ships ever got above 42°, and even there they must have been at some little distance from the coast.

127. *Sp., desnudos en carnes,* that is, stark naked, an expression common in the sixteenth century. Dr. Bolton in a note of explanation suggests that it meant stripped to the waist, on the authority of Father Zephyrin Englehardt.

128. The sentence is incomplete. It seems likely that in the original the names of the officers and perhaps the crew followed here, omitted in the summary as serving no purpose.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

Bibliographical Note

Numberless writers have had something to say about the voyage of Magellan, but the original documents from which they have gained their information are few in number. With the exception of a long account published in 1523 in Rome in the form of a letter written from Valladolid October 24, 1522, to the Cardinal of Salsburg by Maximilian of Transylvania, the secretary of Charles V, and another by Antonio Pigafetta, who accompanied the expedition, first published in Paris about 1525, the original documents dealing with the expedition are to be found in the archives in Seville, Lisbon, Paris or Madrid. The two principal accounts of the voyage are the *Derrotero* of Francisco Albo in 1-2-1/1 No. 5 and a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, purporting to have been written by Ginés de Mafra, entitled *Del descubrimiento del Estrecho de Magallanes*. In the Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, there is a letter of Antonio de Brito to the King of Portugal (1523), and in the same *legajo* as the *Derrotero* of Albo in Seville are the declarations made in Valladolid October 18, 1522, by Albo, Fernando de Bustamante, and Cano and those made August 2, 1527, by Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, Leon Pancaldo and Mafra. These documents with the exception of Mafra's work, which has only been published in 1921 by the Real Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid, were printed in 1837 by Martin Fernandez de Navarrete in Vol. IV of his *Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglo XV*, as appendixes to his account of the expedition. Gomez, Pancaldo, and Mafra were the only ones who had been on the *Trinidad* and knew anything of her voyage to the northeast. These together with others of collateral interest were reprinted by José Toribio Medina in Vols. 1 and 2 of a *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile*, Santiago, 1888, and in 1920 he published another small collection of documents, which he had discovered since 1888, in commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the Strait of Magellan. The only one which relates to the expedition itself is the translation of a very short and unimportant letter written by Cano to the Emperor after his return. The letter exists in the form of a copy in Italian in the Marciana Library in Venice and is contained in one addressed to the Doge, September 24, 1522, by his ambassador in Spain, Gaspare Contarini. Medina took the text from Vol. 1, Part 3, pp. 103-4 of the *Raccolta di documenti e studi de la R. Commissione Columbiana*, Rome, 1892.

Peter Martyr, in Decade 5, Book 7, first published in Alcalá in 1530, was the first Spanish historian to treat of the voyage. He was followed in 1552 by Gómara with a very short account in his *Historia de las Indias*, and in 1557 by Oviedo in *Libro* XX of his *Historia*. In 1601 Herrera published another and much longer history of the expedition in his *Historia, Dec.* II: *Lib.* II,

Cap. XIX; *Lib.* IIII, *Caps.* IX-X; *Lib.* IX, *Caps.* X-XV; *Dec.* III: *Lib.* I, *Caps.* III-IV and IX-XI; *Lib.* IV, *Caps.* I-II. Herrera undoubtedly had access to many of the documents just cited, and also to some one or more accounts which are lost.

In recent years interest in the voyage has revived, and several authoritative works have been published on the subject: P. Pablo Pastells' *Descubrimiento del Estrecho de Magallanes,* Madrid, 1920, and his *Historia general de Filipinas* which is now appearing as a preliminary essay to a *Catálogo de documentos relativos a las Filipinas.* Four volumes of this work compiled by Pedro Torres Lanzas which bring the history to the close of 1602 have so far been published, Barcelona 1925-1928. The most ambitious performance was that of Segundo de Ispuzua, *La primera vuelta al Mundo.* The first volume appeared in Madrid in 1922 and the second in 1926. Most of the work is devoted to an examination of the geographical knowledge of the Spaniards previous to the time the enterprise was undertaken, Ispuzua not having been able to treat extensively of the expedition itself before his untimely death. Pigafetta's account with a translation by James A. Robertson from the Italian text was published in Cleveland, 1906.

The documents in the archives concerning the voyage of Loaysa are much more numerous than those treating of Magellan's. The principal ones are reports of Hernando de la Torre, dated June 11, 1528, at Tidore, March 1, 1532, and one undated but written after August 15, 1534; a letter of Pedro de Montemayor to the King of Portugal (in the Torre do Tombo) dated January 14, 1533; the declaration of Juan de Mazuecos; the accounts of Andrés de Urdaneta and Macias del Poyo, September 4, 1536; that of Francisco de Paris, October 25, 1536; other declarations of Urdaneta and Poyo made about the same time and the long history of the expedition by Urdaneta, presented February 26, 1537. There is also an interesting letter from Hernando de Bustamante and Diego de Salinas dated May 3, 1529, in the Torre do Tombo. All the above except those in the Torre do Tombo are in 1-2-1/4 and are all printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion,* Vol. V. The principal secondary account is that contained in *Libro* XX of Oviedo's *Historia* first published in 1557 and reprinted in the edition of 1851-55. In *Caps.* XII-XIII of this book is the story of the *Santiago* related to him by Juan de Areyçega, and in *Cap.* XV, *et seq.,* a joint history by Urdaneta and Martin de Islares about their stay in the Moluccas, told to Oviedo when they stopped in Santo Domingo on their way to Guatemala in 1539. All later writers on the Philippines have much or little to say of the expedition. Herrera in his *Historia* has the fullest account: *Dec.* III, *Lib.* IX, *Caps.* III-VI; *Dec.* IV, *Lib.* I, *Caps.* II-V, *Lib.* III, *Caps.* V-VI, *Lib.* V, *Caps.* VI-IX.

All the documents relating to the Saavedra expedition known to the writer are in 1-2-1/10 in the archives in Seville, except an anonymous one in the library of the Escorial, probably written by the clerk Francisco Granado, but

possibly by Saavedra himself. This and the account written by Vicente de Nápoles are the most important, and together with many of the others were printed by Navarrete in Vol. V of his *Coleccion*. Herrera treated the voyage at some length in his *Historia, Dec.* IV; *Lib.* I, *Cap.* VI; *Lib.* III, *Cap.* VI; and *Lib.* V, *Cap.* VI. The two attempts of Saavedra to return to New Spain are related in the last two chapters, taken in all probability from the anonymous account and that of Nápoles, although he may have had another source as his account differs in some respects from theirs. Oviedo gives some particulars of both of Saavedra's attempts to return to New Spain in the general account he received from Urdaneta and Islares, *Lib.* XX, *Caps.* XXIX-XXXI.

The account of the Villalobos expedition given in this chapter has been drawn up largely from that written by Garcia de Escalante Alvarado, 1-1-1/23, R. 10, and printed in P. & C., V, 117, *et seq.* The writer has also used the letter written by Fray Gerónimo de Santiesteban from Cochin dated January 22, 1547, 1-1-1/20, No. 5, R. 12, printed in P. & C. XIV, 151, *et seq.* Still another *Relazione* exists, written by a man named Juan Gaytan (Gaetano in Italian), which was printed in Italian in 1550 in Ramusio's *Navigationi,* Vol. I. Some information about the expedition is contained in the *Tratado* of Antão Galvão, published in 1563 in Lisbon. Galvano, as he is usually called, was a Portuguese who, having been in command in the Moluccas, had been replaced by Jorje da Castro just before Villalobos reached there. He evidently obtained in India some information about the voyage, and especially about that of Torre, as he refers to some of the islands discovered by the latter under names which do not appear in the Spanish narratives. The references are to the London Hakluyt Society translation published in 1862. In 1615 Herrera in his *Historia, Dec.* VII, *Lib.* V, *Caps.* V-XIV, printed a full account of the expedition.

Beginning with this expedition the history of the Philippines is detailed at much length by the writers of the Augustinian Order as we first encounter friars of this Order with Villalobos. In 1624 Juan de Grijalva published in Mexico his *Crónica de la orden de N. P. S. Agustin en las provincias de la Nueva España.* Grijalva, although he used some of the documents in the government archives in Mexico, undoubtedly had at hand an original and detailed story written by one of his brother Augustinians who had accompanied the expedition, but as, like most friars, the author of this was chiefly interested in telling of his personal experiences and in relating miraculous events, Grijalva's account lacks definiteness and, worse still, dates. In 1698 Fray Gaspar de San Augustin published in Madrid his *Conquista de las Philipinas.* San Augustin used Grijalva's work freely, but was able to add some fresh material of interest although he wrote so much later. A chapter on the expedition will also be found in the work of Uncilla, another Augustinian writer, referred to later in this note, and a longer account of it appears in Pastells' *Historia.*

The original documents extant relating to the Legaspi expedition are very

numerous. With few exceptions they are to be found in 1-1-1/23, 58-3-9, 59-4-3, and 60-2-16. The first file is one of those in the *Patronato* in which it was attempted to collect all the narratives dealing with it, and in fact everything, except correspondence of the viceroys and other individuals. The second file contains the correspondence of the viceroy, the third, letters of private individuals to the King from 1550-1570, and the fourth, letters examined in the Council from ecclesiastics.

In 1-1-1/23 are the memorials of Urdaneta of January 1, 1561; the accounts of the outward voyage written by the pilots, Jayme Martinez Fortun and Diego Martin (jointly), Pierres Plun (in French), Esteban Rodriguez (2) and Rodrigo de Espinosa (both unsigned), and by Captain Juan de la Isla, and the most interesting of all, a *Relacion circunstanciada* written by Captain Juan Maldonado de Berrocal. The accounts of the return voyage are three in number.

No. 1, Alonso de Arellano's account in the form of a certified copy of thirty pages made in Mexico, November 27, 1565. It covers the outward voyage as well, and is very likely the identical document which he himself presented to the Council on his arrival in Spain.

No. 2, a relation by Rodrigo de Espinosa in fifty-four leaves; this also includes the outward voyage. The part covering the return differs slightly from No. 3.

No. 3, *Derrotero de Esteban Rodriguez,* twenty-two quarto pages and two additional of the declarations made regarding the distances sailed. The first seven and one-quarter pages contain the account of Rodriguez, the last entry being September 14. Then follows immediately in the same handwriting the *Derrotero de Espinosa,* which like that of Rodriguez, begins with the day of sailing, June 1. Although signed "Espinosa" on page 22, the signature is not his nor is the document in his handwriting.

In addition to the above there is a very short account by Urdaneta of the return voyage translated in this chapter from *Urdaneta y la conquista de Philipinas.* This work was published in San Sebastian, 1907, by Fray Fermín de Uncilla y Arroitajáuregui, an Augustinian who claimed to have consulted in the library of Francisco de Zabálburu an unpublished *Relacion* of Urdaneta, believed to be still extant although not at present available.

Short accounts of the conquest with nothing of additional value will be found in the writings of the early chroniclers who treated of the Philippines: P. Pedro Chirino, *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas,* Rome, 1604; Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas,* Mexico, 1609; Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas,* Madrid, 1609; Juan de Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana,* Madrid, 1615; and P. Francisco Colin, *Labor evangélica de los obreros de la Compañia de Jesus en las Islas Filipinas,* Madrid, 1663. Retana in his edition of Morga's work, Madrid, 1909, and especially Pastells in his edition of that of Colin, Barcelona, 1904, have brought together in their notes a vast amount of information regarding this and later periods

from documents in the archives, many letters and documents being printed in full.

Many documents in the archives in Seville dealing with the expeditions of Villalobos and Legaspi were published in the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones Españolas de Ultramar, Segunda serie, Tomos* 2 and 3, Madrid, 1886-1887. The series is usually cited as *Documentos de Ultramar,* but in this work is referred to as *Col. docs.,* Second series. Translations of extracts of many of these documents were printed in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1803,* a collection of documents relating to the islands, edited by Emma Helen Blair and James A. Robertson, Cleveland, 1903. The collection is hereafter referred to as B. & R.

After the arrival of Urdaneta and Arellano in Seville, someone made a brief extract from the accounts they brought which was printed in Barcelona by Pau Cortey in 1566: *Copia de una carta venida de Sevilla a Miguel Salvador de Valencia. La qual narra el venturoso descubrimiento que los Mexicanos han hecho, navegando con la armada que su Magestad mando hazer en Mexico. Con otras cosas maravillosas y de gran provecho para toda la Christiandad: son dignas de ser vistas y leydas.* This small pamphlet of two leaves only, which once belonged to W. E. Retana, was first reprinted with a translation in B. & R., Vol. II. A new translation will be found in the Appendix.

Cartographical Note

The results of the expeditions to the north, northeast and east of Gomez de Espinosa, Saavedra and Torre, coupled with those achieved by Cabrillo in his voyage, brought about in time a revision of the current ideas about the geography of the north Pacific. On one side, Cabrillo was supposed to have reached as far north as 44°, and Gomez de Espinosa, on the other, as far as 42°. The view held for a long time that America was joined to Asia in about 30° of latitude had largely crystallized in maps of Giacomo Gastaldi which appeared in 1546 and in an edition of Ptolemy in 1548. It was now clear that if Asia and America were connected the point of junction was considerably farther north than 30°, and that the Pacific was much wider on the fortieth parallel than hitherto supposed. Cabrillo's voyage had also pretty well demonstrated that the natives he had discovered on the northern coast must be widely separated from China, as they showed no indications whatever of contact with a civilized race.

In the last chapter four maps were presented to exemplify the progressive state of the knowledge of the geography of the northwest coast down to 1564. An inspection of that of Ortelius indicates that whoever drew the original from which this was taken had no greater knowledge of the discoveries in the north Pacific achieved by Villalobos than what could be made out from the *Relazione* of Gaytan. Nothing appears on it but names derived from this, from Magellan's discoveries, and one or two from those of Saavedra. Japan is shown just

north of the thirtieth parallel of latitude, removed only about twenty degrees from the northwest coast. In 1570 Ortelius published another map, his first *Typus Orbis Terrarum,* on which more of Villalobos' names are to be found. The difference in longitude between Navidad and the Philippines has been increased to about eighty-five degrees, nearly the equivalent, at the rate of seventeen and one-half leagues to a degree of the arc of a great circle, of the 1,500 leagues estimated to have been run by Villalobos on his voyage between those places. This map shows Japan placed much farther west, but in much the same relative position as on the 1564 map, this being maintained by extending both the coasts of America and Asia on the fortieth parallel some twenty degrees to the west. New Guinea now appears as a prominent object almost connected with a vast Antarctic land.

Although Ortelius modified his type map of 1570 in many respects in later issues, he continued to maintain his first conception of the geography of the north Pacific. This conception was not his but that of Gerard Mercator, who in 1569 had published his large world map. The influence and reputation of these men were sufficient to impose their views on almost everybody except the Spaniards for a long time. Even the Spaniards finally accepted their ideas, or at least published maps displaying them. In this way the distance between Navidad and Acapulco and the Philippines continued to be accepted as being about 1,500 leagues until well into the seventeenth century, even after the cosmographers in Madrid had come to the conclusion that the distance was at least 100 degrees, or 1,750 leagues. The Portuguese alone continued to insist that the distance was still greater. If the idea advanced by the writer in his *Drake's Voyage* be accepted, that the so-called Peter Martyr map of Hakluyt of 1587 was taken from a Spanish map, it would seem that the Spaniards themselves considered the difference in longitude between Navidad and the Philippines to be only about seventy degrees, indicating that when the original was drawn, subsequent to the expedition of Villalobos, but before that of Legaspi, they did not accept even his estimate of the distance.

It is easy to explain the desire of the Spaniards to minimize this distance. Enough has been written in this chapter to demonstrate that their whole object was to maintain that the Philippines lay to the east of the line of demarcation in the Far East.

It is impossible to pass over in this connection the two remarkable maps of the northwest coast attributed by Dr. J. G. Kohl to Juan Freire. The whereabouts of these maps has been unknown, only a sketch made by Kohl in the Library of Congress remains. These purport to show the discoveries of Villalobos on the south coast of China and easterly along the northwest coast of America. All of this down to the Isla de Cedros has a set of descriptive names, and from there on we find a few of those given by Ulloa. Recently, the writer had an opportunity to compare Dr. Kohl's sketch with some photographs of an atlas in the National Library of Lisbon. At present there is only one map in

the atlas of the two which cover this part of the coast, but that is undoubtedly the original of one of Dr. Kohl's sketches. The atlas is one of those of Fernan Vaz Dourado of which the earliest known, dated, was made in Goa, India, in 1568. All his known atlases, except this, contain both of these maps as they should. In the borders, around most of these particular maps, is a statement that the coast was discovered by Ruy Lopez de Villalobos in January, 1545 in a ship which had been driven out of her course. Villalobos himself arrived in Tidore in April, 1544, and had not been driven out of his course to the north. Some time afterwards he surrendered to the Portuguese, as we have seen, and they no doubt took possession of his papers. Included in these were the log of the *San Juan* to the northwest, and subsequently to the southeast, and also no doubt the record of the movements of the small vessels around Tandaya and to the west. From this material Vaz Dourado seems to have constructed his map, with an addition which is a marked feature of all of them. Antonio Galvano tells us in his *Tratado* that in the month of June, 1545, a Borneo junk with a Portuguese on board named Pero Fidalgo was driven out of her course towards the north and discovered an island which extended from 9° or 10° to 22° called the Lucões. These Lucões which represented the west coast of Luzon form one of the most prominent features on Vaz Dourado's map of this part of the world. How Dr. Kohl became confused and attributed these maps to Freire we do not know. Probably the Visconde de Santarem, in whose possession Kohl says the copies were, had copies of not only the atlas in Lisbon but of the real atlas of Freire which Santarem said was in the possession of Baron Taylor, and Kohl got his sketches mixed. The fact seems to be that the map portrays the discoveries of Ortiz de Retes. The Portuguese apparently believed that he had followed the coast of China and the maker of the map, who was a Portuguese, probably then living in Goa in India, connected his discoveries with those of Ulloa by an imaginary set of descriptive names, which he inserted in the gap between them. The map is a curiosity as an example of imaginary geography, but as a cartographical document it has no value.

None of the charts on which Legaspi's pilots pricked the course is extant; presumably they were all sent to the *Casa de Contratacion,* where they shared the fate of almost all maps of the early discoveries. The Archivo de Indias contains no chart of the north Pacific made in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, to the knowledge of the writer; the cartographical results of Legaspi's expedition must be sought elsewhere. Such charts, however, existed, as it is apparent that there were on the *San Pedro* at least four men pricking the course and two maps which differed from each other. These maps must have been based on the discoveries made by Villalobos and Cabrillo and could hardly have shown as great a distance to the northwest coast as Espinosa's estimate of 1,640 leagues. One result of the voyage certainly was to cause an increase in this distance to be displayed on Spanish maps, as well as an increase in the esti-

mated difference in longitude between Navidad and the islands from about 85 degrees to nearly 107.

It has been usually asserted, and perhaps correctly, that the chart made by Urdaneta on the return voyage formed the basis for a long time of those in use on that route. None of these is now known to exist and when some made in the following century are inspected, they will be seen to show the influence of Vizcaino's discoveries in 1602-3. In spite of this lack of authentic Spanish charts of this period, maps published elsewhere can be found which show plainly that, in this respect at least, they were made up in part from such charts. In March, 1579, Francis Drake captured off the coast of Central America two Spanish pilots who were on their way to Panama to take Gonzalo Ronquillo to the Philippines and carried navigation charts and sailing directions. Whether these charts showed the return route or not is uncertain but there can be but little doubt that Drake obtained information regarding it from one of the pilots, Alonso Sanchez Colchero. In 1588 Thomas Cavendish captured, off Cabo San Lucas, the galleon *Santa Ana* returning from the Philippines, and the general opinion is that he found on that ship the sailing charts then in use by the Spaniards in the north Pacific. It thus happened that on the Molyneux globe, which was brought out in London in 1592, there are cartographical indications of the Legaspi expedition. On John Blagrave's map published in 1596 and copied from this, the following names appear: "Los Barbudos," "Quitasueño," "Miracomovas," "C. del S. Santo," "Luzon," "Manila," "Pirámide," and "Y. Desierta" (opposite three). The Miracomovas is from Arellano's account and the Pirámide also evidently refers to his tower, that is, "Lot's Wife." The other names, except Quitasueño, are evidently derived from the account of Legaspi's own voyage and later accounts; possibly the Y. Desierta is the island which Espinosa said looked like a ship at anchor. No island "Cazones" is shown. More convincing evidence of the derivation of the globe from a Spanish original lies, however, in the change in the distances. From Cebú to Cabo Nevado on the northwest coast the difference in longitude is about 75 degrees and from Cebú to Navidad about 110 degrees.

In 1592 Peter Plancius also produced a large map of the world in Amsterdam, which is generally supposed to have been copied in part from maps which had been brought there from Portugal by Bartolomeo Laso. On this map we also see the Barbudos, Isla de Pajaros and Corales, referred to in the account of Legaspi's voyage, and the Miracomovas and Isla de los Nadadores, named by Arellano. North of the Ladrones is Una Coluna, an obvious reference to Arellano's tower-like island. None of the names just mentioned on these two maps had appeared on previous ones to the writer's knowledge except Corales, which was an old name given by Villalobos to the same islands as those so referred to by Legaspi. Even the famous Ortelius map of 1589, the *Maris Pacifici,* only shows the Corales. Herrera in his *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales,* published in 1601, mentions the Miracomovas and Quitasueño or

Catanoduermas. Where these last two names came from is uncertain, although Dahlgren in his *Discovery* attributes them to Arellano.

The Ortelius map of 1570 and the Blagrave map of 1596 have been reproduced by the writer in his *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage.*

Notes

1. Galvano in his *Tratado,* 118; according to him Serrano was wrecked near Mindanao in 1512 and remained at Ternate for seven or eight years.

2. Magellan is supposed to have left a memorandum of the situation of various places when he sailed, from which this statement is extracted. It exists today as a preliminary to a memorial presented by Diego de Barbosa, Magellan's brother-in-law, probably in 1523 when another expedition to the Moluccas was being proposed. Printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion,* IV, No. XIX.

The movements of Magellan in the East received little attention from Portuguese writers, even those who wrote long after he had become famous. He is usually supposed by Spanish writers to have returned to Portugal in 1512. It is said that Serrano kept up some kind of a correspondence with his friend, Magellan, who had formed a plan with him to enter the service of the King of Spain and return to the Moluccas in order to take possession of them for that monarch. No documents, to the writer's knowledge, have ever been produced to substantiate this story. It was probably concocted by Magellan himself to support his efforts to induce the Spanish King to send him out to the islands by creating the impression that the Moluccas had not been occupied by the Portuguese, but only by his friend, Serrano. Both these men were in the military service of the King of Portugal, and it is simply impossible to believe that they could have formulated any such scheme in the Moluccas or Malacca.

3. Documents Nos. XVIII and LXXV, in Vol. II of Navarrete's *Coleccion;* translations in B. & R., Vol. I.

4. *Historia general de Filipinas,* printed in Torres Lanzas' *Catálogo,* I, page CCLIX.

5. It is probable that stories of the extraordinary cheapness of gold in the East had already reached Spain through Portuguese channels. When first discovered, an ounce of gold could be bought in China and the islands for from five to seven ounces of silver, and it was obtained in barter by the early visitors to the Philippines for very small quantities of iron. Although this condition did not last very long, yet the ratio between gold and silver in the East remained much lower than that in Europe for a long time.

6. The largest investors seem to have been the famous Fuggers of Augsburg.

7. Mafra, *Descubrimiento,* 210, states that Lorosa said that Serrano had recently died, "while awaiting the coming of Magellan to Maluco." In 1523 an *Informacion sobre la posesion de Maluco* was made in Lisbon at which the relations between the sultans and the Portuguese at Malacca were detailed at some length. About 1516 Alvaro del Coelho reached Ternate and took back goods and most of Serrano's Portuguese companions. Diogo Brandao, who left Malacca in 1520 and went as far as Banda where he found Meneses on his way back, was the principal witness. He said he took the goods of Meneses, who then went back a second time to Ternate and left Serrano still there when he returned to Malacca. Another witness, Jorge Botello, said Meneses brought Serrano back, but also that he died, the inference being that his death occurred about the time Meneses departed. The evidence showed continuous commercial relations but no act of possession, only an alleged voluntary submission of the Sultan to the Portuguese. (From an extract made for Muñoz from the original in the Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. Rich Coll. in N. Y. Public Lib.)

8. Mafra, *Descubrimiento,* 211. Antonio de Brito, who captured the *Trinidad* when she returned, stated that she had reached 40° after having sailed 900 leagues. She departed with a crew of fifty-four and came back with only twenty-four. (Navarrete, *Coleccion,* IV, 306.) Herrera adds the information that at 20° they found an island of barbarians. In 42° they had a storm which lasted five days, which broke the main mast in two, destroyed most of the bow and poop castles and tore the greater part of their sails to shreds. On their return they stopped at another island some twenty leagues distant from the one which they found in 20°, and which had about forty inhabitants. Three men deserted here. It took them a month and a half to go from this island to the Moluccas, the distance being 300 leagues. *(Historia, Dec.* III, *Lib.* IV, *Cap.* II.) Galvano in his *Tratado,* page 149, states that they sailed towards the north to 42° and found two islands in 36°.

9. Many of the documents regarding this negotiation, in 1-2-1/15, were printed by Navarrete in Vol. IV of his *Coleccion.* The most interesting is the *Proceso de propiedad*

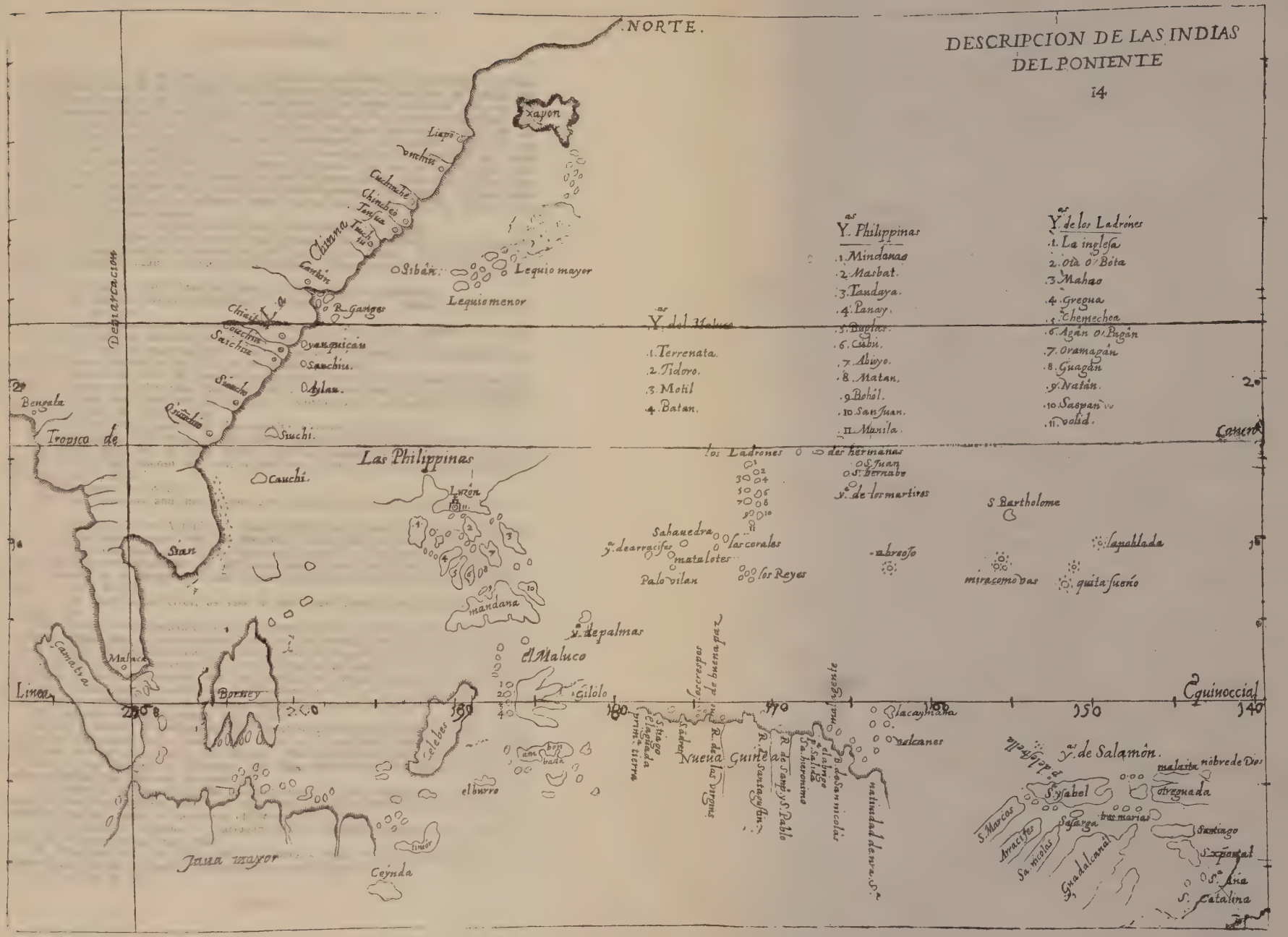


PLATE XV. Herrera's map of 1601 from the *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*

on page 360 *et seq.* At the end of this document on page 369 it is stated that the King of Tidore and those of other islands nearby swore obedience to the King of Castile, for whom solemn possession of the Moluccas was taken. The writer has never yet seen any *acta* of possession made in the Moluccas by the members of the Magellan expedition, and he does not believe that any exists, or ever existed. Navarrete printed, on page 295, an extract made by Juan Bautista Muñoz from a document in the archives (probably one dated November 9 to December 17, 1521, 1-45-7/7), showing that November 10 they made peace with the Sultan of Tidore, and exchanged presents. One can be very certain that these peace treaties, in which the sultans are said to have offered themselves to the King of Castile, were not understood by them in any such manner. These petty chieftains were extremely independent, as the Spaniards found out in later years when they tried to take actual possession of these islands.

10. 1-2-1/1, No. 5, printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion,* IV, No. XXII.

11. This ship came to land from a long distance out in the Pacific, and the chaplain, Juan de Areyçaga, went up to Mexico and told his story to Cortés. (1-2-1/4, R. 19.) He afterwards related it again to Oviedo, who printed a long account of his voyage in his *Historia.*

12. 1-2-1/10, R., 1-10. There is a large file regarding this expedition.

13. The Granado account, Navarrete's *Coleccion,* V, 472. Nápoles in his account said June 3. *Ibid,* 484.

14. Herrera states they reached as high as 14°, beyond the Ladrones, at one of which they stopped on their return, *Historia, Dec.* IIII, *Lib.* III, *Cap.* VI.

15. This date of return is from a letter written by Hernando de Bustamante and Diego de Salinas, printed as No. XVI, of Navarrete's *Coleccion,* V.

16. The date of return is from Hernando de la Torre's letter, Navarrete's *Coleccion,* V, 356. Herrera states that when they were in 31°, they calculated they were 1,000 leagues from New Spain and 1,200 from the Moluccas. Nápoles also mentioned this voyage, *Ibid,* 485. He says they left May 3, 1528.

17. 1-1-2/24, No. 7, printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion,* IV, No. XLI.

18. Grijalva in his *Crónica* calls this man Antonio Corso, that is, the Corsican, but so far as known, there was no pilot named Antonio, consequently he must have meant Alonso, and the only Alonso who was a pilot was Alonso Fernandez, almost invariably referred to as "Tarifeño."

19. Documents in 139-1-3.

20. The provisions and instructions are printed in *Col. docs.,* Second series, II, Nos. 3-4.

21. The man was the Antonio or Alonso referred to in Note 18. Grijalva attributed all the evils that subsequently befell the expedition to the failure to follow his advice.

22. Torre, who had probably accompanied Alvarado to Guatemala from Spain, had come from there to Tehuantepec in 1539 under salary from Cortés, and in December was there expecting to command the ships Cortés had prepared to go to the assistance of Ulloa. 1-1-2/21, Part 9a.

23. This must be an error, as such a ship could hardly have sailed nearly sixty leagues a day.

This sketch is from Escalante Alvarado's report, P. & C., V, 143. Juan Gaytan in his *Relazione* alleged that he accompanied Torre on this voyage, and that after leaving the islands north of the Ladrones, which were in 24° and 25°, they went up to 24° 40′ (evidently an error in the text), from which they were obliged to go back to 25° and 23° where, at a distance of about 750 leagues from the islands, they found themselves without water and had to return, passing on the way the Ladrones in 15° or 16°. Gaytan either was a liar or else he appended his name to an account written by one of the pilots.

24. Escalante Alvarado's report, 153 *et seq.*

Gaytan, *Relazione,* in speaking of this voyage says they sailed nearly due east in sight of land for 650 leagues, to a point as far south as 7°, and after many hardships reached New Spain, and gave the news to the Viceroy. While this was not true, it is possible that he meant to say that one of Villalobos' lost ships returned to New Spain, as there are some indications that this was the case.

25. *Instruccion a Juan de Aguilar,* Smith's *Docs.,* 7. The instruction is not dated, but seems to have been written after much testimony in his *residencia* had been taken, and probably after the receipt of the cedula of November 9, 1545.

26. No doubt a reference to Sarragan where Villalobos remained some time and where the Portuguese paid him a visit.

27. This was true. He had given Villalobos a copy of the contract between the Emperor and Alvarado, in which this prohibition was fully set forth.

28. 1-1-1/23, R. 12.

29. *Docs. inéd. Esp.,* XXVI, 328.

30. *Ibid,* 331.

31. Velasco's letter and Mendoza's of November 12, 1550, relative to the same subject, in 58-3-8.

32. On receipt of the Emperor's letter from Innsbruck the Council of the Indies took the matter under consideration, decided to adopt his advice and wrote Velasco to that effect. 1-2-1/13, No. 7.

33. Up to this time the system had been to make contracts with private individuals, usually at their solicitation.

34. The Audiencia in Mexico was ordered, April 1, 1529, to pay Cortés what he had spent on the Molucca expedition, 1-2-1/10, R. 5 and 7.

35. 1-1-1/23, 12, printed as No. 10, in *Col. docs.,* Second series, II.

The occupation of the Philippines has always been asserted by writers of the Augustinian Order to have been their peculiar project. Many years after the conquest, one of them, San Augustin, claimed in his *Conquista de las Islas Philipinas* that the expedition was organized at the solicitation of Urdaneta, Santiesteban, and Garcia de Escalante Alvarado. The enterprise certainly bore somewhat of a religious aspect, if one can judge from the continued reference to the friars in the accounts of the expedition.

36. 59-4-3.

37. 1-1-1/23, 12, printed as No. 11 in *Col. docs.,* Second series, II.

38. 60-2-16.

39. On his way to Guatemala he stopped in Santo Domingo, where he was interviewed by Oviedo, who obtained from him a very interesting account of the Loaysa expedition, which he printed in his *Historia, Lib.* XX, *Cap.* XV, *et seq.*

40. Herrera states that the infantry force which left Mexico City on October 8 for the relief of Jalisco was commanded by Captain Urbaneta, *Historia, Dec.* VII, *Lib.* V, *Cap.* I. From Urdaneta's *Informacion* of his services he seems to have been this captain.

41. The above facts are taken from his letter to the King of May 28, 1560 (58-3-9), and an *Informacion* of services made in Mexico about 1550, an extract from which is printed in Icaza's *Dicc.,* 1361. In this he states that he had been born in Villafranca in Guipuzcoa, and was the son of Juan Ochoa Urdaneta and Gutierra de Zerayn. Uncilla's argument to prove that he was born in 1508 instead of 1498, as alleged by previous writers of the Augustinian Order, is entirely sound in the writer's judgment. Uncilla states that his mother's name was Gracia de Cerain, indicating a difference in her Christian name from that which Urdaneta himself gave in his *Informacion* in Mexico. It is to be said, however, that the name given by Icaza is possibly an error made in copying the original document.

42. 58-3-9, printed in *Col. docs.,* Second series, II, No. 12.

43. 58-3-9, *Ibid,* No. 13.

44. Translated from his opinion appended to his letter of May 28. It can be seen from this that Urdaneta's interpretation of the contract of 1529 was the same as that expressed by the writer.

45. It appears from this that Urdaneta's idea was that when Philip II found out how rich the islands were he would repay the 350,000 ducats due the King of Portugal, and obtain possession of them, as he evidently believed that they all lay to the east of the line of demarcation.

46. 1-1-1/23, No. 12, printed in *Col. docs.,* Second series, II, Nos. 15 and 16.

47. Urdaneta's letter of January 1, 1561, 60-2-16.

48. 1-1-1/23, printed in *Col. docs.,* Second series, II, No. 14.

49. 1-1-1/23, R. 15. The whole document is printed in *Ibid.* No. 17.

50. This island was identified by E. W. Dahlgren in his *Discovery of the Hawaiian Islands,* Uppsala, 1917, as Taongi, in 14° 45′ N., and 169° 15′ E. It was discovered by Toribio Alonso de Salazar, the commander of the Loaysa expedition, August 21, 1526, and evidently named August 24, the day of San Bartolomé. Urdaneta, who accompanied that expedition, was, of course, familiar with it.

51. Afterwards referred to in his memorial as Botaha. This was no doubt the island known today as Guam. It was located by the Loaysa expedition in 12°, and its name appears spelled in different ways on different maps, Bota, Botaa, and Bohan, but it was originally discovered by Magellan and the name came from the narrative of his expedition.

52. Urdaneta sometimes uses the expression "Isla Filipina," a name which had been given by one of Villalobos' men to the Isla de Leyte, or Tandaya. In spite of the general statement now current that it was applied to Leyte, the writer is firmly of the opinion that it was really given to Tandaya. It is frequently stated that the expression "Islas Filipinas" did not come into use until after the occupation by Legaspi, but that such was not the case can be seen in this memorial.

53. What the Spaniards knew about New Guinea was derived from the accounts of the expeditions of Saavedra and Villalobos, already described. Carrion, who accompanied the Villalobos expedition, said in his letter written just before September 1, 1564, that he had followed it 380 leagues down to 5° S. (No. 23 of *Col. docs.*, Second series, II). As a matter of fact, the island extends farther southeast to about 11°, and even at that time frequently appeared on the maps as part of the great Antarctic continent extending on south of the Strait of Magellan.

54. This statement indicates that someone had found out that by standing off from the coast some distance, the northwest winds which usually blow near that coast could be avoided.

55. Mystery seems to have been attractive to Urdaneta's mind, especially what Hubert Howe Bancroft denominated the "Northern Mystery." His object as expressed here was no doubt to interview the Indians on the Santa Barbara Channel to see if he could find out something more than Cabrillo had.

56. Although not so stated, Urdaneta evidently expected to go up above 41° to see what was beyond the farthest point of Cabrillo's discoveries.

57. This is plain proof that at that time Urdaneta expected the expedition to go directly to the Philippines, and the fact that he strongly urged leaving at a time which would make this course advisable, indicates that his two other routes were of less importance in his mind.

58. Carrion's letter of August, 1564. 2-5-1/18, No. 2, R. I., printed as No. 23 of *Col. docs.*, Second series, II.

59. Dated September 12, 1564. 1-1-1/23, No. 20, printed as No. 22 of *Col. docs.*, Second series, II.

60. 59-4-3. According to this very interesting letter, Carrion had built these ships at Navidad, an operation which had entailed such delay and so many hardships that Velasco had decided to move the shipyard to Tehuantepec as soon as the expedition sailed, in order to build two more ships to be ready to send to the islands. The Audiencia had, however, ordered the yard at Navidad to be dismantled. Most of the artisans employed at Navidad were negro slaves belonging to the King.

61. 1-1-1/23, printed as No. 21 of *Col. docs.*, Second series, II. The document of twenty-three pages contains sixty-seven numbered paragraphs. The oath of compliance of Legaspi is at the end.

62. From a document, of which the original is in 1-1-1/23, entitled *Relacion circunstanciada de los acontecimientos y suceso de viaje y jornada . . . de Lopez de Legaspi. Col. docs.*, Second Series, II, No. 27. By a process of elimination the writer has reached the conclusion that this unsigned document as well as another, which seems to be a continuation of it, was written by Juan Maldonado de Berrocal, Legaspi's captain of artillery. It is stated therein that when Legaspi opened his sealed instruction, he called a meeting of the captains, pilots, and friars and asked them what was to be done about it. In an order given at sea to the captains on the same day it is stated that the route, which had been to the southwest, was now to be changed according to the opinions of the captains and pilots to west a quarter southwest as far as 9°, and then west. 1-2-1/19, No. 4. *Ibid,* No. 26.

63. *Noticias históricas de Nueva España,* Madrid, 1878, 186.

64. Indeed, Grijalva in his *Crónica* claimed that Velasco always stuck to his orders.

65. Six were to go, but one died in Navidad just before sailing.

66. Then called Tandaya; the eastern coast where the expedition reached land was known as Ibabao.

67. These *actas* are in 1-1-1/23.

68. This interesting document was later presented in Spain by Legaspi's son, Melchor. 1-1-1/23, printed on page 258 of *Col. docs.*, Second series, III.

69. *Sp., Conviene que en qualquiera de los Navios que para aca imbiaredes venga el dicho Fray Andres de Urdaneta, y sera en el Navio y con el Capitan que el os señalare y pidiere, y en ello no haya otra cosa, porque dello se entiende que nuestro Señor Dios, y Su Magestad seran servidos.*

The words certainly seem to have the meaning attributed to them but, if so, the order was a very strange one. As a matter of fact, the friars selected the ship and Legaspi appointed his grandson, a young, inexperienced man, to command her, perhaps also at the request of Urdaneta, although that seems hardly likely.

70. Paragraph No. 60 translated from the original in 1-1-1/23.

71. Translated from Escalante Alvarado's account of the Villalobos expedition previously referred to. P. & C., V, 176.

72. In an undated memorial, but attributed to 1573 by Torres Lanzas in his *Catálogo,* where the document is located in 2-5-1/18, No. 1, R. 1.

73. This identification was made by E. W. Dahlgren in his *Discovery,* 38. It seems to have been the same island which later appeared on the maps as "Una Coluna."

74. This statement, in the writer's judgment, is sufficient to cast doubt upon the veracity of the narrative. It is true that on his voyage to the islands he did not need a map which extended as high as 40°, and it is always possible that care had been taken that he should not have one. In spite of this statement and others equally suspicious, the Spaniards seem to have accepted his account as a true one. Although he received no reward, the fact that some of the names he gave on his outward voyage appear on maps, which in that respect at least, must have been copied from Spanish maps, indicates that his discoveries were made use of by the cosmographers. Even if Arellano's account be accepted as substantially true, the fact here stated that he went up as high as 43° may well be doubted, The experiences of later navigators demonstrated that it was extremely difficult to get above 40°.

75. Arellano's remarks here are somewhat ambiguous. It might be concluded that he estimated the distance from "Pago Mayor" to New Spain on the 40th parallel to be 850 leagues. There is on Gabriel Tatton's map of 1600 entitled *Maris Pacifici,* in the British Museum, an island east of Japan named Cumpango Maior Rica de Oro y Plata. It seems to be a survival of the old Cipangu left on the maps after Japan had been discovered. There is no island where Tatton located it, so he evidently used some written account in which the identity of Cipangu with Japan was not clearly set out.

76. This is another suspicious statement, as the northeast trades are not usually encountered at such a high latitude.

77. Translated from the original, 1-1-1/23; it differs slightly from the text, printed in *Col. docs.* The first page contains Arellano's appointment by Legaspi as captain of the *San Lucas* in Navidad November 19, 1564, and the instructions which were given him about the route to follow, dated November 25. From this it appears that the man who had been appointed to command the *San Lucas* had not turned up and Arellano was appointed in his place at the last minute. At the end is a sworn declaration of Arellano, Martin, Juan Yañez, the boatswain, and Juan de Bayona, a sailor, November 22, that the foregoing account was true.

78. His letter of March 31, 1575, to the president of the Council of the Indies, 58-6-14. San Augustin in his *Conquista,* 133, states that Arellano went to the Philippines in 1577 with some letters of recommendation which availed him nothing on account of his bad record, and two years later returned to New Spain, where he died. There is some doubt, however, about this being the same Arellano.

79. *See* Plate VIII.

80. In the annals of the conquest, the name of this island is almost invariably written Zubu, or Cubu; nowadays it is usually written Cebu or Cebú. As the latter usage is sanctioned by Philippine scholars, it appears likely that is the way the name is now pronounced.

81. Translated from Uncilla's *Urdaneta,* Note I, page 261.

82. That is, the second part of the *Derrotero* of Esteban Rodriguez, 1-1-1/23.

83. This island afterward appeared on some maps as "Parece Vela." *See* Dahlgren's *Discovery,* 39, and 75, Note 2. It seems to be now known as "Douglass Reef."

84. The pilots afterwards declared that the highest point reached was 39½°.

85. A plain reference to Cabrillo's Cabo de Fortunas. The Puerto (for Punta) de la Galera is mentioned on the 15th, both clear indications that his map showed Cabrillo's discoveries.

86. It is strange to find that different maps were in use on the ship. Urdaneta afterwards claimed he had a Portuguese map which he had obtained in Lisbon in 1538. Perhaps he was using this.

87. *Sp., Vi tierra por la Vanda de estribor porque ybamos amurados de la banda de a babor y luego mando caçar a popa,* that is to say, the sheets were tied on the port side.

88. Rodriguez in his statement also said they saw the island from the northwest. San Nicolas in 33° 15′ also has a rock, Begg Rock, to the northwest, but from the northwest, from which the island was first seen, the description of Deseada fits better San Miguel, which it almost certainly was, although the latitude of that island, 34° 10′, is 25 minutes higher than that calculated by Espinosa, a very unusual kind of error at this period. The rock was Richardson Rock, about fifty feet high and five and three-quarter miles northwest of San Miguel.

89. That is, he calculated he had run 30 minutes of latitude from 7 A. M. to midday. Perhaps the ship had actually sailed more, and thus Espinosa came to calculate the latitude of his island too low.

90. *Sp., ahumada,* that is, "covered with smoke." Perhaps Espinosa thought the fog was smoke.

91. This must have been the Coronados (that is, Cabrillo's Islas Desiertas in 34°).

92. There are several references in the log to the variation of the compass. July 12 and 25 and August 5 he notes that the compass varied to the northeast. August 20, in about

30° 40′, the needle pointed due north. September 14 the needle varied to the northeast two-thirds of a quarter, that is, 7½ degrees.

93. *Sp., gizola,* a very unusual word. In an early part of the log Espinosa had stated that the *gizola* was "where the needle is."

94. From the remarks in the next paragraph, it appears that the high land they sighted must have been Cedros itself, as the mountain on that island is higher than any on that part of the coast. The remark about the table-mountain to the northwest perhaps refers to the West Benito in 28° 18′, although the text is not perfectly clear, as it might possibly be construed to mean that the table-mountain was on the northwest side of the island which they saw.

95. This was a Bolaños name applied by Cabrillo to what is probably Punta Santo Domingo in 26° 19′, but he placed it between 27° and 27° 30′, thus accounting for Espinosa's error. The point the latter saw was no doubt Punta San Pablo in 27° 10′ — error, 2′.

96. In the text as printed in the *Col. docs.,* the editors did not put a period here, so that it appears that the country was all bare from the point in 27° 12′.

97. *Sp., cepas de lana,* probably a lichen common there from which a purple dye is extracted, called *orchilla.* The shrubs were no doubt cacti, also plentiful on that part of the coast.

98. It is very difficult to identify these three large rocks. There are two islands, San Roque and Asuncion, some eight miles apart, which could hardly be those mentioned. On the whole, it seems probable that he referred to Asuncion and the rocks to the north and south of it which at that time may have been much larger than at present.

99. Probably Punta Asuncion. Espinosa seems to have been a little mixed here. It is not 13 leagues from Punta San Pablo to Punta Asuncion. Possibly the point was Punta San Hipólito.

100. Cabo San Lázaro in 24° 48′ — error, 3′. Espinosa's observation, it will be seen, was remarkably accurate and gives us some assurance that those he made farther north were reasonably correct.

101. The *Guardas* are two stars in the constellation of Ursa Minor. A system had been worked out by which the position of the navigator could be ascertained by means of the direction which one of these stars, called the *Guarda Delantera,* the one in the mouth of the Bear, bore from the Pole Star. In the sixteenth century the Pole Star was supposed to be 3½ degrees from the Pole. If the *Guarda Delantera* was southwest of the Pole Star, then the Pole Star was supposed to be 3½ degrees above the Pole. Taking the altitude of the Pole Star, one could then easily deduce the altitude of the Pole, and hence the latitude. Martin Cortés in his *Breve Compendio dela Sphera,* Seville, 1551, fol. LXXXII, *gives a* description of the process, but says that at that time the *Guarda Delantera* was in reality 4 degrees 9 minutes from the Pole Star, and therefore the ordinary observations based on the customary assumption of 3½ degrees gave erroneous results.

102. Bahia Magdalena, the highland below being the Isla Margarita and the point at the end Punta Tosco, in 24° 14′. When Espinosa reached Punta Tosco, which Ulloa had named the "Punta de la Trinidad," in which he was followed by Cabrillo, he must have been satisfied that the latitudes assigned to that point on the maps he carried were incorrect. His subsequent remark about the port inside of that point and the lowland to the south thereof, shows plainly that he recognized it as the Punta de la Trinidad, inside of which was a bay Ulloa had named the "Laguna de Santa Catalina."

103. Cabo San Lucas actually in 22° 52′ — error, ½′.

104. It seems strange that his map did not show the name Cabo San Lucas for this point, a name which had been given to it by Bolaños in 1541. His description of it is quite accurate.

105. Translated, together with the extracts, from the original in 1-1-1/23, printed in full in *Col. docs.,* Second series, II, No. 34.

106. It would be interesting to know how Espinosa arrived at this. He did not do so by adding to the figure attained when land was first sighted, 1,650 leagues, the distances run to Navidad, as these foot up more than that according to his log. It is certain that this was simply an estimate reduced to allow for what he thought the ship's course had varied from a direct one. September 15 he entered a statement that on his chart the distance from Cebú to Navidad measured 2,000 leagues.

107. When in later years returning ships from the Philippines encountered these they turned southeast.

108. Juan de la Isla in No. 5 of his memorials also called it "San Salvador."

109. Similar instructions had been issued to Villalobos when he left Mexico. In fact, there are many indications that his formed the model for those issued to Legaspi.

110. The above account is extracted from a *testimonio* made on the demand of Gabriel

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104. It seems strange that his map did not show the name Cabo San Lucas for this point, a name which had been given to it by Bolaños in 1541. His description of it is quite accurate.

105. Translated, together with the extracts, from the original in 1-1-1/23, printed in full in *Col. docs.,* Second series, II, No. 34.

106. It would be interesting to know how Espinosa arrived at this. He did not do so by adding to the figure attained when land was first sighted, 1,650 leagues, the distances run to Navidad, as these foot up more than that according to his log. It is certain that this was simply an estimate reduced to allow for what he thought the ship's course had varied from a direct one. September 15 he entered a statement that on his chart the distance from Cebú to Navidad measured 2,000 leagues.

107. When in later years returning ships from the Philippines encountered these they turned southeast.

108. Juan de la Isla in No. 5 of his memorials also called it "San Salvador."

109. Similar instructions had been issued to Villalobos when he left Mexico. In fact, there are many indications that his formed the model for those issued to Legaspi.

110. The above account is extracted from a *testimonio* made on the demand of Gabriel

assigned to the two *isletas* hardly warrants this theory. To what islands the name Cacones or Caçones, as the word probably read in the original, was applied originally is unknown, but according to the location assigned to them on the Cabot map of 1544 and others, they were just north of Cedros and just below the thirtieth parallel, a long way removed from the latitude assigned to this bay. Even supposing that the name was intended to represent Cedros and Natividad, Gallego could not have been referring to them as *isletas*, since instead of being small islands they are large islands, especially Cedros, nor do they lie from Punta San Eugenio nor Punta Tortolo in the directions nor within the distances he assigned to them. It may be noted, however, that Catoira refers to the bay as being in 27° and Lord Amherst in his version of the Gallego narrative has 27° 15′, so possibly the 27° 45′ of this text is an error, and the bay was really farther south. In such case, we would probably be correct in assuming that it was the Bahia San Roque, that the point was Punta Asuncion, that the island to the northwest of the point was San Roque, and the one to the south Asuncion.

7. *Sp., Corrimos la costa de norueste sueste hasta que llegamos a el otro pico* [an error for "al tropico"] *aunque en el camino hallamos muchas ensenadas que pensabamos que era la California por no estar satisfechos que la punta de la California estuviere en el tropico de donde esta el Puerto de San Lucar que es la punta de la California en el tropico; ciertamente que son 23 grados y 36 minutos antes de llegar a la punta de la California hay una punta de arena viniendo del norueste para el sueste que esta les nordeste y les sueste esta un rio de agua dulce muy grande y de mucho pescado esta en altura de 23 grados y ⅓ de la parte del norte de la equinoxial.*

It must be admitted that this passage is ambiguous, and Lord Amherst's translation as given in the *Quarterly* in September might be admitted except for two reasons. In that translation the Cabo de San Lucar (in 22° 52′), was made to be in 23° 36′, although the words are a little ambiguous. As the river is placed in 23° 20′, it would then have to be south of Cabo de San Lucas, which of course is impossible. Taking the passage as he translated it, the only explanation that occurred to the writer was that the river was the San José, which is northeast of Cabo de San Lucas, and that the observation for latitude made there was less incorrect than the one made at the Cabo. The other reason is Catoira's statement on page 450 of Vol. II. He uses the following language: "All the land that we passed from the time we first made it to this part [that is, the bay] and nearly as far as California is very arid, for we never saw a place where we could take water . . . until the first of January, 1569, when we met with a contrary wind and anchored near a river close to the mouth (boca) of California." After recounting what happened there, he says: "and on passing from California we committed to the sea two soldiers, etc. . . . We left there with the intention of going to the first Christian port which we could find to seek relief for the sick."

The river was the Todos Santos in about 23° 27′, and therefore south of the Tropic and north of Cabo de San Lucas, just as we would infer from the language used by Gallego and Catoira. This interpretation is also more in accord with common sense, as there seems to be no reason why Mendaña should have turned northeast at the Cabo de San Lucas instead of keeping straight on southeast to the coast of Mexico.

8. The Todos Santos which is the only river on this part of the coast which reaches the sea.

9. Catoira: Thirteen days.

10. Catoira: January 23. Suarez de Figueroa states that the day was January 22.

11. According to Catoira, this man was Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero, who had been in Peru and was then living in Colima.

12. Translated from the document in the British Museum written by Hernan Gallego, although not signed by him. It is not the original but a copy, probably made about the end of the eighteenth century, and so far as examined by the writer contains some noteworthy errors. It is not possible to say in just what respects it differs from the document used by Lord Amherst, but in one, however, it is the same, indicating that his was also a copy and not the original. Whoever made the copies either transposed two pages of the original, or found them so in that document and did not notice the mistake. The result is a curious jumble which was quite unintelligible to Lord Amherst, who stated in a footnote that the passage was very obscure. This has been corrected in the part translated, and was also done when Lord Amherst's translation was printed in the *Quarterly* in September.

13. *Docs. inéd. Esp.*, Vol. XCIV, translated in *Drake's Voyage around the World* by H. R. Wagner, 394.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

Bibliographical Note

The standard authority on Marco Polo is *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* by Sir Henry Yule, third edition revised by Henri Cordier, London, 1921, two volumes. The identification of places named by Polo presents unusual difficulties, largely owing to the different ways his names are spelled in different texts, so the scholars who have devoted their attention to this subject are not at all in accord. The translated passage from Ramusio is regarded by Cordier as an interpolation, as apparently it does not appear in any of the other texts. If Ramusio's description of the Gulf of Cheinan be taken literally, it is clear that Polo was describing some gulf which was certainly not southwest of Zaitum.

Most of the information regarding the movements of Isla has been obtained from his *Relacion de servicios,* 1-2-1/19, No. 4, and the notes which he added in his own handwriting at the end of his Memorial No. 5. In the *Relacion de servicios* he brought together copies of presumably all the various orders and instructions which had been issued to him at various times, down to the date of the *Informacion,* December 14, 1570. After that, it is necessary to rely on the volumes of cedulas covering the period, given in the notes. The most interesting things he wrote were his various memorials, all in 1-1-2/24. They are undated, but it is plain that all, except probably No. 1, were written on his second visit to Spain in 1571. Some of them are unsigned, but from internal evidence it is possible to determine that they were written by him. Only one has a title, but in order to distinguish the others a brief description of their contents is given herewith. Most of them are calendared incorrectly by Torres Lanzas in his *Catálogo* under the year 1568.

No. 1. [Memorial] Gives his views about the proper immigrants to the islands, and offers to make a discovery of the coast of China and New Spain, [1568 ?]. Two pages, signed, and one of notation of contents.

No. 2. [Memorial] Mentions his services, and requests the grant of an island in the Philippines and the Cross of Santiago, [1571]. Three pages, signed.

No. 3. [Memorial] Recommends individuals for preferment in the islands, and offers his services, [1571]. Three pages, signed.

No. 4. [Memorial] About the productions of the islands, [1571]. Two pages, signed.

No. 5. An account of the negotiations over the line of demarcation, and a chronological statement of the discoveries of the Portuguese in Brazil and of the Spaniards in the Philippines, [1571]. Nineteen pages, unsigned. This important document contains at the end some details of the movements of Isla down to his arrival in Spain in 1571. These differ in some respects from those found in other contemporary documents. Translated in B. & R. III.

Besides the above, there is in 1-1-1/23, R. 7, a *Relacion de las Islas del Poniente y del camino que a estas se hizo desde la Nueva España,* 7 pages, unsigned. It is endorsed, "by Juan de la Isla." In the Biblioteca Nacional,

Madrid, there is another document very similar to this signed "Diego de Artieda." It is quite impossible to decide from the internal evidence which of these men wrote it. Artieda evidently went out with Legaspi and intended to return on the *San Pedro* in 1568, but Legaspi insisted on his staying. He finally returned in 1569 and probably reached Spain in 1570. He again went to the Philippines in 1572. The document, whether written by Isla or Artieda, contains an interesting offer to conduct an expedition from the Philippines to discover China and the northwest coast, if provided with two ships of 250 tons each, eighty soldiers, and the necessary artillery and supplies. As Isla was afterwards entrusted with this work, it seems probable that he rather than Artieda wrote the memorial. The document in the archives was printed in *Col. docs.*, Second series, III, No. 40. A translation from the one in the Biblioteca Nacional, with footnotes showing the variations from the one in the archives in Seville, was printed in B. & R. III.

Besides the above, there are numerous references to Isla in the correspondence of Martin Enriquez, the viceroy, in 58-3-8. The instructions which the Viceroy issued to him will be found in 1-1-2/24, 4, 8.

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The material for the short sketch of the Manila trade in the sixteenth century will be found largely in the correspondence of the viceroys with the Crown, 58-3-8 to 58-3-13, in that of the governors and officials of the islands, 1-2-2/24, and in that of Archbishop Moya y Contreras, 60-4-1. Some valuable notices have also been obtained from W. E. Retana's notes to his edition of Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de Filipinas,* Madrid, 1910, and Pastells' notes to his edition of the *Labor evangélica,* of Colin. A special file, 2-5-1/18, contains numerous letters from viceroys and copies of those addressed to them by the governors of the Philippines regarding the trade. Only such of the documents are given as are essential to give some idea of how the immense importance to the Philippines of this trade brought about the voyages of exploration to the northwest coast, as space does not permit a fuller treatment of this interesting subject.

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Gali's narrative appeared in Linschoten's *Reysgheschrift* (dated 1595), forming the second part of his *Itinerario.* An English edition was published in 1598, the first Latin edition in 1599, and the first French edition in 1610. A version by Hakluyt appeared in 1600 in his *Principal Voyages and Navigations.* In preference to making a new translation of the original account or using the one published by Hakluyt, the Portuguese account in the archives of Lisbon, first published by E. W. Dahlgren in his *Discovery of the Hawaiian Islands,* Stockholm, 1916, has been selected. The principal reason for this choice is the probability, also felt by Dahlgren, that the Linschoten account had been edited by Dr. Paludanus, who assisted him in the preparation of the Dutch text. Many interpolations are indeed obvious in the latter text. At first it

might be thought that the Portuguese account was simply a translation of that printed by Linschoten, but the finding in it of the name Armenicão, which does not occur in the Dutch version, negatives the idea. On the whole it appears more likely that the Linschoten account was based on Gali's original narrative, as delivered to Moya y Contreras in Mexico, or written up by him from his log, and that the name Armenicão for the island was obtained later by him from Aguirre's letter, which he must have seen, and inserted in a copy which in some way came later into the hands of the Portuguese in Macao. Linschoten conveys the impression that he had obtained the account while living in Goa, the Portuguese capital of India, as a servant of the Archbishop, and the existence of the Portuguese text in Lisbon gives some weight to this view. In a preceding chapter, Linschoten gave a short account of the navigation from Macao to Acapulco, at the end of which it is stated that it was written in Macao in 1585. Linschoten, who was never in Macao, meant, no doubt, that he had obtained the information from someone who wrote from Macao in that year. Gali obviously did not leave the account there, as he died immediately after reaching Manila. Perhaps Unamuno had a copy of it, which was taken from him by the Portuguese authorities.

The letter of Aguirre and Paragraph 14 of Villamanrique's letter were published in Madrid in 1882 in Francisco Carrasco y Guisasola's *Documentos referentes al reconocimiento de las costas de las Californias desde el Cabo de San Lucas al de Mendocino.* From this evidently they were printed with a translation into English by George Butler Griffin in Los Angeles, in 1891, in Part I, Vol. II of the *Publications* of the Historical Society of Southern California. Griffin in a footnote discussed the possible date of the letter, being of the opinion that it was addressed to Moya y Contreras while viceroy (as indeed is apparent), and therefore written between September 25, 1584, and October 18, 1585. Not having been acquainted with the other documents on the subject, he did not notice the allusion to the two ships, the building of which was abandoned before March 20, 1585. The writer has but little doubt, in view of the similarity of the opinions expressed in this memorandum to those in Moya's letter of January 22, 1585, that it was written about that time, perhaps at the request of the Viceroy, who wanted some backing for proceeding without instructions. The chroniclers of the Augustinian Order are so much in error regarding the movements of Aguirre at this period, when they mention them at all, that it is difficult to present a reliable itinerary of his movements, the documents available being few and contradictory. Letters of his are extant dated Mexico, February 13, 1583, printed in San Augustin's *Conquista;* Manila, June 16, 1582, and May 20 and May 25, 1583. Torres Lanzas in his *Catálogo* calendars several documents of the *Casa de Contratacion* in Seville, of March, April, and May, 1584, which clearly show that Aguirre left Seville for New Spain before May 30, and therefore almost certainly in the *Flota* of that year. The explanation seems to be that his letters dated in Manila in 1583

are misdated for 1582, and a careful inspection of the last one in which he refers to the approaching departure for Spain of Fathers Pimentel and Manrique shows such to be the case. That he replaced Father Manrique in this mission, we know, so the change must have been made some time between May 25 and June 18, the date of the departure of the *San Martin*. This vessel reached Acapulco November 20, thus permitting him to be in Mexico in February, 1583, and allowing him sufficient time to reach Spain, transact his business there and then make a visit to Rome before May, 1584.

Cartographical Note

Not only did the Strait of Anian figure largely in the literature of the day, but in modern times the name seems to have had a peculiar fascination for students of early cartography. The idea prevails that the strait as it appeared on the maps of the sixteenth century was an intelligent anticipation of the one now known to separate Asia from America. Much speculation has been indulged in regarding its origin, but at present the opinion seems to be gradually gaining acceptance that Giacomo Gastaldi invented it. In a pamphlet on the life and writings of Gastaldi published in Turin in 1902 by Stefano Grande, page 80, occurs a quotation from Gastaldi's *La universale descrittione del Mondo*. On account of the disappearance of the pamphlet it is necessary to rely on Grande's extract. In describing Asia, Gastaldi said it was bounded on the east by a strait called "Anian," and he then proceeded to mention the different known parts of the East which the meridian passing through the strait intersected. It seems to be generally believed that he drew his inspiration from the account of Polo published by Ramusio in 1558, through some misunderstanding of what Polo wrote. If, as has been assumed by some, Gastaldi's theory was not evolved purely from his imagination but was based on some course of reasoning from facts mentioned by Polo, the strait does not therefore become any the less imaginary, as he used his imagination in interpreting these facts.

If Gastaldi actually made a map in 1562, as seems probable, it is no longer in existence, notwithstanding the fact that Henri Vignaud in 1921 wrote a pamphlet entitled *Une ancienne carte inconnue de l'Amerique* in which he announced to the world that he thought he had found it. The map was then in the possession of Charles Chadenat, a Paris bookseller, and is now owned by Sir Leicester Harmsworth, who very kindly gave the writer permission to have it photographed. Since then another copy of it has been discovered in the Museo Civico Correr in Venice, and this has been reproduced in Volume II of Caraci's *Tabulae geographicae vetustiores*. The writer had previously reproduced in *Some Imaginary California Geography* the section showing the strait, from a photograph of Sir Leicester's map. The map is peculiar in being unfinished, that is to say, a section of America is left out which includes the west coast between about 16° and 25° N. The writer agrees with Vignaud that the map was drawn by Gastaldi, but Professor Caraci is unwilling to admit this

PLATE XVI. The *Nova Franza* of Zaltieri, 1566

because he thinks that such a careful and painstaking cartographer as Gastaldi would never have turned out an unfinished map. Like all maps of the day that were not mere copies of pre-existing ones, this was made up from different sources, and as was natural in such a large map, was engraved on different plates, perhaps by different engravers, with the result that when proofs were struck off they did not fit so as to make a complete map, and consequently it was never published, only a few of the original proofs remaining. In many respects the map has a marked resemblance to one published in 1574 by Paolo Furlani.

Just what connection this map had with that entitled *Discoperto della Nova Franza* published by Bolognino Zaltieri in 1566 is uncertain. So far as is now known, the name "Strait of Anian" first appeared on this, for which reason, no doubt, Vignaud considered it to be posterior to the Harmsworth map, as on this the strait bears no name, nor does the name Anian appear on it at all. This reasoning does not seem conclusive, however, as the name might have been omitted through carelessness. On the whole, the questions as to who made the Harmsworth map and the date when it was drawn must remain in abeyance. The writer considers, as has been previously stated, that the map, at least the plate showing the strait, was the production of Gastaldi himself, largely because it is characterized by Gastaldi's peculiarities, and has a very curious resemblance to his *Carta Marina* first published in the Venice Ptolemy in 1548. The writer does not believe, however, that it was drawn by him in or about 1562 to illustrate the views set forth in his pamphlet, because the meridian passing through the strait on the map does not intersect the places named by him in the pamphlet, but runs about ten degrees farther to the east.

The writer has discussed in *Some Imaginary California Geography* the possibility that the Ortelius map of 1564, reproduced in Chapter IV, was taken in part from the one Gastaldi did make about 1562, as it shows evidences of Italian origin and conforms in some respects to Gastaldi's geographical ideas as set out at that time. A map of Gastaldi's published in 1569 is supposed by Caraci to be a second edition of his map of 1562. So far it has not been reproduced, as it has been discovered only recently, but from the limited description of it given by Caraci the original seems to have been the prototype of Ortelius' map. On this map, Asia and America are separated by a rather large body of water. This was no new idea; even the Strait of Anian itself was no great innovation except in its narrowness. It was bound up with a conception of a vast northern sea which in itself was not new, but on the whole the combination of this vast northern sea with two short, narrow passages connecting it on the east and west with the Atlantic and Pacific was something new, in bold contrast to the conception of the Polar seas which had been propagated by Sebastian Münster in 1540 and later, views which were soon to be adopted in the great world chart of Gerard Mercator. These views, chiefly through the influence of Ortelius, came to overshadow those of the Italian school, and in time Münster's

Strait of Bacallaos, adopted by Mercator and Ortelius, came to be generally known as the Strait of Anian.

Zaltieri's map is herewith reproduced from a photograph of the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

The principal contribution of Gali to cartography was the addition of some imaginary islands in the north Pacific. While it is likely, as suggested by Dahlgren, that the famous island of the Armenian came from a story of the first visit of the Portuguese to Japan and consequently should have been known to the Portuguese themselves, none of the numerous Portuguese maps made in the sixteenth century examined by the writer shows it. In a letter of April 12, 1584, Francisco Dominguez wrote the King:

"I would have wished to send Your Royal Majesty some descriptions of a new country which is here called New Mexico which I made at the command of Conde de Coruña in order to know the truth about that country, together with the description of the navigations of China, New Guinea and the coasts of the South Seas, as I had drawn this with more certainty and clearness than up to the present has been done, but, all this seeming to me to be of little moment, I have abandoned it." In an undated but later petition, Dominguez states that the map had been sent to Spain, so it is likely that the coming of Gali or the zeal of the Viceroy induced the latter to order him to finish it. It seems never to have reached its destination, however, as the King afterwards complained that he had not received it. Richard Hakluyt (*Principal Voyages* III, 90) speaks of just such a map, saying that it had been intercepted. In 1625 Samuel Purchas in his *Pilgrims* IV, 1561, states that he had in his possession a map of New Mexico made in 1585, apparently the one to which Hakluyt referred. Some map of this character was certainly in the possession of Pedro de Unamuno, as while searching for the imaginary islands he specifically stated that he was following instructions, no doubt those given to Gali when he left Acapulco, and refers to maps which showed them. The circumstantial evidence is therefore fairly strong that Gali carried a map made by Dominguez. It evidently showed not only the Islas del Armenio but the Rica de Oro and the Rica de Plata. The earliest map the writer has seen to show these islands is that of Gabriel Tatton in the British Museum, dated 1600. There is much evidence that they were also shown on Spanish charts, none of which seems to have survived. The search for them was quite persistent, everyone seeming to have been misled by Gali's positive statement that he had seen them.

So little was said by Gali about the northwest coast that Dominguez could have added very little to what had been previously discovered. Gali made one important statement, however, that the distance from Cabo Mendocino to Cabo San Lucas was only 500 leagues, much less than it had usually been considered to be. Whether Dominguez acted on this suggestion and shortened the coast line by the process of changing its trend and making it run more nearly north is uncertain. At any rate, after Linschoten published Gali's narra-

tive the map makers made much of this statement, especially those who did not subscribe to the distortions of this coast by Mercator and Ortelius.

Notes

1. Pedro Melendez wrote in a letter from Havana, January 30, 1566, that Urdaneta had stopped there on his way back from China and had conferred with him about this strait. Menendez said that in the following winter he was going to send a captain to the Bahia de Santa Maria to investigate that arm of the sea to see if such a strait was to be found there. 54-3-19.

2. It is interesting to note that in this memorial there appears to be the origin of the story about Urdaneta returning to Spain by the Northwest Passage related by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in his *Discourse for the Discoverie of a New Passage to Cataia,* London, 1576, which he said he had heard in 1568 in Ireland from a monk named Salvaterra. Gilbert's suggestion to make a settlement in the passage is exactly like Urdaneta's and seems to indicate that he had a copy of the memorial.

3. P. Mariano Cuevas' edition of his *Historia de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de la Nueva España,* Mexico, 1924, page 195.

4. This seems to prove that the vessel was French. Perhaps, after all, the story was nothing but one that had been current for a long time about some French vessel having gone through the passage into the Pacific.

5. Verrazano, a Florentine, made an exploration of the east coast of North America in 1524 under the French flag. There is nothing in the printed account of the voyage to account for this story, but there must have been some other, now unknown, from which a map was drawn by his brother Hieronymo in 1529, which shows North America divided into two parts in the neighborhood of 40° by an isthmus, so narrow, that it was said that the western ocean could be seen from the eastern side. Many maps appeared in the course of the century which displayed this peculiar form of North America. It is exemplified on Agnese's map of the world, Plate V.

6. Folio 51 of the edition of 1574.

7. *Paiola* seems to mean "straw," but the gold was no doubt gold-dust.

8. Folio 40.

9. *La universale descrittione del Mondo.* The pamphlet which was in the royal library in Turin only a few years ago has unfortunately disappeared.

10. Gastaldi's views have been treated at length by the writer in *Some Imaginary California Geography,* a paper published in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1926, and sections of the maps of Ortelius, Zaltieri and Paolo Furlani were reproduced to illustrate the then current views concerning the Strait of Anian.

11. In his *Discourse.*

12. The probabilities are that Isla was a Portuguese. At this time he was about 34 years of age. It does not appear when he came to Mexico nor from what place, but he was employed in the construction of the fleet in Navidad and must have come, therefore, before 1560. He was married to a woman named Catarina Farfan de los Godos, of a family of some note in the country.

13. Letter of Lic. Alonso Muñoz of January, 1568, 58-5-8, and Isla's *Relacion de servicios* which contains Legaspi's instructions to him for his return voyage, dated July 7, 1567. He was simply ordered to follow the course taken by the *San Pedro.* Similar instructions were given him again by Legaspi, July 6, 1570.

14. No. 1 of his memorials. It is not quite certain that this was presented in 1568, but that Isla took up the matter at this time is indicated by a statement in San Augustin's *Conquista,* 221, that he had to return to Spain in 1570 to continue the pretensions he had already commenced.

15. 1-2-1/19, No. 4.

16. This was given him by Legaspi, November 16, 1571, but he never obtained the habit of the Order of Santiago.

17. 87-6-2, folio 314.

18. This can be seen in the preamble to the instructions Enriquez gave Isla.

19. Translated from the original in 1-1-2/24, R. 4, No. 8.

20. Enriquez was a particularly hard-headed individual, and it is not likely that he took much stock in stories of the strait at the north. The writer has read at least fifty of his letters and never found in one of them any allusion to such a strait. It was only a little later in 1579 that Enriquez examined Nuño da Silva, the Portuguese pilot whom Francis Drake put ashore at Guatulco. Silva had occasion to refer to Drake's boasts about going home through the Northwest Passage, and expressed disbelief in the existence of it. Sarmiento,

however, the man who had accompanied Mendaña, was a great believer in it, and took Drake's boasts at their face value.

21. In his letter of August 11, 1572, 1-1-2/24, R. 23.

22. Lavezaris was a bookseller in Mexico when appointed treasurer of the Legaspi expedition. He had previously been to the islands with Villalobos. Although Enriquez had at first a very poor opinion of him, he afterwards acknowledged in one of his letters that he had not done so badly in the islands after all. The *Catálogo* of Torres Lanzas is here followed in the spelling of his name, although in the writer's opinion, he himself spelt it Lavezares.

23. In his letter of December 5, 1573, 58-3-8.

24. 58-3-8.

25. *Ibid.*

26. His brother Rodrigo de Espinosa wrote the Viceroy from Manila, June 3, 1576, saying he had died, apparently about December 1, 1575, 67-6-34.

27. A silver piece of four *reales*. At this time the ratio in Europe was about ten of silver to one of gold, while in the East it ranged from four to six to one. The influx of silver from New Spain had a tendency to lower its exchange value measured in gold, but for a long time this remained much higher than in Europe. Quite a quantity of gold was obtained at these low rates and exported to Europe. In 1588 the profit on such a transaction was said to be from 30 to 40 per cent.

28. Some gold washings were also found in some of the other islands, but none of any importance.

29. Cinnamon, or *canela* as the Spaniards called it, was not then classed as a spice.

30. Legaspi's letter of August 11, 1572, 1-1-2/24, R. 23, quoted in Retana-Morga 384.

31. From *Las Nuevas quescriven de las Yslas del Poniente Hernando Riquel y otros,* a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. The text and translation were published in B. & R., Vol. III. Riquel wrote the letter from the Philippines before the ships sailed, and afterwards in Mexico a few notes were added about the cargo. The letter was printed in Seville in 1574 as part of a news-sheet with a page-long title, B. M., 9551, K12.

32. Enriquez' letter of December 5, 1573. 58-3-8, printed in *Cartas de Indias,* No. LIV, and a translation in B. & R., Vol. III. *See* also his letter of January 9, 1574, 58-3-8, of which the paragraph relating to these matters is translated in B. & R. III, Note 75.

33. The anonymous account of July 16, 1574, 1-1-2/24, R. 28, quoted in Retana-Morga 387.

34. His letters of January 9, 1574, 58-3-8, printed in *Cartas de Indias,* No. LV; March 2, 1580, 58-3-9, and of January 29, 1581, 58-3-9.

35. Letter of Villamanrique of January 24, 1587, 2-5-1/18.

36. Letter of Santiago de Vera, June 25, 1586, 2-5-1/18.

37. 67-6-18, translations of the documents are printed in B. & R., Vol. VI.

38. November 16, 1586, 67-6-18.

39. *See* his letters of May 10, 1586, 58-3-9, and January 24 and April 20, 1587, 2-5-1/18.

40. The guild of merchants in Seville was very active in the matter.

41. There is a large number of documents regarding this subject in 2-5-1/18.

42. August 27, 1575, in Manila an investigation was made about the seaworthiness of two ships which had just arrived from Acapulco, in the course of which these facts and many others of great interest were set forth. *Recados para que los navios Santiago y San Juan salgan de Manila para Nueva España,* 1-1-2/24.

43. Nicknamed the "Mora."

44. Moya's letter of May 8, 1585, 60-4-1. The writer made a long but vain search in the archives for the detailed account of this voyage, as it appears likely from the circumstances that the northwest coast was sighted in a much higher latitude than usual. It seemed possible that Cabo Mendocino had been named on that occasion in honor of the Conde de Coruña, whose name was Suarez de Mendoza, and who had died as recently as June, 1583. The discovery, however, that Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa in his *Relacion* about Drake's visit to the Peruvian coast in 1579 used the name, makes this doubtful. As this document, however, is an account of his services on that occasion it may have been written much later, so until something more definite on the subject is known, the question must remain in abeyance.

45. It would be interesting to know who this was. Good pilots of the Pacific were scarce in those days; perhaps he referred to Gali, who had just arrived in the *San Juan.* If so, it would seem that he had known Gali when the latter was in New Spain in 1582.

46. Translated from the original, 60-4-1.

47. These discoveries made considerable stir in Old Mexico at this time. The Spaniards had been extending their prospecting for mines to the north ever since 1550 with some

amazing results. By 1580 mines had been discovered even north of Santa Barbara in the state of Chihuahua. What more natural than that gold and silver would be found in the mountains in New Mexico? Espejo even claimed to have found some. From Moya's remark it is apparent that he had in mind an immediate settlement of the country, but for various reasons the matter was delayed about ten years.

48. Referred to in his letter of April 12, 1584, 58-6-9.

49. It is very curious that in the various allusions to previous voyages which occur in the correspondence of the viceroys from this period to the end of the century, no mention is made of Cabrillo's. The maps certainly showed the Puerto de San Miguel, as he called the bay now known as San Diego. They must also have shown other ports farther north, Baia de los Pinos, for example, but no mention of these occurs in any of the correspondence.

50. This opinion was advanced at this time and was probably correct, but the great loss of men in the higher latitudes from sickness ultimately decided the question in favor of the lower route.

51. Juan Bautista Roman's letter from Macao, June 22, 1584, 67-6-6.

52. Aside from this statement there is no record of any ship sailing from Acapulco to Manila in 1582 beyond one in a biographical notice in Retana-Morga that a Franciscan named Francisco de Montilla arrived at Manila that year, and another by Ronquillo in a letter of June 15, 67-6-6, that a ship reached there May 24.

53. Moya, letter of January 22, 1585, 60-4-1, says "the end of July," but June seems more likely, as stated by P. Alonso Sanchez, 68-1-37.

54. The above account of the troubles at Macao is derived from Santiago de Vera's letter of June 20, 1585, 67-6-6, that of Diego Ronquillo of April 5, 1584, 67-6-6, the *Relacion breve* of P. Alonso Sanchez, 68-1-37, and Roman's letter of June 22, 1584. Pastells in his edition of Colin, I, 169, calls the ship the *San Martin,* but he is in error; the *San Martin* was in Acapulco at the time.

55. The following notes show the most important variations of the Portuguese from the Dutch text.

56. Dutch—July 24, also Moya in his letter of January 22.

57. Dutch—SE & SE by E.

58. Dutch—Lequios.

59. Dutch—His name is given as Santy.

60. Dutch—21¾°.

61. Dutch—E & E by N.

62. Dutch—130.

63. Dutch—E & E by N.

64. Dutch—130.

65. Dutch—At 70 leagues distance were some volcanoes, and 30 leagues beyond were four islands.

66. Dutch—Name not found.

67. Although he says he found them where he supposed them to be, the failure to describe them indicates plainly that he never saw them, especially since there are none there to be seen.

68. Dutch—E & E by N.

69. Dutch—Asia and Tartary.

70. This argument was frequently brought forward by navigators in those seas and was one of the stock ones advanced for there being such a strait in that quarter.

71. Although there is very little in the account from which we can draw any conclusion as to the accuracy of his observations, as this is really the only one which we can be certain he made himself, it is not likely that he was much in error. The description and latitude assigned fit the Santa Cruz mountains well enough. If his observation was too high, as seems possible and even likely, the description would also fit the mountains southeast of Monterey. In the French text this appeared as 57½°, causing a great deal of confusion later.

72. Dutch—SE, SE by S & SE by E.

73. Dutch—"beginning of the land called 'California' on the northwest side."

74. Dutch—500.

75. There is no island in this latitude nor in 23½° as stated in the Dutch text. Bolaños had originally given the name San Martin to a small bay lying between Punta San Lázaro and the entrance to Bahia de la Magdalena. It might appear from Gali's statement that this name had been transferred to the island south of the entrance to the bay, now known as Santa Margarita, the southern point of which is in latitude 24° 18′, or that the land between the entrance to the bay and Punta de San Lázaro was then called an island.

76. Dutch—E-SE.

77. Dutch—19° 40′.

78. Dutch—Westward.

79. Dutch—SE and sometimes SE by E.

80. Jayme Juan had arrived in New Spain in March, 1584, having spent seven months on the way from Spain, stopping at various points investigating the variation of the needle. He really accompanied Gali, and died in the islands of a fever, shortly after his arrival. (Letter of Vera, June 26, 1587, 67-6-18.)

81. Translated from the original in 60-4-1.

82. Dahlgren, *Hawaiian Islands,* 67 (the edition of Uppsala 1917), quotes an extract from the letter of Fr. Andrés and states that he considers the story to be an altered version of the report of the Portuguese Captain Diogo da Freitas of the first discovery of Japan by the Europeans. Dahlgren was of the opinion that all these islands were simply some of the Japanese islands. He apparently did not connect Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata with Gali's story. There is a somewhat extensive history of these fabulous islands, Vizcaino having actually made an expedition from New Spain in 1611 to hunt for them, as well as to make a visit to Japan.

83. For what it is worth, this is another indication that up to that time none of the Philippine ships had seen the coast above 41°, the farthest north of Cabrillo's discoveries.

84. The "500 leagues" seems to indicate that Fr. Andrés had been talking to Gali.

85. That is to say, on the maps. Fr. Andrés seemed to think that there had been an actual discovery there, not being aware of the fact that this discovery was purely imaginary.

86. The last part of this sentence appears in Griffin's translation as the first part of the following sentence. This is incorrect, as it has nothing to do with what follows. All Fr. Andrés meant was that the islands were east of Japan.

87. Translated from a copy in 58-3-16. The letter was found in 1609 by Luis de Velasco, the Marqués de Salinas, while viceroy, among the papers of Archbishop Moya y Contreras and forwarded by him to Spain with a letter of October 21.

88. Villamanrique's letter of May 10, 1586, 58-3-9.

89. Letter of Santiago de Vera, June 26, 1587, 67-6-18. In this Vera writes that Gali died as soon as he reached the islands. B. & R. VI, 307.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

Notes

1. In Mexico usually spelled Unamunu, and in the Philippines, Unamuno.

2. These facts have been derived from letters of Santiago de Vera, of June 25, 1587, 2-5-1/18, and June 26, 1587, 1-1-3/25; a letter from the Audiencia at Manila to the King, dated June 25, 1587, 67-6-18; and copies of the letters of Fr. Martin Ignacio de Loyola, of November 24, 1587, and of Jeronimo Pereyra of July 10, 1587, attached to the letter of the Viceroy of December 10, 1587, 58-3-10. A slightly different account of Unamuno's troubles is contained in a letter from Mexico of Lic. Gaspar de Ayala of June 30, 67-6-18.

3. Pereyra's letter.

4. Unamuno may have bought the ship, as it appears from the letter of the Audiencia of June 24 that he had some money, possibly part of the 10,000 pesos which Moya y Contreras had given Gali.

5. An account of this voyage, or at least extracts from it, was sandwiched into an account of the countries he visited by Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza in his *Historia de la China,* first published in Rome in 1585. A short sketch of the embassy and the commission sent out from Spain at the same time to carry some presents to the King of China will be found in the writer's *Spanish Southwest,* pages 65 and 72.

6. His letter to the Viceroy.

7. For these facts and the status of the religious orders in Macao and China see P. Valignano's *Apologia,* printed in Pastells — Colin, II, 686, and the joint letter of the Augustinians and Franciscans dated Macao, July 6, 1587, quoted in *Id.* I, 406. Both Fathers Loyola and Noguera signed the letter.

8. It was asserted that he had with him a Frenchman and an Englishman, both great sailors.

9. An Alonso Gomez, chief pilot, probably the same man, was lost in the sinking of the flagship in the bay of Manila in 1600 by Oliver Van Noort.

10. One of the islands off Macao.

11. These islands still so called are just north of Luzon, in about 20°.

12. These were probably the two southernmost Volcano Islands in about 25°. The modern U. S. Hydrographic Office charts display a reef or island supposed to exist in about 31½° North lat., and about 154 East long. which is the nearest point to the alleged position of Rica de Oro.

13. Not so stated nor is it clear how he calculated this distance.

14. Gali in his narrative had stated that the northernmost of some island where gold-dust was obtained was in 29°, but he did not say that it extended to 32½°.

15. Fr. Andrés de Aguirre had located the two islands, one of which he called Isla de Armenio, as being between 35° and 40°.

16. It will be noted that Unamuno was approaching land almost from the southwest, having sighted the Monte de Buchon whose peaks range in height from 1100 to nearly 1900 feet. Pt. San Luis is the southeastern extremity of the mountain, and opposite this are two islands, Whaler Island and North Whaler Island, while farther out, slightly southwest from Pt. San Luis, is Westdahl Rock, and somewhat farther north Pecho Rock. Still north of the latter, about four miles distant, is Lion Rock. Just which of these Unamuno saw is uncertain, but most likely Lion Rock was one of them. It is clear that his observation at this point was twenty minutes too high. It might be argued that his two islands were Von Helm Rock and Cambria Rock, in about 35½°, in which case his Puerto de San Lucas would be still farther north, but the topography ascribed to the bay and the country inland does not admit such an identification.

17. Unamuno evidently made some northing during the night and passed Pt. Buchon, so that he now saw the mountain to the south.

18. The mention of pines here might be supposed to preclude the possibility that this land was part of the Monte de Buchon, as at present no pines grow on that particular section of the coast, except those that have been planted. The nearest are found close to Cambria, nearly thirty miles farther north. It is probable, however, that the pine belt then extended farther south than it does now.

19. Kelp, which is plentiful on this part of the coast.

20. The Morro is in 35° 22′ — error, 08′. Gomez must have been a very expert observer.

21. The landing seems to have been made at a spot near White Point, as the hill seems to have been northeast of them.

22. That is, to the southwest.

23. This must have been Chorro Creek, which, after running in a direction generally

west, turns slightly northwest to a point to the east of Morro Village and then runs southwest into Morro Bay.

24. It seems probable that this was Black Hill.

25. This sentence is the stumbling-block to any positive identification of the river as Chorro Creek, if it was the same one that they had seen previously. The first impresssion would be that they were south of Los Osos Creek, which they now saw to the north, but the subsequent movements of the party indicate that such was not the case. It is more probable that they went far enough north to look over the estuary of the Little Morro. It is plain, however, that they did not ascend the valley of this creek, but most likely that of the Chorro, as explained in a later note.

26. No doubt abalone shells.

27. These were the customary ceremonies in taking possession of a place.

28. *Sp., a oras de las diez Antes del dia.* It seems likely from the context that *diez* (ten) should read *dos* (two).

29. One of the Portuguese Franciscans.

30. In a general sense it might be said that Los Osos Creek comes from the east, although as a matter of fact, it only runs from the southeast, and for only a short distance from that direction, as before turning northwest it runs from the south. It seems clear, therefore, that they did not follow Osos Creek, but Chorro Creek, which has a generally westward course for quite a long distance. No mention is made of having crossed any creeks before arriving at the river. The description of the general topography of the country agrees much better with that of Chorro Valley than that of Osos. In the valley of the Chorro there are also still plenty of oaks, willows, and other trees, all of which are singularly lacking in that of Los Osos.

31. *Sp., enzinos y alcornoques.* Unamuno was not familiar with California trees, and so applied to them the names of trees which grow in Spain. By *enzinos* he probably meant black oaks, certainly by *alcornoques,* live-oaks. The cork tree, *alcornoque,* is a species of oak and bears some resemblance to the live-oak.

32. *Sp., fresnos.* They were probably sycamores.

33. This is characteristic of all the streams in this vicinity at that season of the year.

34. Just such a gap as this is to be found in the Chorro Valley about ten miles from Morro Village. As nearly as can be gathered from the account, they had traveled about four leagues. On the south side of this gap is quite a high hill, probably the one afterwards referred to, and although Chorro Creek itself shortly comes from the northeast, there is what seems to be a long valley extending far beyond San Luis Obispo. It is probable that the hill which the soldiers climbed was that known as Cerro Romauldo, as this roughly corresponds to the one described in the narrative.

35. This description of the country to the east seems to entirely preclude the idea that Unamuno had landed north of the Morro. Although a number of streams run down into the ocean between the Morro and San Simeon, they all descend from high mountains, at least 2000 feet high, which even at Cayucas and Cambria are not very far from the coast. It is hardly possible that he would have called them hills.

36. As they had not seen this settlement when they ascended the river, it would appear that they were now descending a different stream.

37. On the supposition that they crossed Chorro Creek, where it runs southwest into the estuary, they were now again near Black Hill, and as he states, about half a league from the shore. Between the creek and the ocean there are several small hills.

38. By adding up the distances on the return it would seem that they had marched inland six leagues, or say, fifteen to eighteen miles.

39. Another of the Portuguese Franciscans.

40. This name is doubtful.

41. By this time it seems they had discovered the mouth of the river.

42. The fire seems to have been at the southwest end of the bay; no doubt the party went there in the ship's boat.

43. So far as known, there were no pearl oysters on that part of the coast. More than likely they were mussel shells, the big shells, abalone shells.

44. There seems to be an omission here of the boat, as later this same statement is made of the ship's boat.

45. There is no river on this part of the coast which runs enough water to make any showing at that distance at sea.

46. Very likely an error of the copyist, as previously he said Zedros.

47. This is a curious statement, as the inference would be that the coast above Cedros had not been thoroughly explored. It would seem as if the only voyage of which he had knowledge was that of Ulloa.

48. This distance is not very different from that calculated by the pilots of the *San Pedro* on her voyage in 1565, although Unamuno's starting point was somewhat different.

49. The Valle de Banderas is just north of Cabo Corrientes.

50. This was Thomas Cavendish, who November 14 (English date Nov. 4, Old Style), captured the *Santa Ana* off Cabo San Lucas.

51. This translation is from a certified copy, 1-1-3/25, probably the copy sent by the Viceroy in December, 1587, and which should have been in 58-3-10. It is certified by Antonio de Castro as corrected from the original, and below is a note to the effect that it accompanied the letter of December 10, and "cotejado," that is "compared."

52. 58-3-10.

53. The list of the correspondence is dated January, 1588. Two small ships left San Juan de Ulua for Spain February 16. One certainly reached Spain but probably carried no letters; what became of the other is not known.

54. This is the first reference the writer has seen to 42° as the highest point discovered on the northwest coast, the highest previous ones having been to 41°. This gives added weight to the supposition that the *Santa Maria de Jesus* or the *Mora*, as she was nicknamed, had been on that part of the coast in the winter of 1584-5.

55. 58-3-9. This forms part of a paragraph first published in Carrasco's *Documentos* as No. 2. Together with a translation by Griffin, it appeared in the *Publications* of the Historical Society of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1891. Vol. II, Part I. Mr. Griffin, unfortunately, used a copy which was dated 1585 in error. This led him to question the accuracy of H. H. Bancroft's date of the installation of Villamanrique as viceroy.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

Bibliographical Note

With few exceptions all the documents relating to this expedition will be found in two files in the archives, 58-3-11, and 58-3-12, the first containing the correspondence of Velasco, and the second that of the Conde de Monterey. The latter with his letter of April 19, 1596, inclosed a copy of Cermeño's narrative, the *Declaracion* made by him and the *autos* of the information of the character of the land and the verification of the character of the country, both referring to the expeditions inland at Drake's Bay. There is another copy of Cermeño's narrative in 58-3-16, which differs slightly from the one in 58-3-12. It is undoubtedly a somewhat later copy and contains some errors. Both appear to be signed by Cermeño, they certainly have the same signature, which is not in either case in the same handwriting as the narrative. As there is no *rubrica* attached to the signatures, however, some doubt may be entertained as to whether they are really his. The name seems to be spelled Sermenyo or possibly Zermenyo. In his *Declaracion* the name invariably appears as Sermeño; in the correspondence, however, it is spelled Cermeño, and as that form has been long in use, it has been adopted in this book, in order not to occasion any confusion. For the same reason he is not referred to as Rodriguez, which was his real name, Cermeño, no doubt, having been his mother's name.

In 1882 Carrasco published in Madrid extracts from Velasco's letters of October 8, 1593, April 6, 1594, and December 23, 1595, and Monterey's letter of April 19, 1596, as Nos. 4-7 of his *Documentos*. They were printed from Navarrete's copies in the Depósito Hidrográfico in Madrid. In 1891 Griffin published in the *Publications* extracts from Velasco's letters of October 8, 1593 (the same as the one referred to by the writer dated October 5) and April 6, 1594, an extract from the letter of the officials of Acapulco of February 1, 1596, and still another from the Conde de Monterey's letter of April 19, 1596, together with translations. According to Mr. Griffin, his extracts were taken from some copies in the collection of Adolph Sutro of San Francisco.

The first extended notice of the expedition was published by Professor Charles E. Chapman of the University of California in the number for January, 1920, of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. The substance of his article was embodied in Chapter X of his *History of California in the Spanish Period*, New York, 1921. In the April, 1924, in the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society, the writer published translations of Cermeño's narrative, with the exception of the first part of which a summary was made, and of the two *autos* about the character of the country at Drake's Bay. In the footnotes such extracts from the *Declaracion* of Cermeño were embodied as added anything to his narrative.

Cartographical Note

Cermeño undoubtedly had instructions to make a map of his discoveries, but if he brought one back it has disappeared. Possibly the circumstances attending the voyage in the launch made it impossible to make one, as no mention can even be found of one in any of the correspondence regarding the expedition. Very little allusion to the voyage was made by later writers, and then only by way of reference to what Bolaños had to say about it in the accounts of the Vizcaino expedition. His name, the Bahia de San Francisco, was adopted afterwards by Bolaños and Father Antonio de la Ascension, and thus became a part of the nomenclature of the California coast, but his name San Pedro for Monterey Bay never appeared on a map, unless it may be that the B. de San Petro on the Jodocus Hondius globe of 1600 may be intended for it. On the globe this bay appears in about 44°, but as on this part of the coast all Hondius' names are placed at least five degrees too high, it is possible that he had seen some map which showed Cermeño's name San Pedro.

NOTES

[The extracts from Cermeño's own account are designated with a C.]

1. Velasco succeeded the Marqués de Villamanrique in January, 1590. He was a son of a man of the same name who had been the second viceroy.
2. 58-3-11.
3. According to Velasco's letter of April 6, this was dated 1593, undoubtedly an error for 1594.
4. 58-3-11.
5. *Sp., aunque Portugues, porque no los hay deste oficio Castellanos que haga el descubrimiento.* This expression is somewhat ambiguous. There were certainly Spanish pilots on the Manila route; what Velasco probably meant was that there were no Spanish pilots competent to do such work.
6. 67-6-18.
7. In an *Informacion,* in 1-2-1/19.
8. Evidently another was not to take anything away from the Indians by force.
9. At the entrance of the Bay of Manila, now known as "Correjidor."
10. It was necessary here to careen the ship and take some goods out of her as she was over-loaded; some passengers were also landed.
11. A name given to the southeast part of Luzon.
12. In the text, Japan has been crossed out. The islands had been discovered by Bernardo de la Torre; they lie just north of the Marianas, at that time called the Ladrones. The center one is in 28° 48′ N., and 141° 13′ E. His observation off the northernmost island of 25° is therefore about one-half of a degree too high.
13. This indicates that he had instructions to reach the coast at the highest possible point.
14. C., "The land was between two capes, about twenty leagues apart." Unfortunately he does not state in what latitude he then was. The capes were probably St. George and Trinidad Head or Rocky Point, about forty-six miles apart.
15. *Sp., brazas.* A *braza* measures about five and one-half feet, not quite a fathom, which is six feet.
16. C., "It was at sunset when we came within a league of land, which appeared to be mountainous and heavily forested with trees which could be recognized, among them a number of pines growing very thickly together near the sea and inland. These could be made out, because we were following the coast closely, looking for a comfortable place and secure port in which to enter." All this indicates plainly the country north of Trinidad Bay.
17. C., close-hauled.
18. This is also characteristic of the coast north of Gold Bluffs.
19. C., *Sp., un vajo q podra tener como una legua de la mar.* The expression is unfortunately ambiguous. A *bajo* usually means a shoal, but is frequently used in the narrative to

mean a rock or a reef of rocks. Further, it is uncertain whether Cermeño meant to say that the *bajo* was a league out at sea or extended out from land for a league.

When Cermeño's account was published in the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society, April, 1924, the writer supposed this *bajo* to be Blunt's Reef off Cape Mendocino, but a later more detailed consideration of the question has induced him to believe that this was a mistake, and that in reality the *bajo* was the Turtle Rocks off Rocky Point. One of the chief reasons for the change of opinion is the statement in this declaration that they rounded the *bajo*. If this had been Blunt's Reef, there would have been no occasion for going around it. The description immediately following also precludes the idea that it was Blunt's Reef.

20. *Sp., el cual era el Cabo Mendosino.* C. adds, *porque desde alli corrio la costa al sueste y la otra de poniente al norte quarta al nordeste. See* the writer's *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage,* p. 490, for a discussion of the location of this cape and Cermeño's statements. Pt. St. George, except for its high latitude of 41° 46′, corresponds better with Cermeño's description of Cabo Mendocino by reason of the trend of the coast north and south of it, than Rocky Point does, but the latitude of Pt. St. George is too high to make their identity likely.

21. Trinidad Head in 41° 03′. The two small islands were Blank Rock and Trinidad Rock, or Pilot Rock.

22. Trinidad Bay. The rocks inside are still there. C. calls everything from a cove to a gulf an *ensenada.*

23. C., "A morro was discovered which looked like the Punta del Brazil of Tercera." The morro was Pt. Reyes. Terceira is one of the Azores. C states that during the night before they had a northwest gale.

24. This was evidently what is now sometimes called the "Gulf of the Farallons," as later Cermeño calls Drake's Bay a *bahia.*

25. C., "Coasting along a musket-shot from land, we discovered a point which bore northwest. On entering this it was seen to be a large bay, where I went on sounding, with the bow headed north a quarter northeast . . . . and anchored in seven fathoms. The point on the west bore southwest a quarter west, and the one to the east, south-southeast. The bay is very large and is shaped like a horseshoe."

It is clear from this statement that the *San Agustin* was anchored west of the Drake Estero in Drake's Bay and was consequently exposed to the full force of any gale from the south.

26. This statement does not occur in C., and is almost certainly not correct for that part of the coast between Pt. Reyes and the Russian River, as far as trees are concerned at least.

27. *Çacate* usually means grass or hay; what is meant here probably is that the material was like the rushes of the lake of Mexico, and this is what Cermeño himself says. The craft was the Indian rush *balsa,* in common use on this part of the coast. C. states that the Indian rowed it very swiftly with a two-bladed oar, that is, a paddle.

28. *Sp., manta,* a word in common use to represent unbleached cotton sheeting. As the Filipinos made some little coverings or shawls out of cotton which were known in the islands as *mantas,* it is quite likely that these are what Cermeño gave away so freely to the Indians.

29. A general term applied by the Spaniards in Mexico to all roving Indians. C. states that the habitations were covered with grass.

30. C., "We could find no other kind of iron with which to cut a weapon or anything else." The words "no other" would seem to indicate that the bows and arrows had iron about them, but Cermeño obviously meant "not any." It may be observed that no mention occurs in Cermeño's narrative or any of the declarations, of finding any article of European manufacture or any indication that any European had been in the port before them.

31. Probably in honor of the founder of the Order to which the friar belonged.

32. Fray Francisco de la Concepcion went to the Philippines from Mexico in 1582, after a year's stay in that country. September 15, 1594, he was elected a *difinidor* of the province. [Kindness of Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt.]

33. *Sp., espanto,* possibly wonderment.

34. That is to say, they danced what was probably a war dance.

35. This sentence would seem to indicate that this band of Indians did not live in the vicinity. Sir Francis Drake had a somewhat similar experience, in what the writer thinks was Bodega Bay, and in his *Drake's Voyage* the opinion was expressed that they were Pomo Indians, probably from the vicinity of the Russian River.

36. This had been brought in the ship knocked down, according to Father Antonio de la Ascension, who must have received his information from Francisco de Bolaños.

37. C. calls this the "bar."

38. Presumably this is the *estero* referred to in the preceding sentences.

39. Middens are found on the site of what was evidently this village.

40. A very good description of the *estero,* which was certainly the Drake Estero.

41. It would appear from this that they went on foot. If so, the party probably marched around the head of the Drake Estero, and then east across the flat to a small valley through which at present the road from Inverness comes down from the top of the hill. There is still in this little valley a number of the trees described, but there is very little water in it.

42. *Sp., cardos,* the general Spanish term for thistle. The *Cirsium edule,* a species of thistle which grows near the coast; probably the stems and leaves were cooked as greens, or possibly the seeds were eaten. [Kindness of Miss Alice Eastwood.]

43. Probably the yerba buena *(Micromeria doublasii)* and the wild pennyroyal *(Monardella villosa),* both of which are common in the region. [Eastwood.]

44. Drake's Bay in 38° — error, 40′. Cermeño also called it "Bahia Grande," from which it seems likely that some one had previously applied that name to it. From his various references to it, he apparently considered it to extend from Pt. Reyes to Pigeon Point or Pillar Point.

45. C., "From the anchorage, three small islands bore south-southwest [the north farallons], and to the south there was a small island a half a league in size [the southeast farallon in 37° 45′]. The islands trended northwest-southeast. From one point of the bay to the other the distance is about twenty-five leagues."

46. C. makes use of exactly the same expression; presumably he meant a league from the southeast farallon, as in reality there are two islands there.

47. The length of Cermeño's league now becomes a pertinent question. Unless he greatly overestimated the distances sailed, it certainly could not have been the Spanish marine league of seventeen and one-half to a degree, as this is almost three and one-half nautical miles or four geographical miles. Upon examination of the various places where the expression is used, it appears that his league did not exceed three geographical miles.

48. It appears that he had already passed considerably south of Pillar Point, as he now speaks of timber on the high mountains, probably the Santa Cruz Mountains. The point under which he anchored must have been either Pt. Año Nuevo or another just southeast of it.

49. This could only have been Monterey Bay, which Cermeño states in his narrative he named "San Pedro," and was fifteen leagues across from point to point, that is from Cypress Point to Pt. Año Nuevo. The bay seems to have been named after a martyr named San Pedro whose day is December 9.

50. Just where he took the sun is uncertain, but from the following sentence it appears that the observation must have been made nearly in the middle of the bay. This is actually in about 36° 45′, so that the observation was almost correct.

51. Probably Cypress Point.

52. This is a good description of the coast south of Pt. Carmel.

53. It is a little uncertain just what small islands these were; there are several rocks off Cape San Martin and two large ones off Pt. Piedras Blancas. As C. states that the islands were at the end of the twenty leagues, they were probably the latter.

54. This word appears to be used here in the proper sense, of a deep cleft in the earth with steeply inclined sides.

55. The meaning of the sentence is very obscure, and no help can be obtained from Cermeño's own statement, which is: "Running along in this direction, namely southeast, I came to a point where I discovered a large *ensenada* which has a small island at the northwest point."

Mr. A. C. Goodchild of San Luis Obispo, who was good enough to read over the original translation of this voyage, identified the small island as Whaler's Island. He was positive that Cermeño landed in some part of the Bay of San Luis Obispo, but just where he was uncertain. However, he believed it to have been at Cave's Landing in the northern part of the bay. Kitchen middens exist in large quantities on the bluffs on the north side of the bay, and also on the east side. From the reference to the surf, it would appear to the writer that it is more likely that Cermeño landed on the east side of the bay.

56. *Sp., barrancas,* which must here mean cliffs.

57. This mention and the later one, of *balsas,* entirely precludes the idea that this bay was on the Santa Barbara Channel, and even creates some doubt about its being San Luis Obispo Bay, as it has been generally considered that the Chumash Indians who used board canoes occupied the territory as far north as this bay. Very little is known of the Indians who lived there; they were not seen in 1769 by the Portolá expedition which passed inland just north of Pismo, and when the mission was founded some twelve miles or more inland, the Indians who assembled there seem to have belonged to tribes different from those on the coast. Pedro Fáges in his *Suplemento noticia del estado que guardan las misiones de Monterey y California,* written in 1775, instead of describing the boats of the fishermen of the bay proper, refers to them as the same as the board canoes in use on the Santa Barbara Channel. Yet, when Vizcaino visited this part of the coast a few years after Cermeño, he found rush *balsas* apparently even farther south than the bay.

58. The use of the words "Christians" and "Mexico" by these Indians points quite plainly to the visit of Unamuno to this coast in 1587. There is little likelihood that he landed in any part of Port San Luis or San Luis Obispo Bay, but the distance across the country to the Morro or Chorro Creek where he probably was, is but little over ten miles, and if the Indians at the port belonged to the same tribe as those of Morro Bay, as the writer strongly suspects, the source of their knowledge is revealed.

59. C. states that on leaving he crossed another large *ensenada* with a heavy sea, of which the point on the southeast side bore to the south, and having passed this during the first night-watch, the coast commenced turning southeast. From the eastern side of the Bay of San Luis Obispo, Pt. Sal bears south, but the coast does not there turn southeast. This change occurs at Pt. Argüello, and it therefore seems probable that Cermeño referred to the latter. This coast is noted for heavy surf.

60. The launch had evidently passed Pt. Conception during the night, without its being noticed that the coast there turned east. Cermeño kept on sailing in a southeast direction, and the two islands he discovered could only have been San Miguel and Santa Rosa. He states that there were two or three small islands near them. Actually there are some small islands off the north side of San Miguel.

61. This expression contradicts the statement in the preceding sentence; he possibly meant that on the west side it trended southwest.

62. *Sp., islote,* that is, a very small island. This would appear to have been Wilson Rock, two and a quarter miles northwest of Harris Point. Cermeño's statements are equally obscure and contradictory. He says: "I went coasting along the outside one, south-southeast. The island trends northeast-southwest, and off the point of the outside one there is a small island, a league northwest of the point. Between them is a passage."

63. That is, between San Miguel and Santa Rosa. The passage is three miles wide.

64. Possibly in Tyler Bight on the south side of San Miguel. An identification of the outside island as Santa Rosa and the small island off the northwest point as San Miguel certainly accords better with many of Cermeño's statements. The principal reason for not accepting it is the fact that San Miguel as not an *islote,* in the sense that Cermeño uses this word, and the further fact that if he had passed to the west of Santa Rosa he could hardly at that time have seen Santa Cruz as a separate island.

65. C. calls these fish *cabrillas. Cabrillas* are a species of sea bass common on the southern California coast. [Eastwood.]

66. The south point of San Miguel is in about 34° 10′, so close to Cermeño's observation that it also raises some presumption that the observation was made near the south point of Santa Rosa, which is in 33° 54′.

67. This statement would also seem to indicate that Santa Rosa and Santa Cruz islands were meant, as Santa Rosa is fifteen miles long, and Santa Cruz twenty-one, but since Cermeño sailed at night, it is possible that he did not notice the channel between Santa Rosa and Santa Cruz and thought them to be a single island, especially as it is stated that the second island was the last and nearest to the mainland.

68. Whether the Anacapas are meant or the rocks off Pt. Vincente is uncertain.

69. *Sp., barotillo,* the Spanish name for the Philippine *parao,* a boat made of board sides and a flat plank bottom without nails. The resemblance of these to the board boats of the channel was afterwards noted by members of the Vizcaino expedition.

70. C., "Near the end of the easternmost island I came to a point of the mainland at which an *ensenada* and large bay called Pescadores begins, and went running towards the south-southeast to the point. The coast trends southeast a quarter south, and the bay is in the latitude of 34°." He also states that the bay measured thirteen to fifteen leagues from point to point. As there is no point on the mainland south-southeast of any part of Santa Cruz Island, we must infer that Cermeño had crossed to near Pt. Dume and then entered Santa Monica Bay, and that appears probable from the succeeding sentences in his narrative. On this supposition, the point towards which he steered was Pt. Vincente, and Pescadores was Santa Monica Bay. This happened on the 15th. C., "Saturday, the 16th, nothing of note was found and the coast was level with some *ensenadas.* I went running all day and the following night until Sunday, the 17th, when as we were sailing with a prosperous wind we discovered an island named San Agustin."

71. Now known as San Martin in 30° 29′. He must have sailed over three degrees of latitude between the night of the 15th and some time on the 17th, much about the same rate at which the *San Agustin* sailed from Trinidad Bay to Pt. Reyes.

72. So far as I know there is only one root on those islands which this description fits, and that is the root of the wild cucumber or big root, a species of which is common on the California coast islands. Dr. Behr once told me that the root was said to be poisonous, but I have not been able to obtain any definite information on the subject. [Eastwood.]

73. Probably a tuna. [Eastwood.]

74. The island is not nearly so large as this; in fact, it is only about a league in circumference at the present time. Cermeño says it was eight or nine league long and four wide. His description of the size of this island corresponds better with San Clemente than with any other on the coast, but the name, the latitude and the physical characteristics he ascribes to it make it certain that it was San Martin. When Vizcaino passed it a few years later, it was correctly described as a small island but not recognized as Cenizas, that is, San Agustin. There is a certain mystery about it quite impossible to fathom.

75. From this fact it was usually known as "Cenizas."

76. This watering-place is on the east side of the island.

77. C. states that to the west of Cedros there were three small islands. This is the earliest mention the writer has seen of these islands, the San Benitos. C. also states that there were two others to the east and the Bahia Engañoso. This name for the Bahia Sebastian Vizcaino does not appear on any map made before 1595 which the writer has seen, but it does on later ones.

78. Chacala is north of Cabo Corrientes, and was then the port of Compostela. Velasco speaks in his letter about the men being at Navidad, which is south of Corrientes. Unless he was mistaken, the party must have gone there overland from Chacala. There was no town at either place, to the writer's knowledge. In the letter from the officials at Acapulco it is also said that Cermeño had disembarked at Navidad. As this document was one of the few in print for a long time concerning the voyage, this statement can frequently be found, although as can be seen from the narrative, it is without any foundation.

79. It appears from this statement that the wreck had occurred only a day or two before, as an investigation of it would naturally have been made at once.

80. He was evidently supplied with a council.

81. In 1601 Morgana was pilot of a small vessel which accompanied the galleon *Santo Tomás* to Manila. He was then said to have been very expert and one of the oldest pilots of the islands.

82. Bolaños afterwards accompanied Vizcaino as chief pilot. He was probably the master or boatswain of the *San Agustin,* officiating as assistant pilot.

83. This word is unknown to the writer. This was undoubtedly the California laurel or bay. The seed when the pulp is removed looks like a hazelnut. [Eastwood.] Domingo Francisco in his declaration called some of the trees *laureles,* and others *pinos* and *cipreses.*

84. *Sp., temple.* The reference is obviously not to the temperature of the air, but to some quality of the soil. Some soils were said to be hot and others cold.

85. Two of the other witnesses supplied the information that the Indians numbered about one hundred.

86. No doubt quail.

87. The horns of a Roosevelt elk. A palm is about eight and a quarter inches.

88. Juan Gutierrez supplied the information that this stream emptied into a lagoon of salt water, about a harquebus-shot from the sea, where the *San Agustin* was lost.

89. Following this are three more declarations almost identical with the preceding, except for a few statements referred to in the preceding notes. They were made by Juan Gutierrez, the sergeant, Juan de Morgana, and Domingo Francisco, a sailor.

90. Morgana's sworn declaration made in Acapulco, which was forwarded to the Viceroy by the royal officials of the port, February 1, 1596 is lost, this statement being obtained from the letter which accompanied it.

91. Letter of the Conde de Monterey, April 19, 1596, 58-3-12.

92. 58-5-11.

93. *Id.*

94. In the *Derrotero* in the Bib. Nac. made by Bolaños and Father Antonio de la Ascension, translated in Appendix VII.

NOTES TO CHAPTER X

Bibliographical Note

The facts set out in this chapter regarding the concessions to Sanctotis and Vizcaino have been largely obtained from a huge *testimonio* in the archives in Seville, No. 1-1-1/30, in which a large number of documents were brought together between 1628 and 1632 in the investigation about California conducted in Mexico by Lic. Juan de Alvarez Serrano. The first 132 folios relate to the Sanctotis enterprise and the negotiation for the first expedition of Vizcaino. The first cedula of Luis de Velasco of November 16, 1593, is incorporated in the final contract with Vizcaino, October 14, 1595, 1-1-1/20, No. 5, R. 7. In this document a number of others are embodied which were also copied in the *testimonio* above mentioned. A comparison of these indicates that the original documents were very carelessly copied in 1628, leading to numerous errors, mostly, however, of small importance. These two documents contain all that is known of the Sanctotis enterprise, except a few references to it of no value in the letters of Sanctotis himself in 58-6-21, 58-6-23, and two in 58-6-30. In the last ones, which are half destroyed, something is said in regard to his lawsuit. There are also references to him and his concession in a letter from the Audiencia of November 20, 1586, in 58-5-10, and in one of Villamanrique, the viceroy, of November 15, 1586, in 58-3-9. Most of the information regarding Vizcaino is taken from his *Informacion de servicios* of November 20, 1603, in 1-1-1/30, No. 3. The letters of the Conde de Monterey in reference to the matter are contained in 58-3-12.

The account of the first expedition of Vizcaino has been chiefly taken from his own account of the voyage written December 8, the day after his arrival at Salagua, in 141-1-1, and from Torquemada's *Monarchia Indiana,* Vol. I, 682. Vizcaino himself, in connection with subsequent petitions, furnished abridged accounts of the expedition, dated November 11, 1597, and April 16, 1598. They are professedly taken from his original account, but whether from the one dated December 8 is not quite certain. They contain, however, nothing additional of importance. Torquemada's account was made up from that of Vizcaino and from one written by one of the friars, probably Bernardino de Zamudio. During the investigation about California which began in 1628, several men who had accompanied Vizcaino made declarations: Gonzalo de Francia, the boatswain of the *San Francisco;* Sebastian Gutierrez, a merchant; Alonso Ortiz de Sandoval, who carried the sounding-line and claimed to have made a chart; and Lope de Argüelles Quiñones, who was probably in command of the launch on the first expedition up the gulf. Enrique Martinez also made a declaration about the expedition, although he did not accompany it. He used a somewhat different account and gave a few additional facts.

The principal documents regarding the efforts of Vizcaino to secure a new contract will be found in 141-1-1. The file begins with a short petition by him in which he requests that the accompanying papers be examined and that he

be granted the concession for which he asked. This bears a notation of the Council, Madrid, January 11, 1599, that what had been done in the matter be brought in. The next document is an abridged account of the journey containing his request for assistance, and at the end, the grants which he asked for himself and his companions. It is signed by Vizcaino and dated April 16, 1598. The first part is undoubtedly a copy of one that he had transmitted much earlier, unless the date, 1598, of the document is an error for 1597. Following this is the Viceroy's letter of February 17, 1597; then Vizcaino's account dated December 8, 1596; another abridged account dated November 11, 1597, and then a petition of Vizcaino, evidently addressed to the president of the Council of the Indies, in which he requests action on the preceding memorials in the form of a confirmation of the contract made with him by Velasco in 1595 and that a new one be made containing his requests as set forth in the preceding documents. This contains a notation at the top that 2,000 pesos had been given (evidently to him) June 20, 1598. The letters of the Conde de Monterey referring to the matter are dated July 28 and November 26, 1597, in 58-3-12; December 13, 1598, and June 8, 1599, in 58-3-13; and May 31, 1602, in 58-3-14. Vizcaino's letters of February 27, 1597, and May 5, 1602, are in 58-6-30 and 58-6-35, respectively; the *consulta* of August 30, 1598, in 141-1-1, and the instructions and notification to Vizcaino in 67-3-27, but there is a more accurate copy of the notification in 58-3-14.

The following documents were first published by Carrasco in his *Documentos:* Monterey's letter of February 29, 1596 (No. 10); a paragraph of his letter of April 17 (No. 11); a paragraph of his letter of November 15 (No. 13); Vizcaino's account of his voyage (the undated one), (No. 14); Vizcaino's letter of February 27, 1597 (No. 15); a paragraph of Monterey's letter of July 28 (No. 16); and a paragraph of his letter of November 26 (No. 17); Monterey's letter of May 31, 1602 (No. 18); the notification to Vizcaino of March 2, 1602 (No. 19); the instructions to Vizcaino of March 18 (No. 20); and Vizcaino's letter of May 5 (No. 21).

George Butler Griffin published the following with translations in Vol. II, Part 1, of the *Publications* of the Historical Society of Southern California in Los Angeles, 1891: Monterey's letter of February 29, 1596; Vizcaino's letter of February 27, 1597; an undated "First Memorial"; Paragraph No. 14 of the Viceroy's letter of July 28, 1597; some extracts from the letter of the Viceroy, November 26, 1597, and Vizcaino's letter of May 5, 1602, as Nos. 8 to 15, respectively. The letter of Coronel was translated in B. & R. IX, 299-314.

Notes

1. *See* his letter of April 19, 1596, 58-3-12. The Audiencia in Guadalajara made a judicial investigation of the affair.
2. 58-3-12.
3. Obregon in his *Crónica* gives some account of an expedition he himself made with his father-in-law, Antonio de Luna, before 1564. With the aid of native divers they obtained

some oysters in which a quantity of misshapen pearls was found. Others damaged by fire were obtained from the Indians. Cuevas' ed., page 227.

4. The above facts have been obtained from the *testimonio* in the archives, 1-1-1/30, and a letter of Moya y Contreras, the viceroy, of January 22, 1585. Although Sanctotis received a confirmation of his license, it seems from an allegation made later by Vizcaino that he did not present it in Mexico. Sanctotis had been employed by the Viceroy to ferret out some frauds, and had accomplished his task very satisfactorily; documents in 60-4-1.

5. It is reasonably certain that this vessel was one of the ships of the Sanctotis company.

6. There are other indications in the documents that Sanctotis sent out an expedition under his concession; in fact, he so stated himself.

7. 1-1-1/30, No. 3.

8. *See* his letter, which was intercepted by some English vessel, in Hakluyt's *Voyages,* Vol. III, 560.

9. One copy of this is in the *testimonio* in 1-1-1/30, and another in the final cedula of October 14, 1595, in 1-1-1/20, No. 5, R. 17.

10. These were conducted before Antonio de Morga in the summer and fall of 1594. *See* his *Relacion* dated Manila, June 8, 1598, 67-6-18. In a note on page 477 of the writer's *Drake's Voyage,* the theory is advanced that Juan de Fuca accompanied Perez del Castillo.

11. 1-1-1/20, No. 5, R. 17, the original.

12. Letter of February 29, 1596, 58-3-12.

13. Notation on the letter of February 29, 1596.

14. It is simply impossible to identify this cape, but it is almost certain that his observations were at least two degrees too high. Vizcaino's original account of this expedition is in 141-1-1.

15. *See* Vizcaino's letter to the King of February 27, 1597, 58-6-30.

16. *See* his letter of February 17, 1597, 141-1-1.

17. Letter of November 26, 1597, 58-3-12. Maldonado's petition was attached to this letter.

18. 141-1-1. As this embodies the notations made by the Council on Monterey's letter of November 26, 1597, and as the endorsement directing the president to consult the confessor of the King is a pretty plain indication that this was made by Philip II, who died in September, 1598, the year the *consulta* was given must have been 1598, and not 1595 as the document is dated.

19. In this he was simply carrying out his instructions. An *entretenido* was an adviser who had no official position, and usually served without pay.

20. As it transpired later, these documents were all forgeries. The Marqués de Montesclaros, the viceroy, wrote October 28, 1605 (59-1-2), that, suspecting them to be false, he had instituted an investigation, and Palacios had confessed that they were. He was tried for the crime, condemned to be hung, and executed.

21. 67-3-27. It was read to Vizcaino March 5, and he promised to comply faithfully with the order. It was feared that he would go up the gulf because of his personal interest in the matter. He was directed to sail March 10, or as soon thereafter as possible.

22. 58-3-14.

23. Instruction No. 15.

24. The preceding account of the Viceroy's proceedings is from his letter of May 31, 1602, 58-3-14.

25. It would be interesting to know to what news he referred. The remark might be construed as confirming the statement of Fray Antonio de la Ascension, that Vizcaino was to look for the Strait of Anian and Quivira.

26. 58-6-35.

27. In his original account translated hereafter.

To make clear just what Vizcaino's instructions were in this matter, translations of two of the paragraphs are here appended.

"No. 22. The precise command which you carry is to discover, inspect and map all the ports, bars, bays and *ensenadas,* capes and points from the Cabo de San Lucas to Cabo Mendocino, without failing to bring back a fit clear statement of anything important regarding these. In some meetings which I have held with some expert and experienced persons it has seemed advisable that, once you have inspected and discovered Cabo Mendocino, and you have a fair wind and one neither very contrary nor one which by its force might endanger your breaking your masts or losing your rigging, you should employ reasonable diligence in exploring as far as Cabo Blanco, which is in 44°. As the coast is neither known nor has been seen and in consequence there is nothing certain about it on the maps, if you should find that from Cabo Mendocino to Cabo Blanco it runs towards the west you shall recon-

noiter it for a hundred leagues and no more. Having accomplished this, even though the winds be favorable, do not go farther, but take the return route to Cabo San Lucas.

"No. 23. Once having reached the Cabo de San Lucas, after accomplishing the discovery which you have under your charge, if you have wind and it is not from the north and you have sufficient food to accomplish an entry into the Californias you will do so, following the coast from cape to cape, examining the ports and *ensenadas* from the Cabo de San Lucas, entering by the mouth and coming back as far as the Puerto de la Navidad, unless the southwest winds do not give out. In such case, you will take advantage of them, and go on as far as the wind permits, inspecting the quality of the country and the climate, and seeing if the inhabitants, of whom I have heard a great deal, wear clothes or make any show of numbers or of quality, until you reach 37° or at most 38°, unless previously the sea had shown signs for ten or twelve leagues of turning to the east or east-southeast or west or west-southwest. In such a case, when you discover this, no matter where you may be, you will turn about and return to the coast of Navidad or Salagua, inspecting everything as far as the well-known ports of this New Spain."

28. 67-6-18. For a good account of this remarkable man *see* Navarrete's *Bib. Mar.* I, 636.

29. 67-6-18.

30. Rada was one of the first Augustinians to go to the Islands. He wrote a book on latitude and longitude, now lost, which possibly contained this story.

31. Probably Foo-Choo, the Chinese city.

32. This reference to the Cabo de Gata probably accounts for the Agubela de Gato, which in the middle of the seventeenth century appeared on a map showing California as an island.

33. Probably Fray Andrés de Aguirre, who had obtained it from Urdaneta.

34. *See* Note 5 to Chapter VII.

35. Dated February 16, 1602, and quoted from a copy in the archives in Manila in Alejandro Malaspina's *Viaje politico-cientifico alrededor del Mundo.* Second edition, Madrid, 1885, 195.

36. In his map of 1589, entitled *Maris Pacifici,* the coast runs west from Cabo Mendocino. As we know that maps of Ortelius were found in Mexico somewhat later, it is not unlikely that the Viceroy had one of his atlases issued in 1592 which contains this map and the one of 1587. The origin of these has been discussed by the writer in his *Drake's Voyage,* 490, and in various other places.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XI

Bibliographical Note

The documents dealing with the second Vizcaino expedition are numerous. They may be divided into three categories: the account written by Father Antonio de la Ascension translated in this chapter and the abridgements of it subsequently made by him; the official accounts of the expedition; and lastly, the collateral references to it in the letters of the Viceroy and Vizcaino and various documents cited specifically.

The Accounts of Father Antonio

A. *Relacion de la jornada que hizo el Generàl Sevastian Vizcayno al descubrimiento de las Californias el eño de 1602 por mandado del Señor Excelentisimo Conde de Monterey, Virrey que èra dela Nueva España. Escrita por el R. P. Fray Antonio de la Ascension dela orden descalza de Nuestra Señora del Carmen, uno de los tres relijiosos que fueron à esta jornada.*

This consists of a quarto volume of 248 pages divided into sixteen chapters. The last 11 pages are in the handwriting of Father Antonio himself, who signed his name at the end and certified that it was a copy of the original which he retained. The document is apparently the one which belonged to Lic. Lorenzo Ramirez de Prado, as mentioned by Don Andrés Gonzalez Barcia in 1737 in his *Epitome,* folio 611. Some thirty or forty years ago it appeared in a Dufossé catalogue as No. 72,933 and was evidently purchased by Mr. Edward E. Ayer, as it is now in the Ayer collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago. From this, Father Antonio's subsequent abridgements and the account published by Torquemada were taken; all of these however, contain here and there an occasional piece of information not found in the original. Very few clues to the date of its composition can be obtained. It is not the diary which he kept on the journey, but bears every evidence of having been written for publication some little time after the return. It would perhaps not be amiss to conclude that he compiled it for Torquemada, who completed the first volume of his work about the end of 1611.

B. In 1615 Torquemada published in his *Monarchia Indiana,* Vol. I, 694 *et seq.,* an account of the voyage taken almost word for word from A, with a few notices regarding the preparations for the expedition obtained from other sources, but with numerous omissions, which frequently constitute those parts of Father Antonio's account most interesting to us. Generally speaking, however, Torquemada used good judgment and omitted much of no value. Father Antonio's style is extremely redundant and tautological; some of his statements are repeated fifteen times or more in the course of his account, and if it was possible to find two or three synonymous words to express the same idea, he grasped the opportunity to use them. Torquemada's text, even where he is quoting verbatim, varies somewhat from that of A, so he possibly used another

copy of it. Some of his changes are obvious errors, some apparently corrections, and occasionally he put in an interpolation. The first edition of this work is of extraordinary rarity, only two or three copies being known at the present time. In 1723 Gonzalez Barcia reprinted it and made a few corrections, but the errors are more numerous. From this it was inserted in the *Noticia de la California,* published in Madrid in 1757, as Appendix II to Vol. III. Although Miguel de Venegas, the original author of the *Noticia,* stated that this was an extract of Father Antonio's account, Marcos Burriel, the editor of the work, attributed it to Vizcaino himself, as for some reason Torquemada had neglected to state that it had been written by Father Antonio. From the *Noticia* it was translated into English, French, Dutch and German, and thus came to be generally known. Most of their knowledge of the expedition has been obtained by English and American writers from the English translation, which is not so poor as it is now usually stated to be. The translator improved on Torquemada and removed some more redundancies and many of the pious observations of Father Antonio which Torquemada as a good Franciscan had felt compelled to retain.

C. *Relacion breve en que se dá noticia del descubrimiento que se hizo en la Nueva-España, en la mar del Sur, desde el puerto de Acapulco hasta más adelante del cabo Mendocino; en que se dá cuenta de las riquezas y buen temple y comodidades del reino de Californias, y de cómo podrá S. M. á poca costa pacificarle y encorporarle en su Real Corona, y hacer que en él se predique el santo Evangelio, por el padre Fr. Antonio de la Ascension, religioso carmelita descalzo que se halló en él, y como cosmógrafo lo demarcó.*

The above title is copied from page 539 of Vol. VIII of the *Documentos* of P. & C. and is presumably a more or less exact copy of the title to the manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. The account occupies pages 539 to 574 of this volume and at the end it is dated from the Convent of San Sebastian, Mexico, October 12, 1620. The manuscript is written on paper of small folio size and is a contemporary copy, according to the editors of the *Documentos.* Preceding it is a holograph petition of Francisco Ramirez de Arellano, in which he offers his services to carry out the pious plan of Father Antonio set forth in the *Relacion breve* just referred to, although he does not say this in so many words, but states that Father Antonio had given him a full account of the discovery. From the text in the *Documentos* both Ramirez' petition and Father Antonio's account were translated and published by Dr. Bolton in his *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest.* The work, which is divided into twenty chapters, contains, mostly in Chapters IX to XII, an account of the voyage very much abridged, the chapters preceding No. IX being principally devoted to general observations. Father Antonio states in Chapter IV that he made a map of the discoveries and the Mediterranean Sea of California which he was sending with the manuscript. Unfortunately, the map is not at present with the manuscript and its whereabouts is unknown.

D. *Relacion breve.*

Another copy of C (with slight changes) in the Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla. It does not appear for what purpose this copy was made. The insertion of "IV" after "Felipe" in the first line of Paragraph XX indicates that it was made after March 31, 1621, when Philip IV became king. There is also an omission in Paragraph XIX after *"Indios gentiles"* of the following: *"que va antes deste en este cartapacio."* A few parenthetical observations are inserted relating to the Gulf of California, otherwise, except for verbal changes, they are the same. It ends with the word "Amen," what follows in C being omitted.

E. *Brebe relacion en que se dá noticia del descūbrimiento que se hizo en la Nueva España por el mar del súr, etc., etc., dirijida a la Magestad del mui católico Rey Felipe 4°. Por el P. Fray Antonio de la Ascension, carmelita descalzo, que fué a este descūbrimiento haciendo oficio de cosmógrafo.*

This small quarto manuscript is at present in the New York Public Library. It was obtained from Obadiah Rich by Mr. James Lennox with a number of other manuscripts, most or all of which are believed to have belonged at one time to Juan Bautista Muñoz. It is a copy only, and at the end is dated Mexico, May 20, 1627, and signed "Fr. Antonio de la Ascension." Following this on the same page is a note in the same handwriting. [Translation] "By the hand of Captain Felipe Vastan de Santiago, one of those who took part in this exploration and who begs Your Majesty to grant him the favor of naming this kingdom Nuevo Reino de Navarra, since of all your other kingdoms you have a second one except of this, of which he, who offers his life in your service and in the conquest of this kingdom, is a native."

The text differs entirely from that of C or D and bears every evidence of having been prepared for publication. Vastan de Santiago, who, it has been seen, was the soldier who brought back the *Tres Reyes* after the death of the commander and the pilot, went to Spain seeking a concession to conquer and pacify the country. It is evident, not only from the added note just translated, but from several references to him by name in the course of the account, that Father Antonio gave him this to carry to Spain to aid him in his pretentions. The work is divided into parts, as follows: Title, 1 page; *Prólogo,* 12 pages; *Breve Relacion,* etc.; (new title somewhat fuller than the first), 1 page; *Para la Magestad de Nuestro muy católico Rey Felipe 4°,* 15 pages; *Californias,* 19 pages, signed at the end; 2 pages without title; *Del modo como se podrá poblar y pacificar este grande Reyno,* 26 pages:— total 76 pages. The twelfth page of the part headed "Californias" contains only two lines and the following page begins in the middle of a sentence. There is a note in another handwriting in the blank portion of the page to the effect that there was something lacking here in the original. This omission is unfortunate, as he had just begun to describe the Port of San Diego. A peculiarity of this *Breve relacion* is the somewhat minute account which it contains of the voyage along the coast of Jalisco and Sinaloa not found in A. On the other hand, the section *Californias* is a very

much abridged account of the voyage but contains some statements not found in any of the other manuscripts. Several incidents are related as having occurred in different places from those to which they were attributed in A. On the whole, it appears that Father Antonio drew this up from his own original notes.

F. When the papers which Vastan de Santiago presented to the Council of the Indies were examined, that body recommended to the King that in view of the ill success which had attended the efforts of various individuals to open up a pearl fishing business on the peninsula it would be advisable to have the entire subject thoroughly investigated. The King therefore directed a cedula to that effect to be sent to the Audiencia in Mexico. This cedula is dated August 2, 1628, and contains an express order to secure the evidence of Father Antonio de la Ascension and other persons who might have information regarding the matter. In pursuance of this, one of the *oidores,* Lic. Juan de Alvarez Serrano, was assigned to take the testimony, and a voluminous *expediente* was formed, now in 1-1-1/30. The first witness called was Father Antonio, who gave his report May 20, 1629. This is of little value, being almost entirely devoted to a rehash of his views of the best ways of colonizing the country and converting the natives.

G. June 8, 1629, Father Antonio sent from Valladolid in Michoacan to Alvarez Serrano who inserted it in the file, the following:

Relacion en que se da noticia del descubrimiento que se hizo de la nueba españa por el mar del sur desde el puerto de acapulco hasta el cauo mendocino en que se da quenta de las cossas que en el se bieron y descubrieron y lo mucho bueno que en este gran Reyno de la California ay de riqueza de plata oro perlas y ambar demas del buen temple de la tierra y de la gran suma de yndios manços y pacificos que en el ay muy bien dispuestos para enseñarles el sancto evangelio por el Padre fray antonio de la ascencion Religioso Carmelita descalso que fue a este descubrimiento haciendo officio de cosmografo el año de mill y seiscientos y dos....

This memorial is devoted to an account of the voyage and his views on the methods to be used in colonizing and pacifying California. It differs entirely from any of his other abridgements.

H. March 22, 1632, Father Antonio sent to Alvarez Serrano another account of the expedition still more abridged than G. It contains no additional information of value.

I. *De Rotero çierto y Berdadero Para Nauegar desde el cauo mendoçino que es Desde altura De. 42. grados. hasta el puerto de acapulco por la costa De la mar Del sur. hecho cuando se hizo el descubrimiento Desde el dicho cauo mendoçino al dicho puerto De acapulco. que se hizo por horden Del señor conde de Monte Rey. birrey de la nueua españa el año de 1602. siendo general sebastian bizcayno. De la armada que fue a hacer el dicho descubrimy^to^. hecho por padre fray antonio dela asçension Religiosso descalço de nuestra señora del carmen que fue por segundo cosmografo Del Dicho descubrimiento.*

This is a manuscript of 23 small folio pages in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. At the end is the following paragraph: [Translation] "This *derrotero* was made in the years 1603 and 1602 by the pilot Franco de Bolaños and was corrected and added to in many respects in which it was lacking by Father Fray Antonio de la Asension barefoot friar of our Señora del Carmen who occupied the position of cosmographer. He formed this *derrotero* when he went to discover Cabo Mendocino and all the coast from there to the Puerto de Acapulco. The commander of the fleet which went to discover it was Sebastian Bizcayno, the Conde de Monterey then governing New Spain as viceroy. This *derrotero* was finished March 22 of the said year, the day of San Benito Abad, Friday, in which the *Capitana* entered said port." The rest of the page is torn off, perhaps it was signed, but it is not in the handwriting of Father Antonio.

A translation of this *Derrotero,* which is evidently the one that Father Antonio stated in several of his abridged accounts that he had made, will be found later in Appendix VII. It differs in many respects from the one found among the official accounts, and which evidently had been drawn up by Captain Martin Palacios.

The Official Accounts

These are found in 60-4-37 and are not the originals but copies made in Mexico from a book in which the originals had either been inserted or copied. While not so interesting as the account of Father Antonio from which they differ in many details, they are perhaps the most valuable records of the expedition.

J. A record of the councils held on board the *San Diego.*

This document was first published by Francisco Carrasco y Guisasola in Madrid, 1882, in his *Documentos.*

K. An account of the expedition in seventeen chapters probably written by Vizcaino. Certified in Mexico, December 8, 1603. First published by Carrasco y Guisasola in his *Documentos.* It was translated and published by Dr. Bolton in his *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest* with footnotes which contain much of the information given in the other official documents here described.

L. *Derotero de la navegacion* [abbreviations written out] *desde el Puerto de Acapulco al Cabo Mendoçino y boca de las Californias fecho por el Capitan Geronimo Martin Palacios cosmografo mayor del nuevo descubrimiento de los puertos y bayas ensenadas de la tierra y puertos y fondos con sus derotas alturas señas de la tierra y los demas requisitos que pide el arte de la mar. Fecho con acuerdo del piloto mayor Francisco de Volaños y su acompañado Estevan Rodriguez y los pilotos Juan Pazqual, Baltasar de Armas y Antonio Flores que en conformidad de todos se hizo de la manera siguiente, estando presente el padre fray Antonio de la Ascençion; que se hizo el año de milt y seisçientos y dos por mandado del Rey Don Phelipe nuestro señor tercero deste*

nombre siendo Birrey y Capitan general desta nueba españa el Illustrisimo señor conde de Monte Rey y siendo general, yendo a su cargo la gente de mar y guerra y navios del dicho descubrimiento, Seuastian Vizcayno, vecino de Mexico.

Published by Carrasco y Guisasola in his *Documentos.*

M. A series of small charts of the coast extending from Navidad to Cabo Mendocino, 33 in number. Most of these are accompanied by some explanation extending from a few lines to a full page. One of the charts is a series of profiles of the coast of Jalisco and Sinaloa. Prefixed to this series is the following note: [Translation] "By the order of his Excellency the Conde de Monterey, I, Enrico Martinez, cosmographer of His Majesty in this New Spain, have drawn the following plans in this book of the discovery of the coast and ports of the South Sea and Cabo Mendocino, from this folio No. 59 to folio 90. These plans I have carefully copied from the original book of the discovery. They are drawn in their proper form, proportion and size as contained in that book without altering them in any respect. As a verification of this I sign my name, in Mexico, November 19, 1603, Henrico Martinez. The plan which is put on folio 60 should be on 61 and that on 61 should be on 60. They were carelessly changed on account of haste."

(These are the charts reproduced with the text of the voyage.)

N. *Ynformacion sobre los méritos y servicios del general Sebastian Vizcaino, que hizo capitulacion para pacificar y poblar las Californias y pesqueria de las perlas, como en efecto lo verificó tomando posesion en nombre de S. M. de aquellas tierras.*

This interesting document, in 1-1-1/30 No. 3, contains the testimony of Bolaños, Peguero, Benitez, Alarcon, Fr. Andrés de la Asumpcion and Miguel Luis de la Peña, given in Mexico between September 16 and October 1, 1603. Eight interrogatories were put to the witnesses by Vizcaino regarding his operations and each of the above gave some account of the expedition, without, however, adding anything of value to the information given by Vizcaino himself or by Father Antonio. The chief interest of the document consists in the information given regarding Vizcaino's activities before setting out.

O. Although Enrico Martinez did not accompany Vizcaino he gave in his evidence July 30, 1629, before Alvarez Serrano a very good account of the expedition. Beside him and Father Antonio none of the other witnesses had anything to say about it except the Conde del Valle. The Conde had been shipwrecked in Japan in 1609 when the *San Francisco* went ashore. In the following year he left there in a ship which the Japanese Emperor had given him. Bolaños (he calls him Pedro) was the pilot; there were also two sailors on board who had been with Vizcaino. These, he stated, gave him a long account of the journey, very little of which he embodied in his testimony. He alleged that Vizcaino was incompetent.

The Collateral References

The correspondence of the viceroys covering this period is contained in the following files of 1587-1588 58-3-10
1589-1594 58-3-11
1595-1597 58-3-12
1598-1601 58-3-13
1602-1603 58-3-14
1604-1606 58-3-15.

Vizcaino's letter from Monterey of December 28, 1602, was first printed by Carrasco in his *Documentos* as No. 22. Griffin also published it with a translation in the *Publications*. The official documents, J., K., L., and the explanations in M., were also published by Carrasco as Nos. 28-30.

Cartographical Note

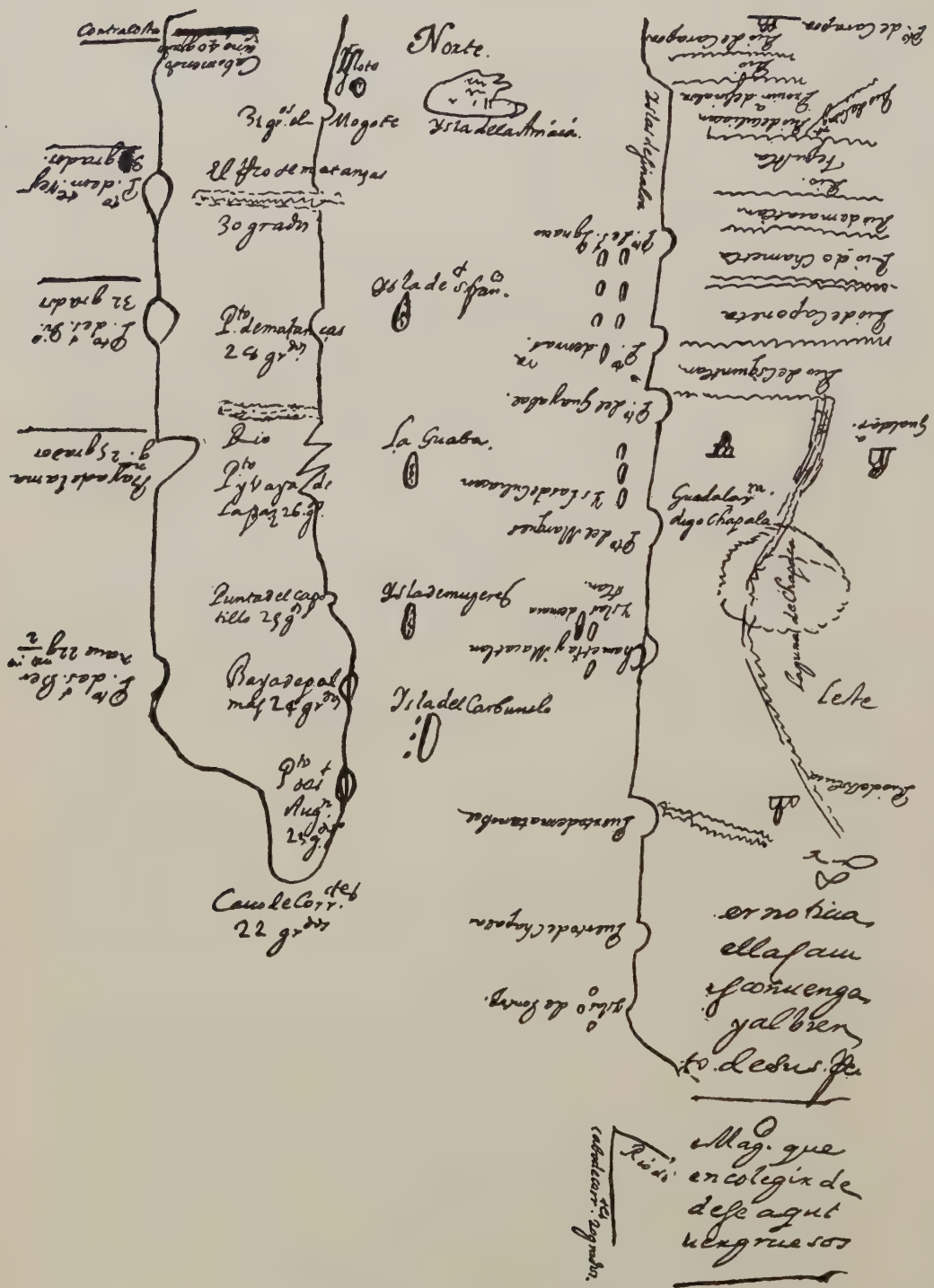
One general map was made showing the results of the voyage, possibly even two, besides the small charts reproduced in this chapter. The official one was sent to Spain with the accounts of the expedition, and probably passed into the *Casa de Contratacion*, where it suffered the same fate as other maps in that institution. Father Antonio de la Ascension, perhaps in conjunction with Bolaños, also made one, whether immediately after his return or not is uncertain. In F, he says, "I wrote an account and sketched the country, with the directions, the coasts, and the latitudes to serve as a sailing chart for that coast, and a copy of it was sent to His Majesty." As he then refers to a *Breve relacion* which he had made later, it seems that his map had been forwarded with the original accounts.

The small plans or charts of the coast were combined into one by Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, and published by him in Madrid, 1802, in the atlas to his *Relacion del viage hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana*. This map is not graduated, and although it has a scale, there is no means of determining what that scale represents in degrees, nor can we deduce this by reference to the original plans, as six different ones are employed in those and a number of the plans have none whatever. As a consequence, his map does not inspire us with any great degree of confidence as an accurate representation of the originals. The longitudinal distance between Cabo Mendocino and Cabo San Lucas has the appearance of being too great for the latitudinal distance between those two points. This is only what might be expected, however, as the original plans gave the coast line too much of a northwesterly trend.

There is no evidence available that either the small plans or maps sent to Spain with the accounts of the expedition were used to rectify the charts used on the Manila-Acapulco route. Unfortunately, no such chart made during the seventeenth century has yet been found, but the use afterwards made of the Bolaños-Ascension *Derrotero*, or sailing directions as we would call it, warrants us in believing that any chart in use must have conformed in general to

those set out in that document. This, at least, would be a fair inference from the fact that the *Derrotero* was copied almost word for word and with only trifling corrections in the *Navegacion especulativa y practica,* published in Manila, 1734, by Joseph Gonzalez Cabrera Bueno. As this work was intended to be a guide for navigators, it may be also reasonably inferred that the Bolaños-Ascension *Derrotero* was the only one of that route in existence at the time. Although Gonzalez had made more than one voyage between Manila and Acapulco, he made very few changes in this, and those mostly on the coast of Mexico. In a previous chapter, however, he had inserted some general remarks on the course from Manila to Acapulco to which he added some information which had evidently been obtained since Vizcaino's time. Although he did not correct the latitude of Pt. Conception as given by Bolaños, he changed that of the Isla de Cenizas, which was certainly Vizcaino's San Marcos. He also corrected Bolaños' statement that this island was twelve leagues from land to one reading two leagues from land, which is nearer its actual position, and from this island south he made many corrections in the Bolaños latitudes, lower ones being ascribed to almost every place named. His retention throughout, however, of Bolaños' latitudes from Cenizas north raises a doubt whether any new observations had been made on that part of the coast since Vizcaino's time.

The numerous references in the course of the investigation of Alvarez Serrano to maps made by Father Antonio indicate that he had come to be accepted as an authority on the geography of the west coast. He even made maps of the gulf, none too accurate, for the use of the pearl fishers. A very crude sketch of one of these found in 67-3-27 among the documents of the Alvarez Serrano investigation is herewith reproduced. If we may judge from a remark by Estéban Carbonel in the account of his voyage among these documents, it was made for Francisco de Ortega, who financed his expedition to the peninsula after pearls in 1631. There is also some circumstantial evidence that Father Antonio had previously furnished a map to Nicolas de Cardona and Juan de Iturbi for their expedition up the gulf in 1615. One of Iturbi's ships which had been sent south by him was captured near Zacatula by Joris van Speilbergen, October 26, while raiding the west coast of Mexico, and a map may have been found on board which was afterwards used in Holland for the vignette on the engraved title-page of the various editions of Herrera's *Descripcion de las Indias,* published in Amsterdam in 1622 by Michel Colin. The one which Cardona himself attached to his manuscript written between 1627 and 1632, now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, is very similar to this, and while he does not say that Father Antonio made it, yet he believed in Father Antonio's theory that California was an island and entered into an elaborate argument to prove that he was right. This vignette in Herrera's work is usually stated to be the earliest to show California as an island, but this is rather misleading. What appears on it is a very long narrow strait connecting the upper end of the gulf with the sea to the north. The strait is so narrow that it looks more like the continuation of the Colorado River to a


Norte.
Mogote
El Hfco de Matanzas
30 grados
Pto. de Mazatlan
23 grados
Pto. de Navidad
26 grados
La Guaba.
Pto. de Sn Agustin
25 grados
Cabo de Corrientes
22 grados
Ysla del Carbunclo
Ysla de Sn Juan
Ysla de Sn Marcos
Ysla de Mugeres
Ysla de Cedros
Ysla de Sn Lazaro
Ysla de Cenizas
Ysla de Sn Geronimo
Ysla de Sn Bernabe
Ysla de Sn Benito
Ysla de Sn Roque
Ysla de Sn Pedro
Ysla de Sn Clemente
Ysla de Sn Catalina
Ysla de Sn Nicolas
Ysla de Sn Barbara
Ysla de Sn Miguel
Ysla de Sn Rosa
Ysla de Sn Cruz
Ysla de Sn Andres
Ysla de Sn Christoual
Ysla de Sn Thomas
Ysla de Sn Matheo
Ysla de Sn Clara
Ysla de Sn Francisco
Ysla de Sn Juan Bautista
Ysla de Sn Lucas
Ysla de Sn Joseph
Ysla de Sn Ambrosio
Ysla de Sn Nicolas
Ysla de Sn Felipe
Ysla de Sn Marcos
Ysla de Sn Diego

connection with another river which flows north, a peculiarity even more marked on Cardona's manuscript map. The strait, if it can be called such, is entirely unlike what one would expect to find from reading Father Antonio's account of his Mediterranean Sea of California. This may possibly have been his first conception, as his account in its present form was not written until after he had obtained the information embodied in it regarding Oñate's expedition. In the accounts of the pearl fishing enterprises up the gulf, from that of Vizcaino in 1596 to that of Ortega and Carbonel in 1631-32, nothing can be found to furnish any warrant for the idea that there was any connection between the gulf and the ocean to the north. Not one of them reached even the head of the gulf.

In 1620 Father Antonio wrote the *Breve relacion* known here as C and accompanied it with a map, which is not now to be found in the archives in Seville or in the Biblioteca Nacional. In London in 1622 a *Treatise of the Northwest Passage to the South Sea, through the Continent of Virginia and by Fretum Hudson,* and signed by H. B. (that is, Henry Briggs) appeared, attached as an appendix to the *Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affairs in Virginia.* In the course of his treatise, Briggs states that California is now found to be an island, stretching from 22° to 42°, "as may appeare in a Map of that Island which I have seene here in London, brought out of Holland." No evidence has yet been found that Briggs made a map to accompany this treatise, but when a revised edition of it appeared in 1625 in Purchas' *Pilgrimes,* it was accompanied by a map on which the following appears: "California sometymes supposed to be a part of ye westerne continent, but scince by a Spanish Charte taken by ye Hollanders it is found to be a goodly Ylande." This chart is apparently the one referred to by Briggs in 1622, and recalls to us the lost map of Father Antonio. It is certainly a copy of one of his with a few errors and some changes, introduced in all probability by Briggs. An examination of it at once shows that we have here a new map of California, the first published, so far as known, to display the results of the Vizcaino expedition in 1602-3, unless that which appeared in Amsterdam in the *West-Indische Spieghel,* a book purporting to have been published in 1624, be considered earlier. It also displays the fantastic names which Father Antonio borrowed from the account of Marqués and the Puerto de la Paz in Lower California, besides a number of old ones on the coast of Sinaloa and Sonora.

The Vizcaino place names are not derived from Torquemada's *Monarchia Indiana* nor from Father Antonio's account just translated, but almost exclusively from the *Derrotero* which Bolaños and Father Antonio made. A few additions were made from the official accounts of the voyage and a few names were omitted, most noticeably that of the Isla de San Gerónimo. The island is shown unnamed and just south of it a much larger one, the Is de Ceintas, an error for Cenizas. Bolaños after stating in his *Derrotero* that San Gerónimo was in 31½° says: "Turning again to the course southeast a quarter south and passing four leagues to seaward of the Isla de San Marcos, you reach an island

of medium heighth in short 31° 20′ (about 31° 15′) more than twelve leagues from the mainland. It is called the Isla de Cenizas and in a line north-south with it are some very high level mesas rising out of the sea which the sailors call 'Mesas de Juan Gomez.' " This is contradictory; if the island was twelve leagues from the mainland, the mesas could neither be north nor south of it.

The most noticeable changes made in copying Father Antonio's original map were those of the Punta de la Conversion to a duplicated Punta de la Concepcion, and of the Puerto de San Francisco to Puerto Sir Francisco Draco. The first is just plain error, of course, but the writer considers the second to be a change deliberately made by Briggs. The latitude of this *puerto* corresponded closely to that assigned in the accounts of Drake's voyage around the world to the bay in which he refitted his ship. This change and some other errors in the Briggs map are also found in the Dutch map, but as the southernmost Puerto de la Concepcion and a number of Briggs' other names were omitted from it, it follows that the Briggs map could not have been copied from it. They might both have been copied from the same original, but the writer considers that the appearance on the Dutch map of the Puerto Sir Francisco Draco in the place of San Francisco is good evidence that it was copied from that of Briggs, as such a name could certainly have never appeared on a Spanish map. There are some other differences between the two maps; the Dutch one shows more of Mexico in the lower part and perhaps some ten degrees more of north latitude. This latter part, naturally, was not taken from Father Antonio's map but from the accounts of the voyages of Henry Hudson and Sir Thomas Button.

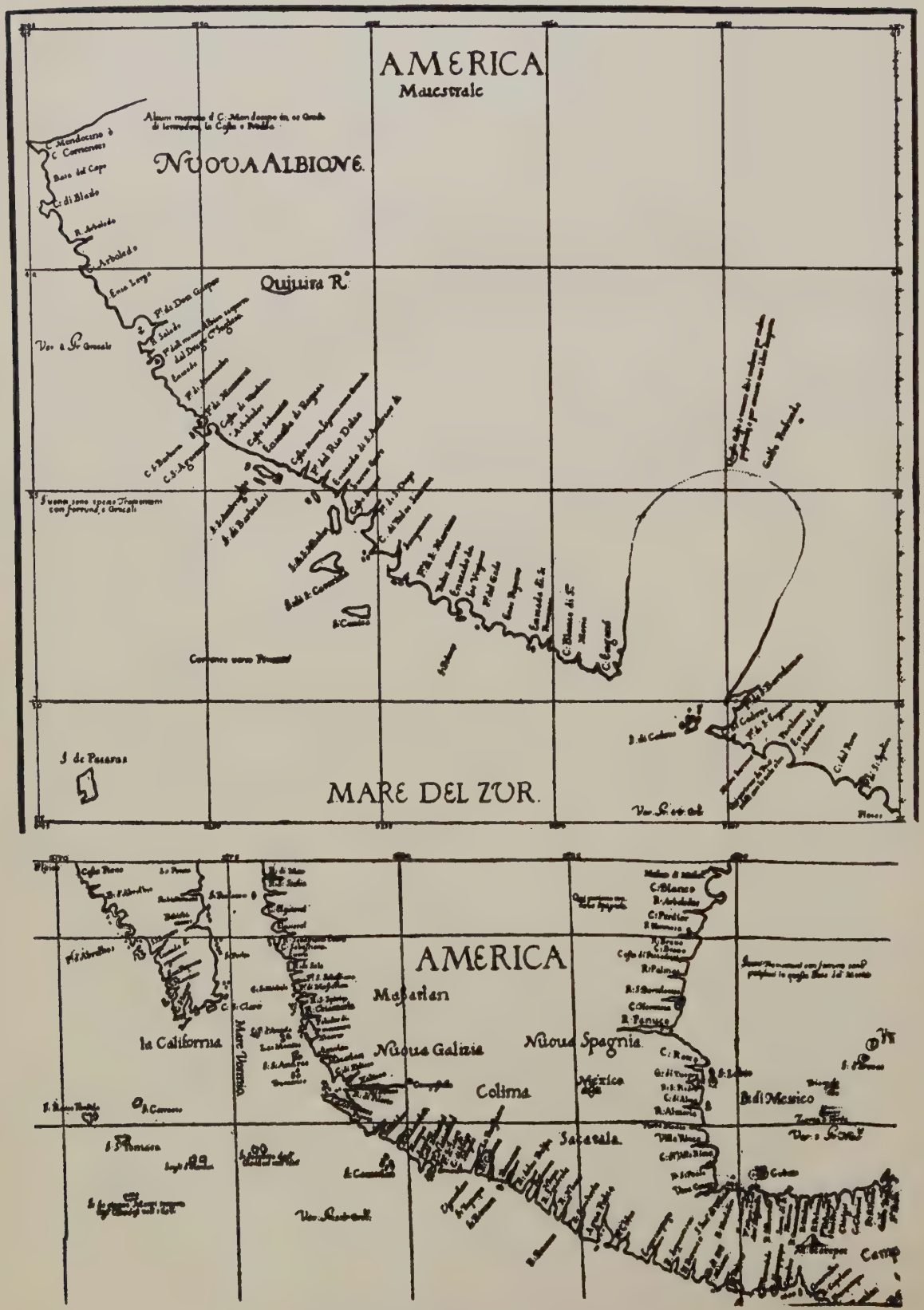
The striking feature of the Briggs map is, of course, the great island made of California, a conception peculiarly Father Antonio's, and one on which he did not cease expatiating, like all who think they have discovered some great truth. This conception had no connection, historic or geographic, with the idea which arose when California was first discovered, that it was an island. That opinion disappeared after the voyages of Ulloa and Alarcon and all the maps in circulation from about 1545 to 1625 display California in its true form, as a peninsula. Nevertheless, during all that time the views held about the configuration of the upper part of the Gulf of California and about the rivers flowing into it were extremely hazy. The idea continually crops up that the gulf did not end where the Colorado River enters it, but extended northward to the west of that river. In 1554 a map made by Michael Tramezini was published in Venice, which shows the gulf as extending to the north to about the latitude of 37°, where it ends in a point. Possibly Tramezini obtained this idea from a mistaken notion of the journey of Marcos de Niza of which he seems to have had some knowledge. This peculiar configuration of the gulf is found again in a map made by Michael Lok which Richard Hakluyt published in his *Divers Voyages* in 1582. On this map the gulf almost reaches a passage connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific, in later years known as the Strait of Anian. It will

OCEANVS IAPONICVS
The North part of AMERICA
AMERICA SEPTENTRIONALIS
CALIFORNIA
NOVA BRITTANNIA
PARTE OF GROENLAND
Fretum Hudson
Hudsons bay
BVTTONS BAIE
Canada
New England
Virginia
Florida
GRANADA
SPAINE
NEWE
REY COROMEDO
PVEBLOS DE MOQVI
REAL DE NVEVA MEXICO
ASTABLAN
CVCHILLO
Mexico
CUBA
Iamaica
Hispaniola
Bahama
Summers Ilands
Bermudas
Bermudo
Triangel
Abrolhos
el Sombrito
Trinidad
Tortugas
Caminis
Cloacata
Lucayo
Barbuda
Barbados
Tobago
Granada
Cainanca
Fringo
Negros
Alacranes
Catoche
Corumel
Campeachy
Tampico
Panuco
Apalache
Quivira
Cibola
Nombre de Dios
Cartagena
Rocca Partida
Sanublada
Villao
Bernalda
Ile de Sable
Cape Sable
Cape Cod
Plymouth
Virginia
Chesapeack
Roanoke
Croatoan
Hatteras
Elizabeths I.
Port Nelson
Button winter in 57 deg finding the tide
Hubbarts hope
In the Bottome of Hudsons bay where he wintred
Baffins
Fretum Davis
Terra de Labrador
Terra Esquimaux
Terra de Laurence
Terra de Cumberland
Terra de Labrador
Terra de Groenland
Terra de Bacchus
Terra de Bell
Terra de Grey
Terra de Berne
Terra de Charles
Terra de Baffin
Terra de Penobscot
Terra de Pascall
Terra de Pall
Terra de Rupert
Terra de Rogers
Terra de Negro
Terra de Sablon
Terra de Andros
Terra de Hamden
Terra de Hudson
Terra de Charles
Terra de Henrie
Terra de Cromwell
Terra de Monk
Terra de Albemarle
Terra de Craven
Terra de Ashley
Terra de Carteret
Terra de Berkeley
Terra de Bathurst
Terra de Clarendon
Terra de Shaftesbury
Terra de Grenville
Terra de Colleton
Terra de Ayliffe
Terra de Sayle

be recalled that at the farthest point reached by the *Tres Reyes,* the coast seemed to turn northeast, very much as depicted on Lok's map, and Father Antonio expressed his opinion that here was the beginning of the famous Strait of Anian. Who cut the connection between the Gulf of California and this strait remains to be determined, but there is every probability that Father Antonio himself was the man.

Recalling Vizcaino's Instruction No. 23(Note 27 of Chap. X), the Viceroy's remark about ascending the gulf to 37° is a pretty plain indication that he was aware of the existence of these maps. It may be noted that he says nothing about the gulf continuing to the strait, from which it would appear that the imaginary connection had not yet been made. In the writer's *Some Imaginary California Geography,* the theory was advanced that the story of the pilot Morera was instrumental, at least in part, in inducing Father Antonio to create his Mediterranean Sea of California. Briefly, this story was that this man came to Sombrerete and told the governor Rodrigo Rio de la Losa that he had been put ashore by Drake at the Strait of Anian or at the entrance to it, and during four years' wanderings had crossed an arm of the sea which separated New Mexico from a western land. No contemporary document which the writer has seen contains any mention of this story, which has always been supposed to be a fable. It is somewhat curious, however, to note that one of the Spanish sailors in Guatulco in April, 1579, claimed to have recognized a man on board the *Golden Hind* as a pilot named Morera. The story first appears in the *Relaciones* of Gerónimo de Zárate Salmeron. This work was not written until about 1629, just when the investigation about California was being carried on in Mexico City. Zárate Salmeron gives some account of the Vizcaino expedition, and among other matters states that he heard the above story from Father Antonio. Whether true or not, matters little; Father Antonio was obviously very ready to accept it, and when added to the vague stories of Marqués about the sketch which the Indians made, it seems to have been quite sufficient to convince him that the gulf extended onward to a connection with the strait. Even if the map reproduced by Briggs should some time turn out not to have been one of his, yet he makes it clear, even to the point of satiety, that these were his views, and states that one of his maps showed this Mediterranean Sea as extending to and connecting with the strait.

It might be urged by some curious reader, as Father Antonio would say, that the small map on the title-page of the 1622 edition of Herrera was taken from the same original as the Briggs map. This is possible; there is certainly some resemblance between their "Islands of California." The extremely small scale of the Herrera map might be accountable for showing the strait as a mere line, especially as this, after all, is not a map in the proper sense of the word, but rather a vignette to embellish a title-page. It may even be suggested that this is the map that Briggs referred to in 1622 as having seen in London. The writer, however, holds to the opinion that in the Briggs map we have Father



Sections of Robert Dudley's map from the *Arcano del Mare*, 1647

Antonio's lost map of 1620, and whether the Herrera vignette was taken from that or from an earlier one captured by Speilbergen, may be left as an open question.

The Briggs map was copied, one might say, hundreds of times in the course of the following century and a half. A few changes were made including a correction of the Punta de la Concepcion to the Punta de la Conversion, by some one who had evidently seen the original map, perhaps Nicolas Sanson, whose map of Nouveau Mexique of 1656 seems to be the first to record the correction. A few more imaginary names were also in time inserted in Father Antonio's Mediterranean Sea of California, but generally speaking the type remained constant.

The only other published map of the discoveries which the writer has seen was one by Robert Dudley, which appeared in his *Arcano del Mare* in Florence in 1646. This map, like all those of Dudley's, contains an assortment of his imaginary names interspersed with some genuine ones which were not taken from the Briggs map. The trend of the coast is entirely different from that of Briggs, and everything indicates that Dudley drew his facts from some printed or manuscript account of the voyage. Although his maps are not noted for accuracy in the spelling of place names, this one is particularly bad in that respect, a proof that he could hardly have seen the original plans, as on these the names are very clearly delineated; besides he adds a few which do not appear on these. So far as known to the writer, there is nothing in the text of his book to indicate the source of his information, and until more light on the subject appears, this must remain an unsolved problem. The writer has seen no map which was copied from his, but such a vast number of maps was published in the following century that it is not impossible that one may yet be found. A peculiarity of the map consists in the differentiation between the Puerto de Don Gasper and the Puerto dell Nuouo Albion. There is no authority for making this distinction in any account of the expedition; all agree in placing the Puerto de San Francisco or Don Gaspar in about 38½°, just where Drake was supposed to have repaired his ship. The distinction seems to have been an invention of Dudley's, perhaps to separate such a worthy individual as Drake from any even supposed connection with the Spaniards. He therefore removed the Puerto dell Nuouo Albion to about 38° 15′.

Besides the published maps of Briggs and Dudley there were some in manuscript in circulation which displayed Vizcaino's names and continued to show California as a peninsula. The ships sailing between the Philippines and Acapulco must have carried such charts, but the writer has never been able to find one made in the seventeenth century. There is, however, in the National Library in Florence a most interesting manuscript map drawn by John Daniell in London, and dated 1637, which bears no resemblance to either of the printed ones. It is just possible that it may have been drawn by Daniell from some Spanish chart which the English had captured. A section of the map showing the north-

west coast is herewith reproduced. Many of the names are difficult to distinguish, but it has been possible to make out nearly all of them. The list follows, reading from north-south: Baya del Cabo (?), P. de Don Gaspar, R. Salado, I. Barrancas Blancas, Ensenada, P. de Añonuebo, P. de Monterey, Costa de Mucha Arboleda, Ensenada de Roque, Costa Sigura del Pueblo Grande, Costa Tirado ay Canoas de Tablas, P. de Rio Dulce, Ensenada S. Andres de Buena Gente, Costa Sigura, P. de S. Diego, El Calvario, P. (?) de Todos Santos, San Quintin, Laguna Grande, Enseada de las Virgines, P. Delgada, Ensa. Pequeña, Bahia de St. Francisco, Costa Limpia, C. (?) Blanco de Santa Maria, Laguna, Ensa. de Pescado Blanco, Enseada Grande, P. St. Bartolomeo, P. de S. Eugenio, Messa, Enseada de la Asumcion, P. de St. Ypolito, Ensa. de Ypolito, Playas, P. de Abreojos, P. de S. Lazaro, Ensa. grande, Ens. Pequeña, Ens. Bor., B. de Sta. . . . . , Ens. Pequeña, P. de . . . . . , Sierras Enfadas, ... The islands are as follows: Sta. Barbara and St. Augustin off Monterey, S. Ambrosio, de Barbudas, S. Nicholas, St Catalina, I. de Cenisa (for San Clemente), de S. Martin just south of San Quintin, Todos Santos, I. de Cedros, ... Assumta, Farallones que par (ecen) velas. The name California is spread along the peninsula from about opposite the mouth of the Colorado River. A curious feature of the map is the absence of Pt. Conception, or any point on the coast where it should be. Instead, this runs straight in a nearly northwesterly direction from Punta de Rio Dulce to Monterey, which is shown in about 36½°. Unfortunately, the names on the northern part of the coast are obliterated, but it is probable that the farthest point shown is Cabo Blanco where the coast turns directly east for a short distance and then northeast. The misplacing of the islands is another curious feature. The name Santa Barbara near the one farthest north may have been intended for that of the channel. San Augustin, it will be noted, was one of the names ascribed by Palacios to San Miguel. Cenisa for San Clemente seems to be a remarkable error, unless we recall the fact that the Cazones on many maps were placed in that position, and the maker of that map may have confounded the names. The Islas de Todos Santos are far removed from the Ensenada. The island in San Pedro Bay appears as a large island. To decipher the names on the Sonora-Sinaloa coast would be still more difficult, but the Rio de Alarcon, the Tizon, the San Francisco and other rivers farther south can be distinguished.

Notes

1. One of the famous Las Casas tracts published in Seville in 1552.
2. By reference to the original text of Las Casas' pamphlet it appears that this Latin clause should be *Id est ob interpossitam causam.* It was inserted in the original to explain the meaning of the word *modal* which immediately precedes it. The meaning seems to be that Alexander did not make the grant as a mere gift but in due prescribed form in settlement of a controversy which had been referred to him; in other words, the Pope acted as a kind of arbitrator. The partition was designed to avoid disputes between Spain and Portugal over new discoveries.
3. Torquemada in copying this description omitted the name Quivira and the latitude.
4. The assumption that this city was Quivira was a purely gratuituous one of Father Antonio's. The original story has been already related in a preceding chapter.

PLATE XX. A section of a manuscript map of John Daniell, 1637

5. The wreck of the *San Felipe* was one of the greatest disasters in the history of the Manila trade.

6. *Sp., estado.* Perhaps his estate was meant, rather than his status.

7. Considering that Cabrillo had accomplished just as much as Vizcaino, the statement is either disingenuous or else denotes complete ignorance of Cabrillo's expedition. The reference is obviously to the expedition of Bolaños, as the word *destrozado* is used.

8. This title came from his appointment. It does not correspond in any way to the English word "general," but meant the commander of a fleet, usually an armed one which carried both soldiers and sailors. His ship was known as the *capitana.*

9. An *almirante* was not an "admiral" as usually translated, but the second in command of a fleet; his ship was known as the *almiranta.*

10. A *fragata* was not a "frigate" in the modern acceptation of that word, but a small open vessel with three masts.

11. The first party of Carmelites, three priests and two lay brothers, came in 1585 with the Marqués de Villamanrique. Early in the following year they acquired a resting place in the Hermita de San Sebastian.

12. From this and the preceding sentence it seems likely that both Fathers Andrés and Antonio had come to Mexico in 1597, and that Father Antonio was then a priest. In C, Father Antonio states that he had been born and reared in Salamanca and studied in the university there until he took the holy habit. In G, he stated that he had been born in Salamanca and studied cosmography in the university. José Mariano Beristain y Souza in his *Biblioteca Hispano Americana Setentrional* states that he was a native of Salamanca, studied mathematics in the university there, continued this study in the College of Pilots in Seville, went to Mexico as a secular and took the habit there in 1600. The latter part of this is evidently a mistake.

13. A *difinador,* or as now spelled, a *definidor,* was a member of the governing body of a province of certain of the monastic orders.

14. Father Andrés testified in September, 1603, in N, that he was forty-five years of age and had known Vizcaino about seven years.

15. Captain Peguero testified in N, September 16, 1603, that he was forty years of age and had known Vizcaino three years.

16. In B, Captain Alarcon is referred to as Gaspar instead of Pascual and as *soldado afamado de Bretaña.* This expression is ambiguous, and in the English version in *Venegas* was translated "a native of Brittany." He testified in N that he was thirty-three years of age and had known Vizcaino four years. There was still another counsellor, Francisco Benitez, a sergeant, who testified in N, September 30, 1603, that he was twenty-seven years of age and had known Vizcaino nine years, having accompanied him to California on the first expedition.

17. As will be seen later on, this man's name was Martin de Aguilar, *Galeote.* What *Galeote* represents is unknown to the writer.

18. B, "March 19, the day of San José." In the 1723 edition a change was made to the 20th. K, the 19th.

19. In C, it is stated that the party numbered about 200. Captain Alarcon testified in N, that 330 all told embarked in Acapulco, but this seems too great a number. Perhaps the "330" is in error for "230." K, "seamen and soldiers 126"; the rest were evidently officers, friars, cabin boys, ship boys, and counsellors.

20. Captain Palacios had brought the *San Diego* from Realejo, and the *Santo Tomás* was a Peruvian ship which the Viceroy had bought.

21. Bolaños testified, in N, that he was thirty-eight years of age and had known Vizcaino eighteen years, that is, therefore, since 1585. He implied that he had made one or more voyages to the Philippines, and said he had been in the Islands when Vizcaino was there. He volunteered the information that he knew that many times when the ships from China sighted Cabo Mendocino they stood off again to sea for fear of shoals supposed to be in that locality. Some years afterwards he communicated some further information of little value regarding the voyage to Rodrigo de Vivero, afterwards the Conde del Valle.

22. Father Antonio also alleges in C that he was one of two cosmographers. In H, he called himself *cosmografo segundo.* In E, he stated that he and Captain Martin Palacios had been assigned to different ships and ordered to put down the discoveries separately.

23. This man was perhaps the pilot of the same name who had been captured by Sir Francis Drake in 1579, just before reaching Guatulco.

24. In K, an interesting detail is given about taking the image of Nuestra Señora del Carmen on the ship on May 3. They had a procession on land, fired a salute of artillery and musketry, and then carried her aboard in a boat covered with a decorated awning.

25. Father Antonio calls almost every body of water from a cove to a gulf an *ensenada,*

so it seems better to retain his name without attempting in each case to decide the proper English equivalent.

26. According to K, the longboat gave trouble from the start. On bringing her out to the flagship in order to pass a line to her in order to tow her, her mast caught in some of the rigging of the ship and she upset, causing a great deal of trouble to right her, as there was undoubtedly a heavy swell.

27. The author was here very much mixed. The Legaspi fleet had been built in this port but none of his ships had discovered Cabo Mendocino on the return voyage. Father Antonio possibly meant the expedition of Villalobos, but so far as known, none of his ships ever returned to New Spain. There is no record of any ship from the Philippines having ended its voyage at this port in the early days. In G, it is stated that the ships from China were accustomed to land men here to send news of their arrival. This was frequently done.

28. What Father Antonio meant by this word is unknown. The *zarza* was a bramble or blackberry bush and the word occurs later in the narrative apparently with that meaning.

29. On the 20th a council was held at which signals were established, and a rendezvous fixed at Mazatlan in case the vessels should become separated. If after waiting there eight days and the other ships had not arrived, anyone who had reached there was to go to Cabo de San Lucas. If the others should not be found there, after waiting eight days, he should go on, leaving a letter in a cask underneath some tree which should be marked with a cross.

30. Whitsunday. According to K, they sighted the cape on the 2d, and finding a small island nearby named it "Espiritu Santo."

31. According to K, they were off the Punta de Tintoque, Jaltelga and Chacala on the 28th. In E, a somewhat detailed description of the coast is inserted, very similar to that contained in H.

32. In 1596 Vizcaino called these islands the "Islas de San Juan de Maçatlan," no doubt their original name. In G, Mazatlan is placed in 23½°. In L, the port is called "Trinidad."

33. That is, Thomas Cavendish, pronounced in England "Candish." In the 1723 edition of B., the name is spelled "Candisch."

34. *Sp., una tercia,* that is a third of a *vara.* The *vara* measures a little over 33 inches, but as these measures are only approximate, *vara* is usually translated "yard."

35. An *arroba* is about twenty-five pounds.

36. These little *manzanillas,* as Father Antonio called them, were undoubtedly the fruit of the *opuntia imbricata,* a species of cactus with an edible fruit. It is now known under names very similar to the one given here: *Joconostle, Joconoxtle, Coyonoxtle* or *Xoconostle.* (Kindness of Miss Alice Eastwood.) The word seems to be made up of two Nahuatl words, *Xococ,* bitter, and *Nochtli,* the general name for the fruit of the tuna. None of the witnesses produced by Vizcaino in 1603 mentioned them.

37. *Sp., de paz,* that is, peaceable. The expression was a somewhat technical one, generally used at the time in speaking of Indians or a particular country and meaning "pacified," that is, reduced to the service of the King.

38. *Sp., boca del mar de la California,* strictly speaking "the mouth of the Sea of California." The author generally employs this expression or some variation of it for the Gulf of California.

39. The Rio Grande enters the ocean south of Mazatlan and was not the same as the Navito which does empty north of that port.

40. In K, it is stated that they started to cross over after sailing two leagues along the coast from Mazatlan, were five days in doing so as the wind was from the west, obliging them to tack, and sighted the California coast June 8, twelve leagues before reaching Cabo de San Lucas.

41. K, "fifty harquebusiers."

42. K, "about a hundred Indians."

43. In C, it is stated that "the Indians said in a loud voice 'Utesi,' that is to say, 'seat yourselves'."

44. This recalls a story of a Negro, related by Gonzalo de Francia, who accompanied Vizcaino on his first voyage. In his testimony in the investigation by Alvarez Serrano, given May 27, 1629, he said the Indians rubbed a Negro he had with him to see if the color would come off, and gave him a large pearl, but to the Spaniards nothing. In G, Father Antonio advances the opinion that the Negroes must have been descendants of some who had been left on shore at the cape by a ship on which Santiago de Vera was returning from the Philippines. As Vera had only returned in 1591, the Negroes had hardly had time to leave many descendants.

45. As there were no pearl oysters on this part of the coast, so far as is now known, Father Antonio seems to have been exercising his imagination.

46. Corpus Christi is celebrated on the first Thursday after Trinity Sunday, and the Octavario is the Thursday one week later, on this occasion June 13.

47. Finding equivalent names in English for the various birds, animals, fish and plants seen by sixteenth century Spanish explorers is extremely unsatisfactory. They almost invariably applied names to the objects which corresponded in their opinion to something like them in Spain. In countries where these have been subsequently named by English-speaking people some resemblance, real or fancied, to other objects known to them has also been the determining factor. By this time many of the fish found, for example on the Sinaloa coast, had received local names, as will be seen in the following list. For some of these it has been impossible to find an English equivalent, although in several cases they have scientific names applied by David Starr Jordan in his investigation of the subject in *Proceedings* California Academy of Sciences, Second Series, Vol. V, Part I, 1895. To give these is no more edifying to the general reader than to retain the Spanish originals.

48. *Esmeregales* may be an error for *esmaridos* (pilchards), or an old form of the word.

49. A *sirguero* is a linnet, a bird. In C, the word occurs as *tirgueros*.

50. In C, it is said that the ship raised it and dragged it behind.

51. In G, it is stated that Cabo de San Lucas is in 23½°, over one-half of a degree too high: in L. 22½.

52. *Sp., ciruelas.*

53. *Pitahayas* are the cactuses bearing this fruit.

54. Thomas Cavendish.

55. When this distribution was made, Vizcaino issued an order prohibiting the men from gambling away or selling any of it, and gave stringent instructions not to molest the Indians or take away anything from them by force.

56. June 16 a council was held on the beach at the tent. It was decided to leave at the time of the conjunction of the moon, as a strong northwest wind was then blowing. As the coast was not known, the two ships were not to go near land but only the launch, which was to sound it with a boat. If the ships became separated, Cedros was appointed as a rendezvous. If the northwest winds obliged them to go back, they were to stop at the nearest capacious port which had been discovered, but if none had been found, then they were to go back to San Lucas, where they would await each other. None of the men on the launch was to go ashore until one of the other ships arrived, and then not less than thirty well-armed men with an officer. Penalty of death was provided for breach of this observance, as it was said there were many Indians in the country, and if they should happen to kill any Spaniard they would become very daring. Peaceable Indians should be well treated, and nothing taken from them, so as to make friends of them. No soldier could accept a present from an Indian, but only the officer in charge. New moon occurred June 20. According to K, the fleet sailed on the 19th.

57. June 27 another council was held in the bay to discuss what should be done in view of the continuance of contrary winds, which had already driven them back twice. Vizcaino suggested going out to sea in search of a more favorable wind, but the council decided to remain in port until a change of weather occurred, as they were momentarily expecting a southeast wind, and if they went out to sea and the weather was bad, they would have to go back to New Spain; better wait, they concluded, for the opposition of the moon or the first favorable wind. At six o'clock the same afternoon on the *Capitana* the naval advisers said that, notwithstanding what had been agreed to, the wind having changed to the southeast, they should make sail, as, if this should blow hard they would make much headway outside, while with it they could not leave the port.

58. In this chapter heading occurs the only use of "Çerros" as an alternative name for "Çedros." In all his subsequent writings, Father Antonio also uniformly calls the island "Çedros."

59. This is the range facing the coast which extends northward twenty or thirty miles from Cabo San Lucas.

60. Father Antonio was on the *Santo Tomás*, and what he relates of the occurrences on the *San Diego* for a time hereafter, is merely hearsay; in the main, however, his statements agree with those of Vizcaino. The plan shows Punta de Santa Margarita and the Baia Engañosa de San Marino. The former, Punta Tosco in 24° 17′, is placed in M in 24° 15′, a probable error in the text, as 24° 15′ is too close to the actual latitude.

61. Vizcaino also sent Bolaños out to sea with the ship's boat to look for the *Santo Tomás*, but as the wind freshened he had to come back.

62. Still known under the same name. The entrance is in 24° 32′; I and M, 25° — error, 28′.

63. The inference would be that those on the *Tres Reyes* had named this bay, but from what precedes it can be seen that the *San Diego* had been there on the 18th, the day of Santa Marina. The *Tres Reyes* evidently did not reach there until later.

64. The Puerto de Santiago, named by Bolaños, was farther north, probably having been Bahia Ballenas. This is another indication that Vizcaino had some, even if inaccurate,

knowledge of his voyage. In E, Father Antonio alleges that this bay was the farthest north of the discoveries of the expedition sent out by Cortés, "Cortés," being perhaps a mistake for "Mendoza." Perhaps, however, he mistook the bay, as later in his narrative he calls the Ensenada de Todos Santos, "Santiago." If such were the case, we might suspect that Todos Santos had been named "Santiago" by Ulloa in May or July, 1540. In B, the port is called "Puerto del Marqués or Santiago." Torquemada was probably mistaken in calling it Puerto del Marqués, as on older maps this usually appears farther south.

65. In C, it is stated that this arm was ascended about a league.

66. This was named the "Baia de Almejas," a name sometimes incorrectly applied to what Vizcaino called the "Baia de Santa Marina." The Baia de Almejas was discovered by a party of twenty men under the command of Alarcon and Captain Palacios, who made an exploration of the whole bay. They found some water on the Isla Santa Margarita but it was green. In C, it is stated that a quantity of ambergris was found in this bay.

67. Vizcaino sailed on Saturday the 27th, but was obliged to anchor in the entrance on account of the currents and the lack of wind. At midnight a land breeze came up and the ships went outside.

68. Named on her day, July 29.

69. No mention is made of passing the Punta de San Lázaro in 24° 48′, but this appears on the chart, and in I is put in 25° 20′ — error, 32′. The writer has never been able to find any statement about the naming of this point, one of the most conspicuous on the coast of Lower California, but most likely Vizcaino did so, as he was near it on the return voyage about February 11, one of San Lázaro's days. At a distance, from the north it looks like an island and is so described in the *derroteros*.

70. Probably the Boca Las Animas, one of the entrances to the large lagoon which extends for a long distance from there to the south. The entrance is still marked by a long shoal on which the sea breaks. The day of San Cristóbal is July 30.

71. This place could not have been the Baia de Ballenas, where in G it is said the *Santo Tomás* remained two days, as from a reference to Vizcaino's narrative it can be seen that it was probably the Boca Pabellon, ten miles south of Punta San Juanico. Vizcaino was apparently there August 2, as a council was held on board that day, about two leagues off the coast, in which it was decided to reconnoiter the bay with the *Tres Reyes* and look for water and the *Almiranta*. The latitude was placed at 26° 15′ — error, about 30′, if Boca Pabellon. There are five mouths of lagoons between Cabo San Lázaro and Punta San Juanico, so a positive identification is not possible.

72. The *San Diego* did not enter this port until August 8. In the *derroteros* "Punta Santo Domingo" and "Punta de Nuestra Señora de Nieves" are named between the Boca de Pabellon and this bay. These names must have been given August 4 and August 5, respectively. Their identification is difficult, owing to the fact that the latitude given in M to Punta de Nuestra Señora de Nieves, 27° 15′, is the same as that ascribed to Abreojos, indicating that it was Punta Abreojos, but the map does not so show it. In L, it is stated that the *ensenada* extends from the Punta de San Lázaro to 26° 15′ and that the Punta de Nieves is in 27° 15′. As a difference of 1° does not exist between any two points on this part of the coast, a textual error is indicated in the location of one or the other point, probably the latter, as suggested in the preceding sentence, or very possibly in both. It is quite apparent from Palacios' description of Punta de Nieves that it was Punta Santo Domingo. He also says that two leagues to the north-northwest of this *punta* was the Punta de Bajos, from which some shoals extended out more than three leagues. Indications are that this point is the one now known as Bronaugh, from which some shoals make off to the south for four miles. There are three prominent *puntas* on the coast here, Punta San Juanico, Punta Pequeña, and Punta Santo Domingo, the last in 26° 19′. It might appear that the first was named "Punta de Santo Domingo" by Vizcaino and the last "Punta de Nuestra Señora de Nieves." In E, the Abreojos are mentioned, and a little beyond these there is said to be a high, round peak where the Baia de Ballenas begins. In reality, Ballenas is south of Abreojos.

73. A reference to the Siete Infantes de Lara, a legend of the tenth century related in the *Hystoria del noble cavallero el Conde Fernan Gonzalez con la muerte de los siete Infantes de Lara*. Captain Palacios calls them the "Siete Durmientos," possibly a reference to the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. In E, it is said that the range extends from east to west.

74. This was really Bahia Ballenas. The entrance to the Laguna de San Ignacio is at the east end of the bay, somewhat distant from the point. Because of the southeast wind, Vizcaino did not stop but sailed at midnight and passed around the Abreojos, which he says he named. I and L place them in 27° 15′ — error, 29′.

75. On the 13th, the day of San Hipólito, Vizcaino reached an *ensenada* to which he gave that name, which it still bears.

76. This island was reached by Vizcaino at five o'clock on the afternoon of the 14th

and was named by him "La Asuncion de Nuestra Señora." What Father Antonio meant by calling it "San Roque" is difficult to understand, as the day of San Roque was August 16, and according to his account he had been at this island several days earlier on the *Santo Tomás,* probably on August 5, as in his later memorials he calls the island "Nieves," no doubt after Nuestra Señora de las Nieves, whose day is August 5. What happened, it seems, is that Father Antonio on the *Santo Tomás* gave these islands names when he discovered them, but later adopted as a rule those given by Vizcaino and became somewhat mixed in the process.

77. On the 15th Vizcaino sent Alarcon ashore on the mainland in Bahia Asuncion to look for water. He found some Indians on the beach who showed him some little holes containing a little brackish water. Vizcaino then ordered Alarcon and Aguilar to go along the coast with four soldiers to another *ensenada* three leagues farther on. They came back after sundown with the news that they had found good water and a saline about two leagues from where they were anchored, and brought back some green tomatoes. Sail was made that night, and at ten o'clock the next morning Vizcaino anchored between another island, which he named "San Roque," and the mainland and ordered Alarcon to go ashore with some soldiers after the water which had been found the day before. Many trails were found here but no Indians. They took some salt and Ensign Suriano with four soldiers ascended San Roque to look for the *Santo Tomás* and see what was on the coast farther on. He found some sealskins in some Indian huts, which he said the Indians used to make sandals.

78. He has the order of the islands just reversed here, as San Roque is the northernmost. L puts Asuncion in 27° 52′ and San Roque in 28°. Asuncion is in 27° 6′ — error, 46′

79. In K, no mention is made of seeing any Indians here unless it might be inferred that Suriano had found some on the mountain.

80. In L, it is stated that two leagues west-northwest of San Roque is a point of rock, then three leagues northwest of this a black morro called the Morro Hermoso, and then six leagues across an *ensenada* a point of sierras two leagues long. From the Isla San Roque to Punta San Roque is three miles, then to Punta San Pablo a little over three miles, and then to the present Morro Hermoso twenty-two miles, much more than the three leagues mentioned by Palacios. It seems certain, then, that Palacios' first point was Punta San Roque and that Punta San Pablo was the famous Morro Hermoso. In such case the point of sierra referred to by Palacios was the cliff now known as the Morro Hermoso or Cabeza de Thurlow.

81. *Sp., a todos arrebataba el corazon y la voluntad* — very flowery language.

Commander George Dewey, who published the results of a reconnaissance of this coast in Washington in 1874, was of the opinion that Vizcaino's Sierra Pintada was the range of peaks of variegated color just north of Punta San Pablo, which is a dark slate-colored bluff 636 feet high, as he says that these mountains were composed of bare, naked rocks of varied and beautiful formation, just as described by Father Antonio.

82. This island was given this name later by Palacios. The *Santo Tomás* must have passed it about August 15, the day of the Asuncion de Nuestra Señora, as in E and G that name is applied to the island.

83. That is, kelp.

84. K, "August 23, the *víspera* of San Bartolomé." Captain Palacios marked the bay, which is still known by the same name. His *Derrotero* does not give the latitude, but I puts it as 28° 15′. Punta Tortolo at the entrance is 27° 39′ — error, 36′.

85. This was reached on August 27, the evening before San Agustin's day.

86. This was where Ulloa had first anchored.

87. A council of war was now held, September 2, in which it was decided while the ships took water, to send Palacios in the *Tres Reyes* and a shallop, to circumnavigate the island, but not to delay more than seven or eight days. According to K, they did not sail around the island, but apparently when at its north end stood off directly east. The latitude was placed at 29° — error, about 40′.

88. Another council of war was held September 3, in which it was decided to send out twenty armed men for three days under Suriano and Legar to look over the island for water and wood, and see if it was inhabited, on the theory that this might prove of benefit to the China ships.

89. This watering-place was near the north end of the island on the east side, evidently the same one where Ulloa had taken water and where he had spent so much time. In E, it is stated that the stream emptied at the foot of the highest hill. L places the watering-place in 28° 45′, and the south part of the island in 28½°. As the actual latitude of the former is about 28° 17′ and of the latter, 28° 02′, the error in each case was about 28′.

90. The bay is now known as "Sebastian Vizcaino." This remark of Father Antonio's, repeated by Torquemada, was the source of a later fable that there was a connection here with the Gulf of California.

91. From the name given to the island it appears that Palacios was there about September 8, on which day the birthday of the Virgin is celebrated. Father Antonio, who accompanied him, calls the cactus *viznagas*, a species of cactus with very large thorns which the Indians on the coast used for fish-hooks. L mentions the Punta de San Eugenio in 28° 20′ and the map shows it. It was probably named September 6 after the Cappadocian martyr of that name. It is still known as Punta Eugenio and is in 27° 50′ — error, 30′.

92. In K, it is stated that they took the image ashore on the 7th and received it with a salute of musketry. The next day Father Tomás preached a sermon.

93. A sea council was held September 9 about the route to be followed and about what should be done in case of storms. Cenizas or some nearer port was appointed as the next place of rendezvous, provided they became separated by a southeast storm, and any good port they might discover or else Cedros itself, provided the storm was from the northwest.

94. In E and G, it is also called San Hipólito, but this must be an error, as according to Vizcaino, this name had been applied August 13 to a bay farther south, and no San Hipólito appears in the calendar to be commemorated on any day in September. In L, Palacios states that in 29° 45′ there were some black cliffs which looked like an island, and that to the southeast of these there was an *ensenada* with apparently good shelter. This point must have been Punta Negra, the southern limit of Bahia Playa Maria, in about 28° 55′.

95. *Sp., pexes reyes. Pejerrey* is the present name for smelt, but whether Father Antonio applied it to that fish or not is unknown.

96. According to K, this occurred on the 13th and 14th. Ensign Alarcon went ashore with twenty men and saw plenty of smoke but no Indians. The bay, located in 30° in M, was no doubt the one they named "Pescado Blanco," usually identified as Bahia Playa Maria in 28° 55′ — error, 65′. Although Palacios in L does not mention the name of this bay, he states that there was an *ensenada* behind a point of low rock three leagues beyond the black cliff. Punta Maria, the northwest point of the Bahia Playa Maria, is a low rocky point, but is some ten miles from Punta Negra.

97. E, "a high peak, many fan palms, and a lagoon on the land."

98. Mention is made in L of this bay, which was undoubtedly Bahia Blanca in 29° 04′, recognizable by the lagoon, now dried up. When the *Santo Tomás* came back later to Cedros she must have stopped here on September 27, the day of San Cosme y Damian, and then it was, no doubt, that Father Antonio gave it this name. In E, it is said that Bahia San Cosme y Damian was four leagues northwest of that of San Hipólito. In L, this bay is referred to, without name, as being behind a morro, three leagues northwest of the bay referred to in the previous note. He said the lagoon could be seen from the tops. The morro was no doubt Cone Point.

99. In L, it is stated that the Cabo Blanco de Santa Maria, evidently this one, was in 30½° and was eighteen leagues from the Ensenada de Pescado Blanco. The distance from Punta Maria to Punta Canoas is forty-six miles, and to Bluff Point about fifty-nine miles. Palacios' description of the country north of the *cabo* would rather indicate that the *cabo* was Bluff Point, although in this case his league would have been a little over three miles, rather more than usual. It seems clear from the accounts of the voyage that the Cabo Blanco de Santa Maria was Punta Canoas in 29° 25′, indicating an error of 1° 05′ in the observation of Palacios. It was probably named on September 18, after the Dolores de Nuestra Señora celebrated that day. It appears to have been the same cape as the one referred to later in this narrative as the Cabo del Engaño, although other remarks of Father Antonio make this doubtful.

100. San Cipriano's day is September 26 and consequently the mesas were not named at this time but when the *Santo Tomás* returned, ten days later. The name occurs only in Father Antonio's narrative, but the mesas are described in L. They are the ones visible from the sea after passing south of Punta Antonio.

101. She was an old ship and so Captain Gomez decided to go back to the Bahia del Pescado Blanco, but before reaching it the storm ceased and he turned north again.

102. The *Santo Tomás* disappeared on the night of the 22d. Vizcaino thought she had returned to the Bahia del Pescado Blanco, and started back in search of her and the *Tres Reyes*, which was also lost.

103. As, according to K, all this trouble took place at the Cabo Blanco de Santa Maria, it seems clear that Father Antonio employed the old name Cabo del Engaño for this cape, which was almost certainly Punta Canoas. Punta Antonio, which was named Cabo Bajo, lies nearly opposite the Isla de San Gerónimo, and no doubt the force of the wind between these during a gale is tremendous.

104. This is an accurate description of the Isla de San Martin, which was the real Cenizas. It is plain that Father Antonio wished us to believe that Cenizas was the Isla de San Gerónimo, just as Palacios and Bolaños asserted it to be. This statement being repeated

by Torquemada, coupled with the remarks of Bolaños, gave rise to the insertion on the maps of an island named Cenizas in this quarter and the general omission of the name San Gerónimo for another island close to it. No mention is made in K of the Cabo del Engaño or Cabo Bajo, nor even of the Isla de Cenizas, except indirectly in stating that they kept a lookout for it after leaving the Bahia de San Francisco.

105. In K, it is stated that Palacios said that during the first storm he put into a large bay four leagues away, where there was a great number of Indians, and that during the second storm he was under the shelter of a small island, which he said was to leeward and on which he landed and found no port. The following day, the 30th, the voyage was continued, and by tacking they reached San Gerónimo, which Palacios and Bolaños asserted must be Cenizas. It was decided not to anchor but to proceed looking for a port. The following day, being to the leeward of this island and a stiff northwest wind blowing, another council was held in which it was decided to fall off to a bay some six leagues to leeward and take shelter from the wind. Evidently the same day they reached this bay, as another council was held October 1 in which it was decided to land, make a cast with a net, take a look at the numerous Indians, and hunt for water, while Palacios surveyed the country. October 2, Alarcon with twenty soldiers went ashore and found some Indians who awaited them and to whom some presents were given. The next day, October 3, Vizcaino landed with the two friars, who said mass. Suriano was sent with four soldiers to a very high hill (evidently San Vicente) about two leagues from the beach to see if he could discern the *Santo Tomás*. He did not see her but found a lot of very frightened Indians on top of the mountain. On the next day, that of San Francisco, another mass was said, as stated by Father Antonio.

According to L, the distances on this part of the coast were as follows: from Cabo Blanco de Santa Maria to the Ensenada de San Francisco, five leagues; from the Ensenada to Cabo Bajo and San Gerónimo, nine leagues; from San Gerónimo to Punta Delgada, five leagues. Beginning at Punta Canoas, the distances in miles are as follows: to Bluff Point, thirteen; Bluff Point to Punta Antonio, twenty; San Gerónimo to Baja Point, nine and a quarter. It therefore appears clear that the Ensenada de San Francisco or Ensenada de Canoas, as it is named on the plan, was the anchorage under Bluff Point in 29° 34′, that Cabo Bajo was the modern Punta Antonio and Punta Delgada was the modern Punta Baja. Palacios placed the Ensenada de San Francisco in 30° 40′ — error, 1° 06′. In I, the bay is placed in 31° 10′.

106. K, "the large ones are said to be those of buffalo"; "Vacas de Cibolas" Father Antonio calls them. Nothing can be more certain than that they were not buffalo horns; but rather those of mountain sheep.

107. Still so called, in 29° 48′. I places it in short 31° — error, 1° 12′. In K, it is said that this island was nine leagues from the Baia de San Francisco, and they did not anchor, as there was a strong wind dead ahead.

108. On the 9th a bay was seen to the northeast. A council decided to send the *Tres Reyes* with Palacios to inspect and sound it, but not to land, as many Indians were seen. The location is given as 31½°. It was no doubt the cove near the old Mission of Rosario.

109. A council was held on the 13th, in which it was decided to go ashore and sound the port and lagoon and look for water and wood. Vizcaino landed and found three settlements, and water in a lagoon a league from the beach. The water casks which had been made in Acapulco from old staves were in bad condition, being worm-eaten and pierced by tacks.

110. The water was too far away, so Vizcaino sent Ensign Melendez to look at another *estero* which could be seen in the northern part of the bay. He came back and said there was a large lagoon there, in which there was an anchorage for the *San Diego,* so the anchors were raised and they went there. Vizcaino and his son and Captain Palacios, to make a chart of the lagoon, went ashore with Suriano, Melendez, Aguilar and some soldiers. Bolaños went up the *estero* in a boat to sound it, and the rest of the party went along the beach looking for water. When the tide ebbed, the current was so strong that it turned the ships around like a millrace, so they raised the anchors and went out into the open bay. In the meantime, Alarcon had gone ashore with some pickaxes to dig holes in the sand. He found plenty of good water. A council was held on the 19th, said to have been in short 32°, in this bay. A storm had blown up from the south-southwest, the men were on shore and the question was how to rescue them. E, "there was a bar at the entrance of the *estero,* eleven paces wide, and with three fathoms of water over it; inside there were nine and more."

111. Vizcaino sailed from the port October 20 and encountered the *Santo Tomás* on the following day at two o'clock in the afternoon. This all happened in the bay now known as San Quentin and Puerto San Quentin in about 30° 22′, an error of 1° if Bolaños' latitude and that in L be taken. Palacios states that the point was eight leagues from Punta Delgada. As the distance is twenty-six and a quarter miles, his league is again nearly three and one-half miles long.

112. September 25 Azevedo died. They evidently arrived at the Baia de San Cosme y San Damian and gave it that name on the 27th, as indicated in a preceding note. Vizcaino in his account states that the *Santo Tomás* went to the Baia del Pescado Blanco, but the description indicates Bahia Blanca.

113. This island was the one now called Guadalupe in lat. 29° 11′ and long. 118° 17′, 135 miles from Punta Antonio. In K, it is stated that the *Santo Tomás* sailed forty leagues to the west, so after all she possibly did sight Guadalupe. In E, it is said they named it San Calisto, evidently after that saint, whose day is October 14.

114. *Sp., hiço algun sentimiento y vileça en la madre del espolon y ludia mucho.*

115. This statement is entirely without any previous foundation. He had never said he had seen the Isla de Cenizas, although he had described it correctly, and even says in E that there were many rabbits on it, nor is there anything earlier in the narrative to indicate that they had seen it. It is plain, therefore, that he referred to some other island, apparently San Gerónimo, which perhaps he, like Palacios and Bolaños, wished to believe was the Isla de Cenizas. In G, he states that Cenizas was ten leagues beyond the cape and the same distance from the mainland.

116. In E, it is called a small island with a peak on it, between which and the mainland one can safely pass. This was really the Isla de Cenizas, and according to Vizcaino's narrative he named it after San Marcos, whose day is October 25. There was a San Hilarion, a bishop of Gaul, who had a day October 25, and it would appear that the friars named it "San Hilarion" on the same day. Curiously enough, the name appears on the chart as San Martin, a name afterwards given to islands farther north, and San Martin it remains to this day. San Martin is in lat. 30° 29′, while I places it in short 32°, an error of almost 1½°, but his statement is obviously incorrect, as M places the Punta de las Virgenes in only 31° 40′, and the island is only ten miles from it.

117. A council was held on the 28th during the northwest gale. They were said to be in 32°, four leagues from land and seven leagues beyond the bay to which it was decided to turn back.

118. After those saints whose day is October 28. In L, it is said that it was *dos leguas* from the Isla de San Marcos, but as the *dos* is at the end of a line there cut off, it must have been *dose,* twelve. This would correspond to the actual distance, some thirty miles. Palacios gives quite a complete description of the bay and the cape and places it in 31° 45′. From his description it is clear that it was Cabo Colnett in 30° 57′ — error, 48′.

119. E, "some called this bay San Quentin." There are two San Quentins, one whose day is October 29, and the other October 31. In L, the port is located in 31° 45′ — if Bahia Colnett, an error of 45′.

120. Probably martin feathers.

121. The account of this affair in K is quite different. Briefly, it is stated that Peguero with Ensign Suriano went ashore with some soldiers to hunt for water and found a plentiful supply in some holes they dug near the beach. More than a hundred Indians came up to them in a warlike manner, armed with bows and arrows and missile clubs. They were very insolent and threw stones. The next day Peguero, Alarcon and Bolaños went ashore after water with orders to treat the Indians well and be on their guard against them, but these tried to prevent them from taking water and endeavored to take away their demijohns and barrels. Three guns were fired at them, and as Vizcaino expresses it, "with the noise of the powder and some little stones which reached one in his upper works, they fled with great shouting." Two hours later, having assembled from different settlements, they came back in great numbers, and held councils, apparently to see what they should do. They came towards the Spaniards with their women and children, but armed. Alarcon went out to indicate to them by signs to be quiet and friendly, and the Indians agreed, provided the Spaniards would not fire at them with their harquebuses, which they watched closely. They gave a dog as a hostage and then went away and the Spaniards took water. In E, no mention is made of any being killed; in G, Father Antonio simply says the fight cost the Indians dear.

122. Todos Santos day is November 1. Father Antonio was probably mistaken about the *ensenada* being named "Santiago." *See* Note 64. It is the bay now known as "Todos Santos," in which there is a large lagoon in the southeastern part. It was variously estimated to be in 32° 30′, 32° 40′, and 33°. Punta Banda is in 31° 48′ — error, about 1°. E, "they reached some high sierras of jutting rock, in the middle of which was a great ravine by which the country inland is reached and through which it seems some river empties. A little beyond is another *ensenada* which was named 'Santiago.'" In G, it is made to appear that the river emptied into the *ensenada* of Santiago, and the bay is said to have been full of docile Indians. In L, the distances are given as twelve leagues from Cabo de San Simon to Punta de Sierras de Humos and then five leagues to Cabo de Todos Santos. From this it appears that the Punta de Sierras de Humos must have been the point now known as Santo Tomás,

although this is about forty-three miles from Cabo Colnett, making the league here unusually long.

123. On the plan, "El Calvario" and "Mesa de la Sena," both mentioned in L, are shown on the coast between Todos Santos and San Diego, evidently Sharp Peak and Table Mountain.

124. Vizcaino named them the "Islas de San Martin," after that saint whose day is November 11, and it is stated in K that they discovered them on November 9. The day of the Cuatro Coronados is November 8. They are still known as the "Coronados," the name "San Martin" having been removed to an island farther south. In E and G, they are called "San Martin." The descriptions do not agree. Vizcaino states that the group consisted of two islands and three rocks. In reality, the group consists of two rather large islands and two large rocks between them, as Father Antonio and Palacios describe them. The islands are in about 32° 25′, and as K locates them in full 33°, the error here in the observations is only about 35′.

125. The bay is still known as "San Diego." As Pt. Loma, at the entrance of the bay, is in about 32° 32′ and as the latitude given in K is 33½°, the error here is about 1°, but at a council held November 11 the port was said to be in 34°, or an error of 1° 30′. In the council it was decided to send Bolaños in the boats to sound all *esteros* and rivers in order to find the best place in which to anchor, to clean the ships which were in great need of it, and to take water and wood. The council thought the bay was well located for the objects the Viceroy had in view. The day of San Diego de Alcalá is November 12.

126. *Sp., montesillo.* Strictly speaking, a *monte* is not a mountain but a forest or thicket. There is no likelihood, however, that Pt. Loma at that time was covered by trees, unless small scrub oak and bushes could be so denominated. It seems probable, therefore, that Father Antonio used *montesillo* in this case to mean a little mountain.

127. In C, Father Antonio enlarged on this story somewhat. He says the stones seemed to be silver ore, and that the Indians explained to them by signs that a people inland, like the Spaniards, secured silver in abundance from them. He further asserts that the Indians had a name for silver in their own language, and that when Vizcaino showed them some silver bowls and a plate they spun it around, and, pleased by the sound, said it was good and was the same as that possessed by the people just mentioned. When they struck a pewter bowl he gave them, the sound did not please them, and they wished to throw it into the sea.

This story is related in K as having occurred with the Indian who came off when they were opposite Santa Barbara Island. There can be nothing more certain than that the Indians knew nothing about silver; the Spaniards wanted to find it and easily misunderstood the Indians' signs. Father Antonio also speculated as to who these men might be who dressed like them. He was quite convinced in 1620 that they must be Hollanders or Englishmen who had entered by the Strait of Anian and who might be settled on the eastern coast of his Island of California.

128. In C, it is stated that, although the Indians came to see them every day, they always treated the Spaniards with suspicion and never had confidence in them.

129. *Sp., gansos y ansares blancos y pardos.* What the distinction may be between *ganso* and *ansar,* is unknown to the writer, but he evidently meant geese and brant.

130. A council was held November 19 in the port, now stated to be in 33½°, an observation on land having evidently been made. A rendezvous was appointed at an island in 38°, no doubt the Southeast Farallon, the ships to follow the coast, the *Tres Reyes* sounding. After leaving, Melendez made a reconnaissance of False Bay, called by him "Baia de Baja Entrada." He reported that it was a good port, but only had two fathoms of water on the bar. He found many Indians.

131. Probably San Juan Bay, as on the plan the point north of it is called Punta de Arboleda, that is "Woody Point," just what San Juan Point is.

132. In G, this island, San Clemente, is named. In K, it is stated that they discovered three large islands on the afternoon of the 24th. It is most probable that these were San Clemente, and Santa Catalina as two islands. San Nicolas is much too far away to have been seen, and so was probably Santa Barbara, even supposing that it was not hidden behind Santa Catalina. San Clemente is not shown on the plan. His day is November 23, and that of Santa Catalina November 25.

133. In K, it is said that many canoes came out to the ships, the Indians came aboard and guided them to the anchorage. This must have been at Avalon, as the first anchorage is shown on the plan about there. Vizcaino took six little girls eight or ten years old to the ship, dressed them in shirts and drawers, gave them some necklaces and sent them back. On the 28th there was an eclipse of the moon.

134. A general council was held off the island November 29, in which it was decided to proceed, as the wind was favorable, and not attempt to circumnavigate the island; it must have turned contrary, however, as after proceeding as far as the isthmus they anchored at

four o'clock in the afternoon of the 30th, the day of San Andrés. The latitude when anchored off Avalon in 33° 21′ was given as 34½° — error, about 1°.

It is probable that the name San Andrés was given to the port at the isthmus, although it appears on the plan as the name for San Pedro, the place at the isthmus being denominated the "Puerto de Santa Catalina." The town is shown on the plan at the south end of the bay. In C, no mention is made of this island. In L, San Clemente is called the Isla de San Andrés and located in 33° 40′, even higher than Santa Catalina.

135. He means that the ends were turned up.

136. *Jicamas* are roots, still eaten raw by the Mexicans. The English name for them is unknown to the writer.

137. All this occurred at the isthmus. In K, much the same story is told, except that it is stated that Vizcaino put the name "Jesus" over the head of the devil and told the Indians that that was good and from heaven, but that the idol was the Devil. The flasks in which the Indians carried water are described as being made of something like rattan with a very strong glaze on the outside. Vizcaino crossed to the other side of the island. The Indian town had more than three hundred inhabitants. An Indian woman took out two pieces of Chinese damask, and explained by signs that they had obtained them from some people like the Spaniards who had some Negroes and came in a ship, which had gone ashore in a strong wind farther north and broken up. This is a plain reference to Cermeño's boat which stopped off the island on its way south, and the wreck of the *San Agustin*. Vizcaino wanted some Indians to go along to show him where the ship had been lost (so it is said), although he must have known perfectly well where this had happened. The Indians agreed to go, but on leaving port a head wind struck them, so they went back, as they were in their canoes. At this point in the narrative occurs a remark about a trip the *Tres Reyes* had made to inspect an island which looked like mainland. Ensign Melendez had found many Indians on it, who told him there were some bearded people about. Eight Indians, with beards and dressed in animal skins, had come out to him in canoes. It is impossible to make out just where Melendez went. The name on the plan for Santa Cruz, "Isla de Gente Barbuda," indicates that he had gone there, which may have been the case, although it is somewhat distant from Santa Catalina. In L, the Indians on this island are said to be different from those on the others. It seems that the *Santo Tomás* had been over to San Pedro Bay, as on the plan it is named "San Andrés," and a long island in it is shown named "Isla raza de Buena Gente," the one now known as Dead Man's Island. From a reference in L to the Isla and Ensenada de Buena Gente, it seems likely that this was the real name, and the island was named "Isla raza," that is, "flat island." Certainly the *raza* is not used for "race," as usually translated. There was a San Pedro, whose day is November 28, and the bay is called in I, Ensenada de San Pedro and placed in 34½°.

138. In K, it is stated that they sailed from the Puerto de San Andrés on Santa Catalina December 1, and that day found the *Santo Tomás* and the *Tres Reyes* which had both been missing. December 2 they sighted two other large islands, probably Santa Cruz and Anacapa, and while passing between one, probably the latter, and the mainland, a canoe with two Indian fishermen came out and later another one with the old man.

Santa Monica Bay clearly appears on the plan as "gran ensenada."

139. A great exaggeration even if San Clemente be included.

140. Certainly, if they were near Santa Barbara Island no canoe came out from the mainland. It is strange, however, to see that in the eighteenth century Anacapa Island seems to have been called Santa Barbara.

141. In K, it is stated that the Indian offered a flask of water which he said came from a river, and that when they showed him lead, tin, and silver plates, he struck them with his finger and said the silver one was good and the rest of them were not. In C, Father Antonio did not neglect to relate the story of the ten women for each man.

142. There is no record of this council.

143. There can be little doubt but that this Indian came off from the Mugu towns, that is, from the same neighborhood that Cabrillo called the "Pueblo de las Canoas." On the plans, Pt. Mugu is marked "Punta Rio Dulce" and the river is shown just to the north of it. A short distance beyond this is the "Costa de Barcos." Probably the Rio Dulce was Calleguas Creek or the Santa Clara River, which at one time seems to have emptied into the ocean near this point. On the return voyage Pt. Mugu was named "Punta de la Conversion." From the north this point or the headland clearly appears as closing the Santa Barbara Channel to the south. According to L, the Punta was twenty leagues from Santa Catalina and was low with some trees on it, while Rio Dulce was a small stream two leagues to the north of it. It has been thought by some that the Punta de Rio Dulce, or as afterwards named, the Punta de la Conversion, was Pt. Hueneme, which is a long, low sand point and may have had trees on it at that time, but the position of the point on the plan and the references to it by Bolaños make it practically certain that this opinion is erroneous.

144. The day of Santa Barbara is December 4, but the celebration begins at six o'clock of the day previous. The island of that name, as well as the channel, must have been named about this time. It is probable that they were far enough from the coast to be able to see the island.

145. There are different statements about the number of islands. Bolaños in I states clearly that besides the farallon to the northwest of San Miguel, which he calls the "Farallon de Lobos," and is now known as Richardson Rock, there were four, the easternmost one being the largest. To the east of this there were three farallons. This is sufficient to identify the latter as Santa Cruz and the Anacapa Islands. On the plan these are all shown with another, apparently misplaced. Between the island named "San Ambrosio" (that is, Santa Rosa) and the "Isla de Gente Barbuda" (that is, Santa Cruz) there is an "Isleo Grande." There is no small island at present between Santa Cruz and Santa Rosa, but there is one named "Gull Island" south of the western end of Santa Cruz, probably the one here called "Isleo Grande." L gives the number of islands as nine, not counting the farallons. This probably includes those at the south.

146. Bolaños in I states that there was an Indian village along the channel where the trees came down from the mountains to the sea, that is, just west of the present City of Santa Barbara. In L, this is said to have been ten leagues east of Punta de la Concepcion.

147. On the morning of the 5th, the *San Diego* was near San Miguel Island. A canoe with two Indians and a small boy came out. An attempt was made to pass between San Miguel and Santa Rosa, but the sea was so heavy that the *San Diego* did not undertake it. The *Tres Reyes* went on, however, and was lost for several days. On the plan, San Miguel appears as "S anicleto." On Navarrete's reproduction the name appears as "San Cleto," a mistake, as on the plans San is never written out but always appears abbreviated as "S," a practice at the time. No mention occurs in any of the narratives of a name for this island. They were there about December 6 and again about January 27. San Anicleto's day is July 14, and why his name should have been applied to it is a mystery the writer is unable to fathom.

M. [trans.], "The point [that is, Conception] is in the latitude of 35½°. The Isla de San Agustin in the latitude of 35° is to the south of it. On the northwest side of this are two small farallons and between them some shoals or reefs, altogether about a league in extent. The Isla de San Gregorio is shown on the preceding leaf." Isla San Gregorio does not appear on the preceding leaf or any other, nor does that of San Agustin. A reference to the plans will show that south of Pt. Conception is an island named Isla de Bajos, evidently intended for Richardson Rock, called Isla de Lobos by Bolaños. This must be San Agustin. In such case, the San Gregorio just mentioned was evidently San Miguel. San Gregorio, the Pope, had a day November 28, the nearest of any saint of this name to December 6. The next nearest was San Gregorio, the bishop, December 19. No San Agustin had any day at this season of the year. That Palacios was not altogether mistaken is evident from the fact that John Daniell on his map of 1637 has an island named St. Augustin in this neighborhood.

148. Who saw San Nicolas Island and named it, is uncertain, but it was probably those in the *Tres Reyes,* on that Saint's day, December 6. The name San Ambrosio, whose day is December 7, was given to Santa Rosa Island. Neither Father Antonio nor Vizcaino anywhere mentions Pt. Conception, named after La Purisima Concepcion de Nuestra Señora, celebrated December 8, but the plan shows it, and L puts it in 35½° full, and the middle of the channel as 35° 15′. Pt. Conception is in 34° 27′ — error, 1°.

149. They were now north of Pt. Conception and among a different tribe of Indians. This is apparent from the reference to rush canoes. Father Antonio's remark about the Indians also indicates that these were different from the Channel Islands Indians. As the ships at this time could hardly have been north of Pt. Sal, the narrative furnishes proof that the Chumash Indians at that time did not live much north of Pt. Conception, if at all. It may be noted in this connection that when Gaspar de Portolá with his party reached a place only a league and a half north of Pt. Conception, they found a village of Indians who had no canoes, another indication that even in 1769 these Indians were not Chumash. (*See* Dr. Bolton's *Historical Memoirs of New California,* Vol. III, 162.) On the plan an *ensenada* is shown just north of Pt. Conception, and another about the same distance beyond, named "Ensenada del Roque." Then there is about double the distance of a straight coast line to a "Punta que parece isla," and then about half that distance to Punta de Pinos. In L, the distances are given as follows: from Punta de la Concepcion to the first *ensenada,* two leagues; to Ensenada del Roque, three leagues; to the "Punta que parece isla," three leagues, and from there to Punta de Pinos, six: total fourteen leagues. As the actual distance is about 145 miles, it is apparent that there is a serious error in the document. If we read *doce* for *dos,* and *trece* for *tres,* we would have a total of forty-three leagues, and this is probably the correct explanation. On this assumption, the first *ensenada* would be the bight under Pt. Sal,

or just possibly San Luis Obispo Bay; the second, Ensenada del Roque, would be Estero Bay with the Morro, and the Punta que parece isla, Pt. Sur. On the plan the distances on this part of the coast are considerably shortened.

By taking the number of leagues mentioned in the *derroteros* between well-known places and comparing them with the actual distances, hardly a case has been found in which the league exceeds three miles and a quarter, and in many cases it is less than three miles. The inference is therefore unavoidable that Vizcaino's league was that of twenty to a degree, unless we assume that there was a consistent exaggeration of at least twenty per cent. in his distances.

150. According to K, this happened on the 12th. There were indications that a great number of Indians was settled on the coast, which appeared to be fertile and contained groves of pines and oaks. It would appear that they were in the northern part of Estero Bay, named on the plan "Ensenada del Roque," the island shown being the Morro. As Cermeño had most certainly been in San Luis Obispo Bay only seven years before, it could hardly have been that bay.

151. Melendez said that in the middle of the island there was a town of more than two hundred large houses, in each of which more than forty Indians lived. In the middle of the town there were two poles nailed together with one on top like a gallows.

152. *Sp., garva,* that is, *garua,* a Peruvian word for what might be called a Scotch mist.

153. K, "a southeast wind."

154. This must have been named on or about the day of Santa Lucia, December 13. No doubt an occasional Philippine galleon saw this range.

155. He does not say beyond what. On the plan Pt. Sur in 36° 18′ is shown as almost an island, as it appears to be at a distance. E, "We saw that the coast was good and was covered with trees in the ravines and on the tops of the mountains. Some points extend out to sea to make some *ensenadas* with little shelter. In all of these there is a great number of Indians and a landing can be made in any place with ease. You come to a small island not very high, under the shelter of which there is a good refuge from the northwest and southwest winds. All the coast is of high mountains full of trees, until you reach some very high yellow *barrancas.* In the highest part of these there is a very high peak surrounded by *barrancas* full of very large trees. This was named 'Sierra de Santa Lucia.'" His small island seems to have been the Morro in 35° 22′, and the high mountain, Mt. Carmel, over 4000 feet high.

156. The river was named after Nuestra Señora del Carmelo, the patron saint of the Carmelites.

157. Still so called; it is in 36° 38′.

158. On the 15th Melendez and Flores had been sent in the *Tres Reyes* to examine and sound the port, and look for an anchorage. On their return, Flores brought aboard the *San Diego* a chart of the bay. On the 16th a general council was held, which decided to enter the bay, in spite of the opinion of Alarcon, who wished to go on to the port where the *San Agustin* had been lost, alleging that they had a south wind, were five leagues beyond the port, and had water for fifteen days.

159. Still so called, in 36° 31′; the port is stated in C and generally in the other accounts to have been in 37° — error, about 30′.

160. This great live-oak was the one under which Junipero Serra said mass a century and a half later. It was still there not more than twenty or twenty-five years ago. By some blundering of the officials of the City of Monterey, the tree had been allowed to die, and when some admirer of Serra came forward with a proposition to erect a monument to him on the site, the dead trunk was uprooted and thrown into the sea. Father Mestres, rector of the San Carlos Church, had it fished out of the water at his own expense and today it is set up back of the church, bearing an inscription that it was the famous Serra Oak, but with no mention of the Carmelites who said mass under it many times.

161. This council was held December 18 and 19 and as the matter was of great importance, the different members presented written opinions. All except Suriano were in favor of sending back the *Santo Tomás.* He said that if they did, it would discourage the rest and she might be lost on the way; it would be better to go on together, as there was enough food to reach Cabo Mendocino, and if necessary one of the ships could be abandoned. Vizcaino put Manuel Sessar Cordero, a sailor, on the *Santo Tomás* as pilot, saying that he had been making observations of the sun up to that time. He also transferred Esteban Lopez, boatswain of the *San Diego,* to the *Tres Reyes* to assist Flores, and put Bartolomé de Orosco, the boatswain of the *Santo Tomás,* in the *San Diego.* Vizcaino disclosed the fact at the meeting that he had a secret instruction to ascend the Gulf of California on his return voyage as far as 37°, two degrees more or less. As a matter of fact, this instruction was contained in his general ones.

162. The letter to the Viceroy is not extant, but in 67-3-27 there is an original letter

from Vizcaino to the Council of the Indies. On the back it bears a notation: *No hay que responder,* "Nothing to answer." The following is the translation:

"Your highness will have been advised that the Conde de Monterey, the viceroy of New Spain, charged me with the discovery of the ports and bays of the coast of the South Sea from the Puerto de Acapulco to Cabo Mendocino, in conformity with an order which he received from His Majesty, giving me for the purpose two ships, a launch and a longboat with seamen, soldiers and arms, and supplies and provisions for eleven months. In compliance with this order, I departed from Acapulco, May 5 of this year, and have come engaged in making the exploration, although with much difficulty and labor as the navigation is not known and the winds have been always contrary. With the aid, however, of God and with my always present desire to serve His Majesty fitly, I have discovered many ports, bays and islands as far as this Puerto de Monte Rey in the latitude of 37°, charting it all, taking soundings and making a *derrotero* as the art of the sea demands, and without missing anything of importance regarding it or whatever of promise the country and the many people in it hold forth. I send a copy to the Conde to forward to His Majesty and to your highness. Besides the fact that the port is in such a favorable latitude to fulfill the intentions of His Majesty for the relief and security of the ships which come from the Philippines, any needs which they may have can be filled because it has a great quantity of pine trees for masts and yards, even for a ship of a thousand tons, very large live-oaks and white oaks close to the beach for building ships, and a plentiful supply of sweet water. The port is well protected from all winds; the country is well settled with Indians and is very fertile. The climate and soil are like those of Castile, and whatever seed may be sown will produce crops. There are great pastures and many kinds of animals and birds, as described in the account.

"I advise His Majesty of the grandeur of this kingdom, how populous it is and how much it promises and how the Indians have given me to understand that inland there are settlements. As the people are docile and affable, I believe that they will easily receive the Holy Evangel and suffer reduction to the royal Crown, and in such case, His Majesty being lord of it all can provide what is most advisable in the matter. For my part, I will serve him faithfully, even to death.

"As I have been detained longer in making this exploration than it was thought would be required, by reason of the difficulties mentioned, the greater part of the food and supplies which were given me have been exhausted, and with the great labor which the men have endured, a certain number have fallen sick and some have died. This has created a difficulty in making the exploration of both Cabo Mendocino and the Gulf of California according to my instructions, without fresh assistance in the way of food, men and supplies. I am therefore dispatching the *Santo Tomás* as an advice ship to the Conde for the purpose of asking him for what is necessary, and of advising him in what place and at what time he should send it, together with the narrative, plans, *derroteros* and an account of everything which I have done on this exploration up to today, so that he may send this to your highness.

"If he should send me assistance I hope in God to render a great service to His Majesty and to discover great kingdoms and riches. Of all that may be done I will advise your highness with truth and fidelity on whatever occasion may offer. May Our Lord keep your highness as Christianity demands and as I your servant desire. From this Puerto de Monterey, December 28, 1602.

Sebastian bizcayno."

163. Very seldom did any ship from the Philippines see the coast in this latitude, although some, no doubt, reached a latitude as high as that.

164. This disease so vividly described was scurvy.

165. A *rabicano* was a horse with a white tail. As elk have whitish hair on their hind quarters, this may have suggested the comparison to Father Antonio. In B, Torquemada printed *pelicano* in place of *ravicano.*

166. A *tirando* was a reindeer. Vizcaino states that he marched across the hill with some soldiers to the Carmel River, where he found a number of these animals, which must have been elk. In appearance, he said, they were like deer, but differed from them in their hides, as the wool dragged along the ground. Each horn, he said, was more than three yards long. An effort was made to kill one of them, but they did not wait long enough.

167. *Sp., de mas de a vara.* This is certainly an error, as seventeen spans is more than eight feet. The bird must have been a California condor.

168. *Lapas* are shell-fish *(acmaeas)* and are still found in Monterey Bay.

169. Abalones. In C, it is stated that the Indians hunted for these shells in order to eat their contents, and this is the only mention in C of Indians at the port.

170. These statements are totally at variance with that of K, and differ materially from that of Palacios in L. In K, some interesting remarks occur about the climate and Indians. On New Year's day, 1603, day dawned with all the mountains covered with snow, making

them look like the volcanoes of Mexico; the well from which they were taking water had ice on it more than a palm thick and the jugs which had been left out overnight full of water were frozen solid, so that, although turned upside down, not a drop of water came out. This was the reason why they found no Indians, as they were all living inland. Vizcaino sent Ensign Suriano with four soldiers to an Indian settlement after some, but it proved to be vacant. Captain Palacios in L states: "There are Indians, although they were suspicious about trading with us, I mean, they came peacefully and brought us some shellfish. In appearance they are good people. They made a great effort to take us to their town, which they said was inland." When Portolá and his party reached this port in 1769 they found it entirely unpopulated; not an Indian was found in the neighborhood of the bay. *See* Bolton, *op. cit.*, III, 233.

171. In G, Father Antonio says he now was transferred to the *San Diego*.

172. E, "Leaving this port, the coast forms a large *ensenada*, which ends at a low point. The country is massive and full of mountains well covered with trees. The point was named 'Año Nuevo.' Following the coast, you come to another which was named 'Los Reyes.' This is a high headland cut off at the sea, and from a distance looks like an island. To the northeast of it you will find good shelter and here is the Puerto de San Francisco." L places Pt. Año Nuevo in 37½° (actual location 37° 06′ — error, 24′); from there to Punta de los Reyes the distance is given as twenty-four leagues. In M, the distance from Monterey to Punta Año Nuevo is given as ten leagues, and it is stated that: "Six leagues before reaching Punta de los Reyes is a large island, two leagues from land [named on the plan 'Isleo Hendido'], and three leagues northwest of this are the Frayles, seven farallons close together." The name "Hendido," "cleft," is a good one for the Southeast Farallon, which is not a farallon in the proper sense.

173. This was probably January 6, Twelfth Day, or the *Dia de los Reyes*. From this the point in 38° derived the name which it now bears. No latitude was assigned to it, but only to the Bahia de San Francisco, or Puerto de los Reyes as M calls it, and to which Vizcaino gave a new name, "Don Gaspar." Cermeño is referred to as Sebastian Melendez Rodriguez in K. B prints his name as Cermeñon, and thus he was known to English readers until recently. Palacios never mentions the name San Francisco for the port, but calls it "Don Gaspar."

174. A sea council was held on the 7th in what was stated to be 39°, in which, in view of the heavy northwest gale which began to blow the day before at sundown and the sickness of the crew, it was agreed to fall off to leeward about two leagues to a port where Bolaños said that he had been in the ship *San Agustin*. The ships reached the port the same day, but after anchoring, an offshore breeze came up which obliged them to leave. As they were sailing out, two canoes came up with an Indian in each who shouted out to them to come to the port. They were told to keep on the lee of the vessel, but they did not dare to come to the ship. This bay, which had been named "San Francisco" by Cermeño, is the one now known as Drake's Bay in 38°. Both L and M give the latitude as 38° 40′, while I places it in 38° 30′ — error, 30′ to 40′. The plan shows the anchorage, and the *estero* named "Rio Salado."

175. In K, it is stated that on this day they found themselves as far on as Cabo Mendocino. It is plain from all the accounts that those on board the ship had very little idea of the location of this *cabo*. The ship was too far from the coast at the time to distinguish the topography of the country; all that could be seen was mountains. The statement of Father Antonio of the latitude of the *cabo*, if it were actually the one now known as Mendocino in 40° 27′, was 1° 03′ in error. Bolaños, who was supposed to have seen it when with Cermeño, puts the cape in 41° 20′, or an error of 53′. From his *Derrotero* and Cermeño's account of his expedition, it appears that their Cabo Mendocino was the headland of which Trinidad Head is a part. This is in 41° 03′, and if so, the error would have been about 20′. L, "To the northwest a quarter north [that is, of Pt. Reyes], the coast runs on some twenty leagues, the land full of trees, in parts rough, with ravines, and the coast safe. From there to Cabo Mendocino it is of hills and ravines, all with heavy timber, although the *cabo* is bare. Close to it are some snowy mountains, the highest of which is two leagues to the southeast, and nearer to it than any of the others. The *cabo* is in 41° 20′." C, in 42°, E, 43½°, an obvious clerical error, H, "poco menos de 42°."

176. The part relating to the discovery of the *cabo* is all a mistake. There is no record that any of Villalobos' ships ever returned to New Spain. As for the route said to have been pointed out by Father Martin de Roda, or Rada, his real name, the one discovered by Urdaneta and which very likely had been incorporated by Father Martin in some of his writings was probably meant.

177. No port was named in the instructions, but only degrees of latitude.

178. This notion that Vizcaino was looking for Quivira was probably an afterthought

of Father Antonio's. There is nothing in the instructions to indicate that Vizcaino had any such mission, nor does he refer to it in any of his numerous writings on the subject.

179. This, a general one, was held on the 13th. The pilots Bolaños and Rodriguez declared under oath that the ship was then in about 41° 15′. The instruction to go on to Cabo Blanco in 44°, after reaching Cabo Mendocino in 41°, if the weather permitted, was read. If the coast was then found to turn west and not north or northeast, the orders were to follow it for another hundred leagues, otherwise they were to return to Cabo San Lucas to ascend the gulf. The decision of the council was as stated by Father Antonio, although the wind was west-southwest, but the crew were nearly all sick and winter was approaching. The private instruction was one governing his expedition up the Gulf of California, no doubt much the same as No. 23 of his instruction.

180. In K, it is stated that the observation was 41°. As the day before they had been in 41° 15′, they had gone back some fifteen or more miles and were still farther from Cabo Mendocino.

181. *Al traves* means "wrecked," *mar en traves* means "to lie to, beam to the sea."

182. In C, it is said that this cape was in 43°, and that near it a river discharged, called the Santa Inez; no mention is made of Cabo Blanco proper.

183. We learn from K that on the night of this day at eight o'clock, the ship gave such a great roll that it was thought she was going to turn keel up. All were thrown out of their beds and the *General* struck on some boxes, breaking his ribs.

184. According to K, this happened on the 21st. On the 20th it is said "they were in 42°, the currents and seas carrying them at full speed to the Strait of Anian; they saw the mainland to be covered with great forests of pine trees and much snow, which reached down close to the sea and covered the mountains which looked like volcanoes." All this indicates a country north of Trinidad. The snow which reached the sea was probably white sand, an appearance characteristic of this coast. They must have been out of sight of land from the 17th to the 20th. It nowhere appears that they were near land at any time in the neighborhood where Cabo Mendocino or Cabo Blanco was supposed to be.

185. Davidson thought this was Redding Rock in 41° 22′. *Methods and Results,* 232. Dr. Davidson used the Torquemada Narrative as printed in the *Noticia* of Venegas, which contains the same account of the adventures of the *Tres Reyes* as this. Dr. Davidson did not allow for the fact that the observations for latitude on this part of the coast were at least one-half of a degree too high. More likely, the rock was Sugar Loaf Rock off Cape Mendocino or False Cape Rock.

186. Cabo Blanco, according to Bolaños, who began his *Derrotero* at this point, was massive and apparently ended in a cliff over the sea. It is impossible to identify it satisfactorily. It seems, however, to have been either Pt. St. George or something in that vicinity. In E, it is said to have been in 43° and seventeen leagues from Cabo San Sebastian, where the coast seemed to turn northeast. In the 1723 edition of B this word was changed to *norveste,* that is, "northwest," and so caused Dr. Davidson a great deal of trouble.

187. After that Saint whose day is January 21. It was probably Mad River. *See* Note 205. Dr. Davidson thought it was Rogue River in 42° 25′, but the writer is unable to find anything in the narrative to warrant this conclusion. The river in later years became known as the Rio de Martin de Aguilar, and figured in some of the wild dreams of believers in the Northwest Passage as the entrance to the Strait of Anian. It was especially conspicuous on maps at the end of the eighteenth and in the early nineteenth centuries.

188. This description applies very well to that of the coast from Humboldt Bay to south of Cape Mendocino, and is the only indication in any of the narratives that Cabo Mendocino might have been the cape now so called, except the statement in L quoted in Note 175. If we take the scale shown on the plan for this part of the coast, the distance from Punta de los Reyes to Cabo Mendocino was calculated to be about sixty-four leagues.

189. No mention is made of these smokes by Vizcaino.

190. This is an extraordinary statement and one that must be taken with a grain of salt. In K, it is stated that on the 25th they were opposite the Puerto de Monterey. The Indians made some smoke signals, but they did not enter because of the great number of sick on board. There were no medicines or delicacies, the dried beef was rotten, the beans and chick-peas were full of weevils, and the biscuit was all broken. All the men had bad mouths and the ship was like a hospital.

191. It is a pity that Father Antonio does not say where this occurred, as the actions of the Indians indicated that they had already seen Spaniards, who had treated them well, very probably Cermeño and his men.

192. As will be seen later, he says most of the men reached Acapulco in fairly good condition.

193. A most extraordinary statement, but the text hardly admits of any other interpretation, unless it be considered that "His Majesty" meant "God," or was an error for "Dios."

In either of such cases, it would be natural to conclude that the Lord would pay or reward the friars, but the pronouns hardly admit such a version.

194. According to K, the ship arrived off the Island of Santa Catalina on the 29th. This is a mistake; a council was held on the 28th, stated to have been off this island in 34½°. In the preamble to the record, it is stated that they had come along the coast looking over again some *ensenadas* they had not inspected on the way up, and in this had been detained some days. It is probable that at this time the name "Punta de la Conversion" was applied to what is undoubtedly Pt. Mugu. The day of the Conversion of San Pablo was January 25, probably a day or two before they reached there. Father Antonio's statement covers very well the conclusions reached in the council.

195. These references to the Isla de San Hilarion and Cenizas prove plainly that Father Antonio's Isla de Cenizas was not San Martin but some other, probably San Gerónimo, as explained in a previous note. The only other theory that could possibly be held, although highly improbable, is that there was some island Father Antonio called Cenizas, farther from the coast than San Gerónimo and much larger, which has now disappeared.

196. Vizcaino had great difficulty in getting this water. Two painted Indians with bows and arrows came down to the beach where they were taking it and made gestures to them to go away. They were so insistent that Vizcaino had to have some harquebuses fired over their heads to frighten them. He states that they sailed at midnight on the 8th.

197. The council was held February 13, off the Cabo de San Lucas. No attempt was made to go after the longboat which they had left in the lake. Some were of the opinion that they should go straight to Acapulco, but as both calkers had died and there were forty-five sick who were dying of hunger, and only two little pigs and two chickens were left, Vizcaino finally decided to go to the Islas de Mazatlan.

198. K, "the 18th."

199. In K the names of these men are given: Andrés Leal, Juan Grande, Cristóbal de los Reyes, Gonzalo Hernandez, and Diego Lopez.

200. In K the town is called "Saconta," but the witnesses in the *Informacion* of 1603 referred to it as "Mulatos."

201. A vegetable eaten as greens.

202. In K, the fruit is said to have looked like a *pinuela,* probably some kind of maguey or agave, but possibly cypress fruit. Father Antonio notices their resemblance to these. *See* Note 36.

203. In K, it is stated that they passed the *cabo* March 10.

204. *Sp., avio,* usually a supply of money or goods, but at that time it was also used to mean "supply of animals."

205. According to K, after turning back they discovered in 39° 15′ a copious river with an island at the mouth of it, making a good safe port. On the plan this appears as Rio Grande de S. Sebastian, and was undoubtedly Tomales Bay, as the river is shown on the plan in the relative position of that bay. They also discovered another great bay in 42½°, in which a very large river entered, no doubt Mad River, which empties into Humboldt Bay. On the plan a very large bay is shown, and a river entering it which has a course similar to that of Mad River. Here a great number of Indians came up in canoes made of pine and cedar boards. They were so numerous that the Spaniards did not dare to enter the river, although the Indians, who gave them plenty of fish, game, hazelnuts, chestnuts and acorns, invited them to do so. In L, it is stated, however, that Melendez ascended the river two leagues and could go no farther on account of the strong current which carried with it many large trees; that the coast then ran north to Cabo Mendocino, then northeast to Cabo Blanco in 43°, and still northeast, although it could hardly be seen. On the return they stopped at Monterey, the port at Pt. Reyes, Santa Catalina Island, and San Diego. All the Indians recognized them, received them well and treated them with great friendliness. They reached Navidad February 26.

206. What happened to Juan Sanchez, the assistant to Flores, does not appear.

207. Vizcaino, in his letter of May 23, 1603, wrote that forty-two all told had died.

208. K, "Saturday, March 18." He was mistaken, Father Antonio was right.

209. Another error; it certainly seems as if Father Antonio had no knowledge of the expedition of Cabrillo.

210. This is an inaccurate expression, *antecos* were those who lived on the other side of the Equator on the same degree of latitude and on the same meridian.

211. This and the following chapter were omitted entirely by Torquemada, who makes not the slightest allusion to Father Antonio's geographical ideas or his schemes for colonizing California.

212. This expedition set out in October, 1604, under the command of Oñate himself. There were about thirty soldiers in the party and a Franciscan, Fray Francisco de Escobar, who wrote a full account of the journey. A copy of his account sent to Spain is still extant

in 58-3-9, and has been translated by Dr. H. E. Bolton and published in Vol. V of the *Catholic Historical Review,* 1919. Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmeron in his *Relacion* written about 1629, evidently had access to Escobar's narrative and inserted considerable extracts from it in his work. He added, however, some additional facts from his personal knowledge of affairs in New Mexico and possibly from information derived from other members of the party. He also evidently had in his possession another account written by Gerónimo Marqués, as he refers to him and his movements. A translation of Zárate Salmeron's account had been previously published by Dr. Bolton in *Spanish Exploration.*

213. Oñate reached the Colorado (the Tizon) at the mouth of Bill Williams Fork in about 34° 20′. The first he named Buena Esperanza (December 18), and the second San Andrés (November 30), having discovered them on those days.

214. Montague Island at the mouth of the river is only in 31° 45′. Oñate, who reached salt water January 23, named the mouth the "Puerto de la Conversion," after that of San Pablo, January 25, and he took possession that day.

215. The Rio de Coral was probably the Santa Clara, one of the mouths of the Colorado.

216. Escobar mentions this giantess, the island being, according to what the Indians told him, five days' journey distant to the west.

217. What Marqués meant by saying he saw no land or mountains on the other side is difficult to understand. He must have been looking down the gulf and not across the river.

218. This lake appears in Escobar's account without name or other location than that it was up the river. Zárate Salmeron called it "Copalla."

219. In the writer's *Some Imaginary California Geography,* pages 34 and 35, a reference was made to this "Rey Coronado," or as it appears on Briggs' map, "Coromedo," and the opinion was hazarded that this name and the Rio de Anguchi were possibly derived from an account written by Gerónimo Marqués to which Fray Antonio de la Ascension had had access. The manuscript referred to therein is the one now translated, but while the "Rey Coronado" appears in it, the Rio de Anguchi is not mentioned. The latter name seems to be from Escobar's *Anopacha,* which he said the Indians called a yellow metal, or *Anpacha* as it appears later in his narrative.

220. Escobar refers to this sketch which an Indian made on a piece of paper, and makes a statement somewhat similar to this. Apparently the sketch showed the turn the gulf was said to make towards the north and the northeast. Probably the Indians were attempting to show the Grand Canyon of Colorado, which extends from east to west.

221. He nowhere else mentions seeing this lake nor does Escobar, nor did they reach such a place as he describes, unless he refers to the Moqui towns where Escobar states that on their return they found some stones which looked like minerals.

222. This story does not occur in Escobar's account. The writer has never found any evidence that the natives of this part of America knew anything about gold.

223. This story of the silver is related in much the same way by Escobar, who stated that the Indians gave them to understand that it was dug out of a mountain on the other shore of the sea in front of an island five days' journey distant to the west. To this Zárate Salmeron adds that the island was only one day's sail from the coast. It is now well established that the Indians on this part of the Colorado traded with the coast Indians, and no doubt knew about the islands, but there is not the slightest likelihood that any of these knew anything about any metal, except possibly native copper or native silver.

224. It would be interesting to know what Indians these were. By this time the notion that Quivira was north or northwest of New Mexico seems to have become fully established. The writer does not recall having seen any other allusion to this incident.

225. In this paragraph Father Antonio declares himself as a believer in the insularity of California. In all probability he was the first person to make such a positive statement. It is even possible that he was the originator of the idea.

226. This was not what the Indians explained, judging from Escobar's account, nor even what Marqués wrote; it is merely an assumption of Father Antonio's which he evidently embodied in his map. On Briggs' map the Isla de Giganta is shown in the Gulf of California, opposite the mouth of the Rio del Tizon.

In E, he places the location of this island in 37°, and Quivira in 42°, the junction of the gulf with the strait being in 40°.

In C, it is suggested that a settlement be made at the mouth of the Tizon, as the Laguna de Oro and Rey Coronado were near it. For the preservation of this another should be made on the coast opposite. In this he enters into greater detail about his colonization plans.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XII

Bibliographical Note

The documents concerning the project to make a settlement in Monterey Bay are numerous and important, a proof of the great interest taken in the matter. An unusual number of *consultas* of the Council of the Indies, or as we would call them, the recommendations to the King in the matter, have been preserved in the archives, mostly in 58-2-18 and 59-1-2, with a few in 58-3-16. The correspondence of the viceroys of the period is contained in 58-3-14, 58-3-15, 58-3-16, 58-3-17. Files 59-1-2, 59-1-3, 59-1-4 and 59-1-5 contain Vizcaino's memorials and letters, and the various cedulas issued from time to time are scattered through the files already mentioned and in other places specifically referred to in the notes. Duplicates of several of the documents were later inserted in a new file, 67-3-27, an immense collection of papers devoted to the later attempts to colonize California. File 67-3-28, a continuation of this, contains the proceedings concerning the efforts of Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero to secure a license to colonize California in 1676, in the course of which Vizcaino's grandsons intervened.

Vizcaino departed for Spain in the *Flota* of 1606. In that year, probably in the latter part, he presented a memorial outlining his arguments for settling the Port of Monterey. Just when he filed his petition asking for remuneration is uncertain, but no doubt he wasted little time after reaching Spain. In the following year he presented several other petitions and memorials. The following documents were printed by Carrasco in his *Documentos:*

No. 23. Part of the Conde de Monterey's letter of March 26, 1603.
No. 24. Vizcaino's letter dated May 23, 1603.
No. 25. Part of a letter of the Viceroy dated May 28, 1603.
No. 26. The Viceroy's letter of November 22, 1603.
No. 32. Vizcaino's undated memorial of 1606.
No. 33. Cedula to Montesclaros of August 19, 1606 about appointment of Vizcaino (wrongly dated August 9).
No. 34. Vizcaino's letter to Francisco de Tejada, undated (1607), requesting appointment as *adelantado* of the South Seas.
No. 35. Cedula of August 19, 1606, about the settlement of Monterey.
No. 36. Cedula of October 5, 1606, about the settlement of Monterey.
No. 37. Vizcaino's letter to Francisco de Tejada, Madrid, May 10, 1607.
No. 38. Vizcaino's letter to the Conde de Lemos, Madrid, May 13, 1607.
No. 39. Part of a letter from Vizcaino dated Seville, August 28, 1607, asking to be appointed to command the quicksilver ships about to be sent to New Spain.
No. 40. An official request to the same effect attached to the preceding.
No. 41. Vizcaino's letter from San Juan de Ulua of October 10, 1608.
No. 42. A resolution of the Council of the Indies on the convenience of colonizing Monterey, undated but 1607.
No. 43. Cedula to Velasco of September 27, 1608, ordering the suspension of colonizing Monterey.
No. 44. Part of a letter from Vizcaino from Mexico, May 20, 1609, still harping on colonizing Monterey.

No. 24 was printed with an English translation by Griffin in the *Publications*. The cedula to Pedro de Acuña of August 19, 1606, was printed in Vol. I of Miguel Venegas' *Noticia de la California,* Madrid, 1757, and translated in B. &

R., XIV, 182-188. In the same volume, 275-7, a translation of the cedula to Velasco of May 3, 1609, ordering him to send an expedition from the Philippines to discover the Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata and then return to those islands, unless he had made some other arrangements, was also published.

1. 58-3-9 (should be in 58-3-14).
2. 58-6-36. Contains a notation that it was seen in the Council, June 21, 1604.
3. Letter of May 28, 1603, 58-3-14.
4. 67-3-27.
5. *See* the Marqués' letter of October 28, 1605, 59-1-2. (Endorsed "Seen July 30, 1606.")
6. 58-3-14.
7. Referred to in the Marqués' answer of October 28, 1605, 58-3-15.
8. 58-3-15.
9. 147-5-16.
10. *Ibid.*
11. 59-1-2, also included in various petitions of Vizcaino's grandsons in 67-3-28.
12. 59-1-2.
13. 67-3-27, also in B. M. Add. MSS 13976, fol. 469-72. Translated in B. & R., XIV.
14. Contained in cedula of October 5, 1607, 67-3-27.
15. 58-3-16.
16. Probably the Viceroy was uncertain about the location; Vizcaino in his first memorial presented in Spain in 1606 alleged that it was in 37½°, 59-1-2. One of the advantages, he said, in settling Monterey lay in its proximity to the City of Quivira, which, according to the maps, was only some fifty leagues distant.
17. 58-3-16.
18. The writer missed seeing this letter, which is printed by Carrasco in his *Documentos*, No. 41. Velasco's letter in 58-3-16 is dated May 24, 1609.
19. The petition has not been found, but the contents are recited in the preamble to the *consulta* of the Council to the King of April 20, 1607, 58-2-18.
20. *Indios vacos* were Indians subject to regrant in *encomienda* by reason of the death of the previous holder or expiration of a previous grant. On account of the practice of rewarding services in this way instead of with cash, the list of those waiting for them had become so long that a grant of *Indios vacos* had become to be considered at this period as a kind of jest.
21. 67-1-3.
22. The *Consulta* of September 18, 1607, is in 58-3-16, and that of October 6 in 147-5-16.
23. 58-3-16, dated December 3, 1607. Vizcaino was going back to New Spain in one of the swift-sailing vessels which was to take out the quicksilver. August 28 he had written to the King asking to be appointed commander of this little fleet and filed a formal application for the position in which he states that he had served twenty-seven years by sea and land. Carrasco's *Documentos*, Nos. 39 and 40.
24. This (September 27, 1609, Carrasco No. 43, translation in B. & R., XIV, 270-5), and subsequent orders are mentioned in the *Consulta* of the Council of April 9, 1609, 58-2-18. It seems from this that Hernando de Rios Coronel, who was then the *procurador* of the Philippines in Spain, had strongly advised sending the expedition from the islands, and that it should return there. The Council thought the advice excellent.
25. *See* the letter of the Marqués de Salinas, the viceroy, of April 7, 1611, 58-3-17.
26. *See* a cedula of December 2, 1613, to the Viceroy regarding complaints about Vizcaino's proceedings in Japan, in the *autos* about a license to Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero to conduct an expedition to California, 67-3-28. The document was introduced at the request of Vizcaino's grandson, Nicolas Vizcaino de Lezama. Vizcaino's eldest son, Juan, left a son named Juan Vizcaino Urutia de Contreras who was living in Sayula, in the province of Avalos in 1676, evidently in enjoyment of the *encomienda* granted to his grandfather. He intervened in the same proceedings with a petition that the heirs of Sebastian Vizcaino be preferred to Piñadero.
27. The account of the expedition, covering some seventy pages, is in the Bib. Nac., Madrid, and was printed in P. & C., VIII, 101-199.
28. The documents regarding the affair are in 58-3-17. Vizcaino's examination of the prisoners is amusing. Speilbergen in his journal published in 1906 in English as the *East and West Indian Mirror* by the Hakluyt Society, states that the Dutch, some 200 in number, landed November 11 and were attacked by a party of Spaniards who had been concealed in the woods. The Dutch were frightened and but for some of the officers would have fled.

Taking courage, they charged the Spaniards, who shortly took to flight, but they did not pursue them for fear of another ambush. One Spanish captain and many of the men were killed and wounded and two Dutch soldiers were killed and several wounded. Speilbergen then went to Navidad, where he remained until the 20th, unmolested.

29. June 15, 1629, Vizcaino's son-in-law, Martin de Lezama, testified in the Alvarez Serrano investigation, and referred to the papers which his father-in-law had left him.

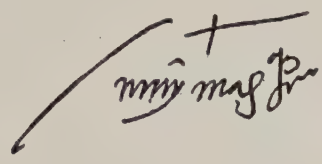
30. In 1675 Vizcaino's grandson Nicolas, the one referred to in Note 26, in a petition in the same proceedings states: "After the death of *General* Sebastian Vizcaino in the year 1628 the petitioner desiring to enter," etc. As there is no punctuation, he may have meant that Vizcaino died in 1628, or that he desired to make an entry in that year, which as a matter of fact, was the year his father Martin de Lezama, Vizcaino's son-in-law, did begin his preparations.

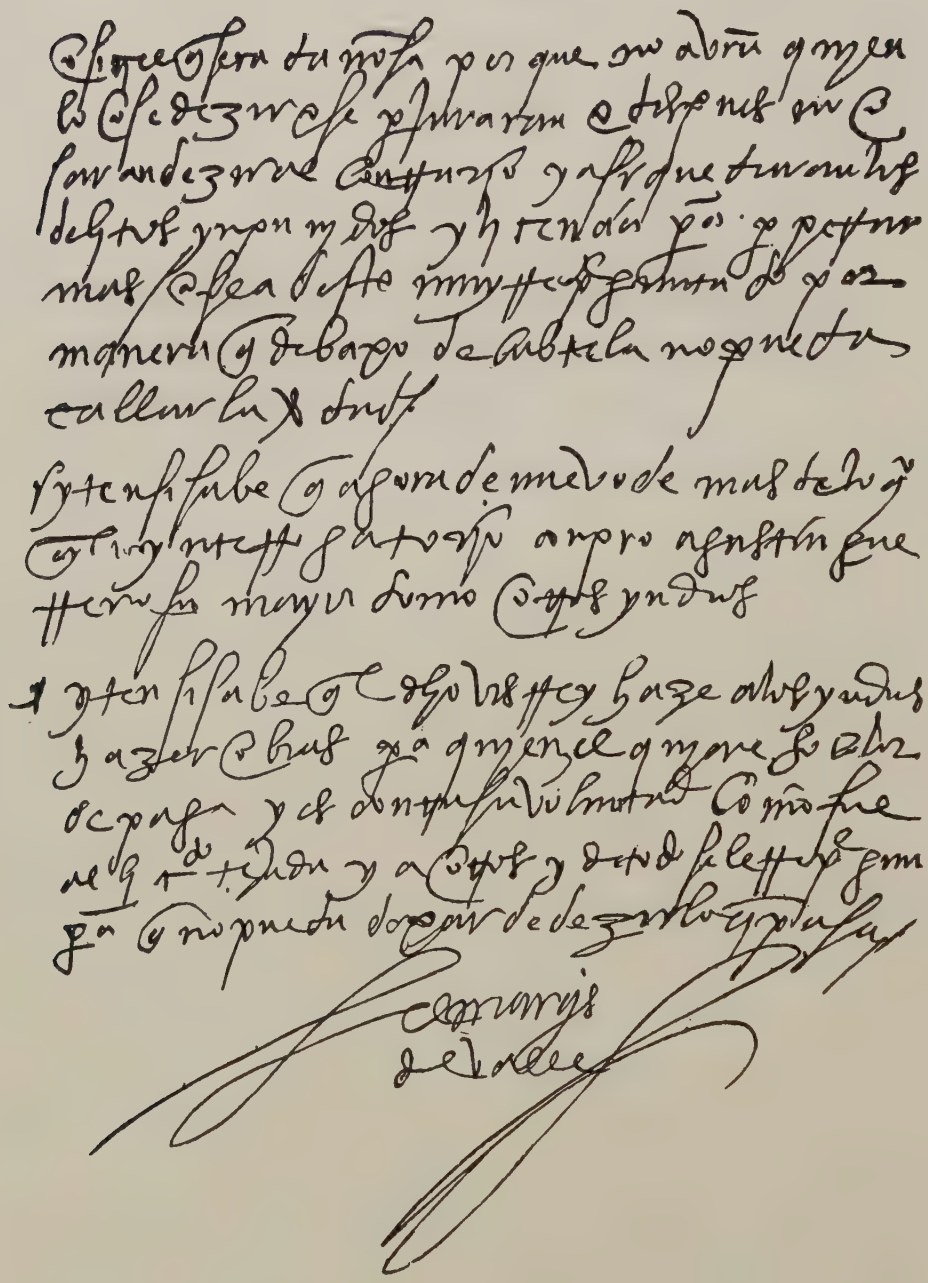
31. Father Antonio did not ratify his declaration made in the Alvarez Serrano investigation March 22, 1632. A certificate follows by two notaries that it had been signed by a companion of Father Antonio whom they knew. It might possibly appear from this that Father Antonio was sick and could not appear. His companions, Fathers Andrés and Tomás, had already passed away.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

Facsimile of a holograph petition by Hernando Cortés, Marqués del Valle





APPENDIX II

Lopez de Gómara's Account of the Ulloa Voyage

In the month of May of the same year, 1539, Cortés sent three other ships, well armed and provisioned, with Francisco de Ulloa, who was now back with all the rest [i. e from California with the last of Cortés party], to follow the coast of Culhuacan towards the north. The ships were named the *Santa Agueda,* the *Trinidad* and *Santo Tomás*. They sailed from Acapulco, and touched at Santiago de Buena Esperanza to take on some provisions. From Guayaval they crossed over to California in search of a ship, and from there turned to repass the Sea of Cortés, which others call "Mar Bermejo," and followed the coast more than two hundred leagues to where it ends, which they named the "Ancon de San Andrés," as they arrived there on his day. Francisco de Ulloa took possession of the country for the King of Castile, in the name of Fernando Cortés. This Ancon is in 32° and somewhat more. The sea there is red and rises and falls very regularly. On that coast are many little volcanoes. The hills are bare and the land poor. They found traces of sheep, that is, large horns, heavy and much twisted. Many whales frequent the sea. Fishing is done with hooks made of the spines of trees and turtle bones of which there are many of great size. The men go naked with their hair cut, as the Otomies in New Spain. They bear on their breasts shining shells like mother of pearl. Their water vessels are the pouches of seals, although they also have well made ones of clay.

Following the other coast from the Ancon de San Andrés they arrived at California. Doubling the point, they entered between the mainland and some islands, and went on till they reached a point opposite the Ancon de San Andrés. This point they named "Cabo del Engaño," and then returned to New Spain as they found the winds contrary and their provisions were exhausted. They were gone on this voyage a whole year, and brought no news of any good country. More was the noise than the nuts.

Fernando Cortés expected to find on that coast and sea another New Spain, but he did no more than I have related, either with ships or arms, although he went there himself. It is believed that there are large very rich islands between New Spain and the Spiceries.

He spent two hundred thousand ducats on those discoveries, according to the account he rendered. He sent many more ships and more people than he first intended to do. For this cause, as we shall afterward relate, he had to return to Spain, made an enemy of the viceroy, Don Antonio, and embarked in a law suit with the King about his vassals. No one, however, spent his money in similar enterprises with so much spirit.[1]

[1] Translated from the *Conquista de Mexico,* Vedia's edition, 428.

APPENDIX III

Instructions to Lopez de Zuñiga

What you, Diego Lopez de Zuñiga, lieutenant-governor and captain-general, have to do during the journey on which we, Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy and governor of New Spain, and the *adelantado,* Don Pedro de Alvarado, governor of the Province of Guatemala, send you in our place, and in compliance with the contract and agreement which His Majesty ordered us to make with you for the discovery and conquest of the coast of the South Sea and the islands of the west is as follows:[1]

1. First, you will go to the new port of Navidad, on the coast of the South Sea of this New Spain, where are the ships named[2]..... [blank].....the ones you are to take, and receive them. Having received them you will take on board the supplies which we, the said viceroy and *adelantado,* have ordered to be prepared and assigned for that purpose. These you will divide among the ships in conformity with the number of people in each one, and deliver them before the notary of the fleet to those persons who in your opinion will give a good account of them, and then send us a certificate signed by yourself and by the said notary. [In the margin, "It should be before the purser of the fleet."]

2. You will make a list of the seamen going in the ships, and of the artillery, arms and ammunition which go in them, and deliver the said artillery and ammunition by inventory to the artillerymen, distributed among them as seems best to you so that they will take care of them and have them ready whenever it may be necessary.

3. You will also make a list of the rest of the people[3] who go in the fleet, distributing them among the ships as seems best to you, and you will inspect the arms which each one carries and have it all put down before the notary of the fleet.

4. You will deliver before the notary to the person whom we have assigned and named for that purpose all the trading articles carried in the fleet and order him not to dispose of any of them nor trade them with the natives of the countries you may discover, nor in those already discovered, except in your presence.

5. Take especial care that the name of Our Lord be not allowed to be blasphemed and that this be punished, as well as any public sins[4] if such be committed.

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[1] The general articles in the document are almost the same word for word as the general ones in the instruction issued by Cortés to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza in 1532, and several are even like those he gave Saavedra in 1527.

[2] Five, including the *justa,* were intended by the instructions to be delivered to Lopez de Zuñiga. Ladrillero does not say how many actually engaged in the expedition, but there were at least three according to his account, one named the *San Gabriel.*

[3] *Sp., sobresalientes.* Plainly here these were all who were not sailors. The term was usually applied on board ship to servants and artisans and sometimes, if not always, included soldiers.

[4] *Sp., pecados publicos.* Blasphemy, living with a woman without being married, etc.

6. You will also take especial care that in the matter of our faith and Christian religion there be no negligence nor laxity, as you see this is our principal purpose in the journey, and that you honor and reverence the friars[5] you have with you and take their opinion in such matters as may be to the purpose, in conformity with what His Majesty orders in his instructions.

7. Having received the fleet in this manner and having made sail from Navidad, you will follow the coast of New Spain to Chiametla, and proceed from there to look for the outside point of the Isla del Marqués,[6] thence following the coast in quest of the Isla de Çedros where you will provide yourself with wood and water. Then, with the aid of Our Lord, following the coast closely as it opens up, you will from there onward all along make stops and take possession according to the minute[7] which for that purpose you carry with you, so that all the coast you leave behind may be inspected and known and notice be had of what there is, so that it may be ascertained which is the best. Before you make a settlement anywhere, endeavor to inspect[8] the country to find out thoroughly what there is in it, so as not to be deceived, and pass on if the aspect of it be not satisfactory. The method which you shall follow in going ashore in the country you may discover, will be as follows:

8. When you discover land, if you reach it at an hour when you can inspect it, do so, taking much care that you be not attacked by the natives, and in an open place so as not to be ambushed. In this manner you or those persons whom you shall select shall go ashore.

9. If you reach land or near it at night or so late that you cannot see well by daylight what there is, remain at sea, taking all the care which seems necessary to the chief pilot and the other pilots whom you have with you, and do not go to land except in full day, in order that your ships may not suffer shipwreck and you may not be tricked by the natives.

10. If, having arrived at such a land, you see that it is inhabited, and observe anyone on the beach or in the fields or any settlements, you will be very careful to see whether they have any ships or boats or other things with which to navigate, and until you find this out and are thoroughly informed about it, you will not go ashore for any reason whatsoever. If possible, make some signs with flags to those on shore, or in some other manner you think advisable, indi-

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[5] These friars were no doubt Franciscans.

[6] Cabo San Lucas, not yet named. Note the evident distinction between an outside and an inside point, and that the name "California" is not used. The Isla del Marqués appears here to be the Peninsula of California as a whole, certainly the lower part of it, then thought to be an island.

[7] There was a regular established form to be used in taking possession. *See* an *acta* attached to the Ulloa document. The order to begin taking possession after leaving Cedros is good proof that none had been taken by Ulloa beyond that island. Cabrillo in the following voyage must have had a similar instruction, as his first possession was taken north of that island.

[8] *Sp., calar.* This expression was in very common use among the early explorers, and its exact meaning is not always clear. To *calar* a mine was to sink a prospect hole in it. To *calar* a port probably meant to go inside to get a prospect of it, but sometimes the word seems to have been used in the sense of making a chart or sketch of it.

cating that you desire them to come to you and that you cannot go ashore, so that they should thus make it manifest whether they have ships or anything with which to navigate.

11. If it should turn out that they have any ships and should come out to you, you will observe what manner of people they are, and if you can risk coming together with them to talk in such a way that you will run no danger or risk, you will do so, having your artillery ready and your people in a position to attack or to defend themselves, always making every sign of peace.

12. If you see that their ships are larger than yours, and they seem to you to display the art of a people civilized and warlike, you will keep away from them as far as you can, moving in the direction of this country, to prevent being captured by them, as such would be a great loss because, if taken, besides losing you, the information already obtained about the country would be lost.

13. If, however, you see that the ships of such people are like those used in these parts and in the islands, you will draw near them, making every sign of peace as ordered, and having come to talk, if their language should be one which you can understand and one in which they can understand you, you will tell them that you belong to a country very near them, whose lord is the greatest in the universe, the greater part of which obeys him, and that by order of two of his captains, who reside in these parts and had news of their country, you are going to see and find out what kind of people they are who live there and of what rule and rite and in whom they believe or worship, if they know of God, the Creator and Maker of all things, and whom they have for a temporal lord, and that when you have found this out you have to return to tell about it to him who sent you. Make plain to them in every possible way that if they desire the friendship and alliance of the captain[9] who sends you in the name of such a great prince as you have previously described to them, you can assure them that he will be their friend and keep with them a full alliance and confederation, and if they wish to come to trade with this country, bringing their products and taking away those which are here, they may very safely do so, and also that, having this indication from them, people will go from here to their country to trade, something which will prove very advantageous to them. Of the trading articles you carry, you will give them what seems best to you, showing them all the different kinds of your goods and taking great note of what they like the best, so that, Our Lord willing, on the return which you make yourself or send with more force, you can carry a greater quantity of such things.

14. You will also observe whether those persons who come to talk with you wear any ornaments, and see which are those they value the most, in order to take note of this as well. See if in any part of their dress they wear gold, pearls or precious stones,[10] and of what quality, but do not ask them for anything nor

[9] Note here the singular, thus indicating that this paragraph had been rather carelessly copied from another signed by a single individual, no doubt that of Cortés.

[10] *Sp., piedras.* A word in general use at that time for precious stones.

show yourself more given to one thing than to another of what you see on them, so that they may not cunningly take note of it, but, on the contrary, you will with much dissimulation take cognizance of the things which they hold in the greatest estimation.

15. If you find that they have no ships with which they can attack you at sea, go to land in a port or place where your ships can be safe and stay there some days until you can find out about the land, its customs, quality, people and all other particulars which may be possible, informing yourself if the country is an island or mainland, how large it is, if it has one lord or many, if there are wars between them, what kind of houses they have and everything else which in the circumstances you can find out, taking much care to keep your ships and people safe.

16. If you find a good country where you can make a settlement as ordered, you should remain settled there and send to discover farther on Gonzalo Dovalle, whom we have chosen for that purpose, having the necessary confidence in his character. Give him the ship of Juan Rodriguez,[11] the galleon *prieto* and the *fusta*,[12] part of those you are taking with you, and provide him with all the supplies possible and the artillery, seamen, soldiers and whatever else you think he will need for his voyage, so that as the person who has the business in hand he may not fail to secure the results which we desire in the service of God, Our Lord, and His Majesty, in conformity with our instruction, which Gonzalo Dovalle carries for that purpose.

17. If after Gonzalo Dovalle has gone on in this manner and you have news from him that he has found better country than the one where you may be, and it seems advisable to you to go there in person, you can go, leaving the settlement in as good order and security as you may be able, sending us advice of everything with full particulars, so that you may be aided with men and whatever else may be necessary, according to your needs. In order that this may be better done, you will send us your ships, but if it seems advisable to you that any of them remain there, let this be done. In the ships which come you will send us eight or ten Indians, natives of the countries you have discovered, to learn our language and see what is here, and you will also send the specimens and those things of interest native to the country that you have obtained.

18. You will labor by every means possible to leave contented and in peace the people by whom you pass, and in those places where they receive you and treat you the best you will endeavor to remain a shorter time, so that they may not be molested with your large party. In case, however, it may be

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[11] That is, Cabrillo, who commanded the subsequent expedition. According to the witnesses in the *Informacion* of 1560, Cabrillo had built a ship with his own money, evidently the one here referred to.

[12] Whether *prieto* was the name of the ship or referred to its black color is uncertain. A *fusta* was a small vessel with lateen sails.

necessary to stay there, take very especial care that no one go astray to injure them in any way.

19. Always lodge at some little distance from the towns and do not permit any soldier to go to them nor enter the houses of the Indians, inflicting grave penalties on whomsoever breaks this rule, which you will execute with all rigor, because for not having done so the Portuguese have suffered much harm in India, and have lost many towns and many nations. For this reason, even although your people get sick, they must suffer, for the advantage to be gained, and to avoid the inconveniences which usually occur when they do the contrary.

20. You will not permit the men to travel unarmed or in disorder. In your choice of places to make your camp look about well and keep a good guard night and day. As His Majesty is not well served nor wishes that anything should be taken from any Indians against their wish, and this is just, you carry a certain quantity of goods for barter with which to provide your people with necessities, and with which you will order necessary food to be bought when out of their good will the Indians do not wish to give it.

21. His Majesty gives the rule to be observed in dividing the Indians in an item of the instruction which he orders given to persons who are going to conquer and pacify new countries.[13] It seems that it would be inconvenient to do this before the country is pacified, since if so done, it would not be possible to have a good idea of the country and its qualities so as to reward each one according to his person and services. As has been experienced in New Spain and other parts, the people would occupy themselves in their private affairs and neglect the public ones, concealing the good and bad qualities of the Indians whom they have in *encomienda,* and paying more attention to what is convenient to themselves.[14] Mindful of this and other moving reasons, it seems to us that the said division should not be made until the land is pacified. This, then, you will see is done and complied with until you give us your report, when, after having seen it, we will inform you what is advisable.

22. The punishments you have to inflict on the people you take with you, be advised, should not be ignominious, because such break the spirits of men and from valiant they become cowardly, but they should be such as are corrective and not degrading.

23. You will be forbearing and affable to all and speak to them kindly so that they do not hold you in little esteem.

24. In affairs of war you will ask many about what is best to be done and hear from all what they have to say, but what you have to do you will communicate to few, and those only such as are the best disposed to you and have the most experience in the matters under discussion.

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[13] In 1526 Charles V issued a set of ordinances covering new discoveries, no doubt those here referred to. To grant the Indians in *encomienda* was usually the first thing a conqueror of new lands did, this in most cases being about the only reward the participants in the enterprise obtained.

[14] The meaning of this sentence is obscure.

25. You will always try, in every place you reach, to find out about Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, and if you obtain any news of his force, you will use every diligence in advising him of your whereabouts, and if he should have any need of men or of anything else you have with you, you will aid him, as it is proper you should do, because it is all one enterprise.[15] The same is being written to Francisco Vasquez to do for you if you should have need of him.

26. As it may happen that the ships we are sending to the islands[16] might come to reconnoiter the coast where you are, be advised that wherever possible you should leave buried in the watering-places, ports, and points, some letters in a pot or jar underneath some tree on which you will mark a cross, and therein you will inform them and leave a record of the journey you have made and of the coast seen, so that the ship may have knowledge of it. If by chance the ship should come to where you are in person, or any of your force, you will supply them with what is necessary. You will not allow anyone on board to leave the ship or remain on land, or take anything out of her, but despatch her immediately to come to us to render an account of what they bring and of their voyage. Done in the City of Mexico, April 29, 1541.

DON ANTONIO DE MENDOZA
EL ADELANTADO ALVARADO
Countersigned by Almaguer.[17]

On the second of August, the Viceroy, my master, added to this instruction the following: Look at your instruction and always keep in full what touches the service of the Lord our Master, but in the rest, as the person who has the matter in hand, you, the Señor,[18] may act in everything as seems best, without respect to the instructions, in such cases as it seems to you that there is some inconvenience in carrying out what is said in them.

[*An inserted page*]

[At the top is a line, evidently the last part of a sentence, "*fuere plaziendo a nro. S^or^. descubrieren*" then begins:]

His Majesty in the contract which he ordered made with you for the discovery of the islands and provinces of the country and coast of the South Sea, ordered the following chapters inserted. As it is not our wish to exceed in any

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[15] In the agreement between Mendoza and Alvarado, the latter had received the same interest in the expedition of Coronado from that time on as Mendoza had in his contemplated expedition. In a way both were directed to the same end — the search for accumulated treasure somewhere in the north.

[16] This refers to the expedition to the spice islands contemplated at that time and afterward taken out by Villalobos.

[17] Antonio de Almaguer, one of Mendoza's secretaries. He received a direct appointment from the Emperor November 29, 1541, as treasurer of the "Islands of the West," 139-1-3.

[18] *Sp., vos Senor.* Perhaps "you as commander."

way what is contained in them, we order you to guard and comply with them as he ordered and as they are set forth in the said chapters.

[Three lines crossed out.]

Inasmuch as Gonzalo de Valle and the force which goes beyond with him on discovery and that which remains with you are all one, and it is just that those who are with him and those who remain with you, should have equal shares in any advantages there may be in the country when settled, you will see that this is done, because the same will be done with the force which remains with you in respect to the land which Gonzalo de Valle and his people may discover.[19]

Instructions to Gonzalo Dovalle

What you, Gonzalo Dovalle, have to do, in the name of us, Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy and governor of New Spain, and the *adelantado,* Don Pedro de Alvarado, governor of the Province of Guatemala, after Diego Lopez de Zuñiga, our lieutenant-governor and captain-general, has made a settlement in the discovery which he goes to make, is as follows:

1. In an item of the instruction which we are giving to the said Diego Lopez de Zuñiga, our lieutenant-governor and captain-general, we order him, when he has decided to make a settlement, finding the country adapted for such, to give you the ships and the *fusta* as set out in the instruction, namely, that of Juan Rodriguez, the galleon *prieto* and the *fusta,* with the supplies and force which seem best to him in accordance with the possibilities of the case. These having been delivered to you, you will keep the following order:

2. Having received the said ships in the manner above set forth, you will divide among them the supplies which Diego Lopez gives you in accordance with the force which each one carries, and make delivery of them before a notary to such persons as seem to you will give a good account of them, and of this you will send us a certificate.

3-7. The same as Nos. 2-6 of the preceding instructions except for verbal changes of no importance in Nos. 4-5.

8. Having received the ships and divided the force and the supplies in the manner above stated, make sail and with the aid of Our Lord continue the voyage along near the coast as it opens out, and in all parts make stops and take possession according to the minute you carry for that purpose, so that everything you leave behind you is inspected and known, and we may have advice of what there is in order to see which is best.

9. If, in following the coast and continuing the discovery, you should happen on a better land than the one where Diego Lopez de Zuñiga made a settlement, you will give him news of it with the *fusta* which you take with

[19] This page is only a little over half the length of the other pages and is in a different handwriting. It was evidently addressed to Lopez de Zuñiga. The document is not the original but a copy to which additions were made by someone at the time they were received.

you, so that he can send the news to us and can go there himself, as we so order, in case it seems best to him, while you will continue your discovery as far as possible, taking possession in all those parts you may discover in the manner above stated. Do not content yourself with any place with which you fall in, even although it may seem a better one in which to stop, but go on, continuing your discovery as far as possible, as the advantage to be gained by your voyage and journey consists in discovering, inspecting and taking possession of all that you can. You will send or bring us all the samples you can find of the country you discover, no matter of what quality, so that we may know more particularly what there is in them. The order you will use in going ashore in the country you may discover is as follows:

10. The same as No. 8.

11. The same as the first half of No. 10, the next two pages, which contained the remainder and Nos. 12-17, evidently being lost.

12. The same as No. 18.

13. The same as the second part of No. 20.

14. The same as No. 22.

15. The same as No. 23.

16. The same as No. 24.

17. The same as No. 26, except that the phrase "to come to us to give us" is crossed out and "to come to me to give me" is written over it.[20]

Done in the City of Mexico, April 29, 1541.

DON ANTONIO DE MENDOZA
EL ADELANTADO ALVARADO
Countersigned, Almaguer.

[*Added in another handwriting:*] If it seems to you best to stop in some one of the lands you discover, do so and send us advice of it so that provision can be made according to the account you send and what you write from there, and in addition, if it seems best to come here yourself and leave behind some persons, do so, if it seems proper to you and you see besides that it is advisable.[21]

[20] This change to the singular number indicates that the correction had been made after Alvarado died.

[21] This addition is in the same handwriting as that of the inserted page.

APPENDIX IV

Herrera's Account of the Cabrillo Expedition

Don Antonio de Mendoza showed little neglect for affairs of the sea because, notwithstanding the fact that the ships which he had sent to discover the coast of New Spain on the south side had suffered a great deal,[1] he still wished to know what was beyond, and for that purpose ordered two ships made ready, and named as their captain Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese and a person well versed in affairs of the sea.[2] One ship, the *Capitana,* was called the *San Salvador,* and the other the *Vitoria.* Bartolomé Ferrer sailed as chief pilot,[3] and Bartolomé Fernandez also as pilot.[4] The masters were Antonio Carrera[5] and San Remo.[6]

These ships being ready sailed from the Puerto de Navidad June 27 of this year [1542], at midday, and next morning at daybreak were at Cabo de Corrientes in 20½°. Friday, the 30th, running along the coast, they reached 22° 20′. Sunday, July 2, they were in full 24° and reconnoitered the port of the Marqués del Valle called La Cruz, which is [on] the coast of California.[7] On the 8th, they found themselves in 25°, the Punta de la Trinidad. Wednesday, the 19th, they discovered a port in 27° with good shelter which they named "La Madalena," and there they took water. August 20 they found themselves at Cabo del Engaño in 31°. September 14 they anchored at a cape in 33° which they named "La Cruz," a country high and bare, and the bottom in easy sounding distance.

Tuesday, October 10, they discovered some villages of gentle Indians, with whom they traded. They named them "Pueblos de las Canoas" because they had many [canoes]. They are in 35° 20′. Having made but little progress in a few days on account of the too frequent light winds, Wednesday, the 18th, they arrived at a long point, in 36½°, which makes a cape, and as it was long like a galley they named it "Cabo de la Galera."[8] On account of the fresh

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[1] This without doubt refers to the previous expedition of Francisco de Bolaños. Herrera does not give an account of that expedition nor otherwise refer to it.

[2] This seems to be the only positive statement that Cabrillo was a Portuguese, but the failure to say anything about his antecedents in the *Informacion* made by his son rather confirms it, as experience with large numbers of these *informaciones* points to the fact that when individuals made no reference to the services which their ancestors had rendered to the Spanish Crown, they were usually Portuguese.

[3] Ferrelo in the MS, but from the *Informacion* it seems certain his name was Ferrer.

[4] Probably Alonso Hernandez. *See* Note 5 to Chap. IV.

[5] This was Antonio Correa. *See* Note 6 to Chap. IV.

[6] He was probably the Gerónimo San Roman referred to by one of the witnesses in the *Informacion.*

[7] It would be interesting to know whether this had been taken from the narrative or whether it is in part an interpolation by Herrera. The Puerto de La Cruz was in Bahia la Paz, and certainly Cabrillo did not go there. The inference, of course, from Herrera's statement would be that the port was a small bay at the southeastern end of the peninsula. In the narrative it is said that they sighted California July 2, and anchored at the Punta de California, obviously the southeast point, on the 3d.

[8] The MS is the same except that the cape is said therein to have been in full 36°.

northwest wind they stood out to sea and discovered two islands, one eight leagues in length, running east and west, and the other four; in the latter they hit upon a small port, but very good. They found them well populated; these people and those on all the coast just left live by fishing. They make beads of fish bones to trade with those on the mainland. They are ten leagues distant from Cabo de la Galera and trend west a quarter northwest.[9] In the eight days that they were in this port they were well treated by the Indians, who go naked and have their faces painted in a checkered fashion. This port they named "Posesion."[10]

Wednesday, the 25th, they sailed from Posesion with a favorable southwest wind, and on the following day the wind came from the south and southwest, with rain and mist, with which they found themselves in distress, as it was an on-shore wind and the bold coast was near. Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, the 29th, they sailed with sudden changes of wind from all quarters, and with much difficulty. Monday and Tuesday, the 31st, they had heavy rains and dark weather. Wednesday, November 1, at midnight while standing off, a heavy northwest gale struck them in which they could not carry an inch of sail, so they returned to Cabo de la Galera where there was good shelter from this wind.

Then on Thursday, the 2d, they went to the Puerto de Sardinas falling off to leeward forty leagues of coast[11] well inhabited with good people. From a place near this port the chiefs came aboard and danced to the sound of a tambourine and a Castilian bagpipe. They slept on board, and meanwhile the boats took on water and wood. Their houses are large, with a gable roof like those in New Spain,[12] and their burial places are surrounded by a board fence. This province they called[13] Sejo. They eat acorns, hazelnuts, and fish, and said that farther on there were people who wore clothing.

Saturday, the 11th, they went on along the coast with a southeast wind, always looking for the Rio de Nuestra Señora, but they did not find it.[14] There was a great range of very high, well-wooded mountains, which they named the "Sierras de San Martin." They are in 37½°, and at the end of them at the northwest a cape extends, in 38°, which they named "Cabo de Martin." Four hours after nightfall the wind commenced to blow strong from the south-southeast and the southwest, with heavy rains and dark weather and

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[9] The MS has "northeast," an obvious error. It is probable that Herrera referred to the trend of the islands, as here stated, but he used a verb in the singular which would indicate that he meant the mainland.

[10] In the *Informacion* called "La Capitana."

[11] The forty leagues were probably measured from the position north of Pt. Conception which they had reached and which was stated in the MS to be in 36½°.

[12] *Sp., a dos aguas,* refers to the roofs, those from which water runs off on both sides.

[13] *Sp., llamaron,* a word Herrera uses elsewhere as equivalent to "named." Here he means that the natives called the place Sejo.

[14] This was the name given the Rio Grande, September 8, 1540, by Hernando de Alvarado. *See* Winship's *Coronado Expedition,* 594.

so much sea that it broke over them. At dawn it blew so hard that they could not run except with a small sail in the bow. With all this sea, wind and darkness, the ships lost sight of each other. On one ship they threw overboard everything on the deck as the tempest was so severe. In the *Capitana,* finding themselves in such great peril, they made a vow to the Señora del Rosario, and the blessed Mother of Piety in her mercy favored them with a little good weather.

Monday, the 13th, they turned back towards land in search of the other ship, and that night lay to so as not to lose what there was to see and to seek some refuge where they could go or make a landing. A cape runs out into the sea, covered with very tall pine trees; they named it "Cabo de Pinos," and taking the sun they found themselves in 40°. More towards the northwest, where they reconnoitered more than fifteen leagues of coast which trended northwest-southeast, everything was high land. Wednesday, the 15th, they were running along the coast with a northwest wind.[15] It was so cold that they were incapacitated; they found all the mountains covered with snow. In the afternoon they encountered the other ship, everybody very tired, and as she had no covered deck[16] they had thrown overboard everything above deck, and she was making much water.

Friday [Thursday], the 16th, they came to a large *ensenada* which looked like a port, and named it "Baia de Pinos." On the 18th they were hunting a port and discovered some snow-covered mountains with a cape running out from them which they named "Cabo de Nieve." It is in 38° 40′. All the land and coast has one characteristic, that when the northwest wind blows all is clear, without fog or anything else. From 37½° to 40° the coast runs northwest and southeast. As no port was found they had to go back to the Isla de la Posesion, which is one of the San Lucas group, and they arrived there Thursday, November 23. As it was a good port they repaired the small ship, putting her on shore[17] as she was about to go to the bottom. In this port they remained until the end of December, on account of the bad weather. There was much cold weather, and snow, even close to the sea, rain, and dark weather. The violent southwest storm continuing, there was so much surf that, although in a closed port, it happened that there were three or four days during which no one could go ashore. Finally, Friday, January 19, 1543, with

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[15] Therefore, evidently, south, as can also be inferred from the MS.

[16] *Sp., puente.* A *puente* was a deck which covered rooms or a compartment and when a ship was said to have a *puente,* it implied that there were some covered cabins in it, which naturally afforded a protection against the weather. The *cubierta* was nothing but a deck with nothing under it except what might be called the hold.

[17] *Sp., le pusieron a monte.* What is meant is drawing the ship on shore to make thorough repairs or for other reasons. The operation is different from careening, which simply involves pulling a vessel into shoal water and turning her first on one side and then on the other.

great labor they reached the Puerto de Sardinas, which they left February 14;[18] and Monday, the 26th, they went to a point which makes a cape, which they named "Cabo de Fortunas,"[19] on account of the many [perils] they had encountered in recent days. It is in 41°. From February 27 to Thursday, March 1, they encountered a very great series of perils, and the greatest of all on the night of that day. When day dawned they returned thanks to Our Lady and her blessed Son for having escaped from such a dark and terrible night, for during the day the storm was not felt so much. The weather having cleared, March 1 they took the sun in 44°.[20] It was so cold that they froze. Saturday, the 3d, they returned to see again Cabo de Pinos, but on account of strong winds had to run once more to the Isla de la Posesion, which they reached on the 5th. On account of the heavy breakers at the entrance of the port they went for shelter to the south-southeast side of the Isla de San Sebastian.[21] That night the *Capitana* disappeared,[22] and in five days ran 200 leagues with only the lower foresails. Now there was nothing to eat but rotten biscuit, and this was given in rations of a pound each.

Thursday, the 8th, they left the Puerto de San Sebastian in search of the other ship, and all the men made a written demand[23] to return to New Spain, as there was nothing to eat. As they were right, they took the return route seeking their consort, and fell in with her at the Isla de Cedros on the 26th. Saturday, April 14, they reached the Puerto de Navidad on their return voyage, filled with sadness as their captain, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, had died of sickness, a good man and well versed in navigation.

The sailors said that for this coast large ships of 200 tons are necessary, very strong and well equipped with sails, tackle, and cables, and that the sails

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[18] Herrera neglects to state that after going to the Puerto de Sardinas on the 19th, they returned to the Isla de la Posesion on the 27th, and again went to the Puerto de Sardinas, which they finally left February 14.

[19] This name does not occur in the MS, but it seems obvious that it was named at that time. Its first appearance on a map to my knowledge is on the Peter Plancius map of 1592, but there are earlier references to it in Spanish documents. The only copy of the map known now in Valencia, Spain, has recently been magnificently reproduced by Dr. F. C. Wieder in his *Monumenta Cartographica*. The one published in Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario* in 1596 under Plancius' name also shows the cape in the same location, that is, above Cabo Mendocino in nearly 50° From the location and the lack of other names given by Cabrillo, this Cabo de Fortuna may not have been his.

[20] Not mentioned in the MS, but later it is said that during the storm they thought they must have been in 44°.

[21] That is, the Island of Santa Cruz. If any other evidence were needed, this is sufficient to establish the fact that the "S. S." in the MS improperly written out by Navarrete as "San Salvador," really stood for San Sebastian. The harbor was no doubt Smuggler's Cove.

[22] From this it would appear that the writer of the narrative was now in the *Victoria*, the smaller ship, and was therefore Ferrer.

[23] *Sp., requerimiento*. There is no English word quite corresponding in meaning to it. A "written demand" would be the nearest. A *requerimiento* when made at sea was a demand made by the crew on the captain before the *escribano* on board the ship. The chief object seems to have been to absolve the captain for not carrying out the letter of his instructions.

should be Castilian as those of the country tear apart at every instant. Much food should be carried and no Indians, because on the voyage they are of no use and consume food.[24]

Finally these ships went up to 44°.[25]

[24] This is a plain indication that Cabrillo had some Indians possibly to act as interpreters, but as appears here, they found no Indians whom they could understand.

[25] Translated from *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos, etc.*, by Antonio de Herrera, Madrid, 1601-1615. The account occurs in *Dec.* VII, *Lib.* V, *Cap.* III-IV. Herrera's dates and degrees of latitude agree with those in the principal narrative except where herein noted.

APPENDIX V

Lopez de Gómara's Description of the Northwest Coast

They put 100 leagues from Tehuantepec to Colima in which are Acapulco and Zacatula. From Colima it is another 100 leagues to Cabo de Corrientes, in 20°, in which is the Puerto de Navidad. From Corrientes to the Puerto de Chiametlan, through which passes the Tropic of Cancer, it is 60 leagues, and along this coast are the Puerto de Xalisco and the Puerto de Banderas. From Chiametlan it is 250 leagues to the Estero Hondo, or Rio de Miraflores, almost in 33°; and in these 250 leagues are the Rio de San Miguel, El Guaiaval, the Puerto del Remedio, Cabo Bermejo, Puerto de Puertos, and Puerto del Pasaje. From Miraflores it is another 220 leagues to the Punta de Ballenas, which others call "California," passing by Puerto Escondido, Belen, Puerto de Fuegos, and Baia de Canoas and Isla de Perlas. Punta de Ballenas is under the Tropic, and 80 leagues from Cabo de Corrientes; between them enters this Sea of Cortés, which resembles the Adriatic; it is somewhat reddish, and as it is so well known, we say no more about it.

From the Punta de Ballenas there are 100 leagues of coast to the Baia de Abad, and from there it is as many more to Cabo del Engaño, which is 30½° removed from the Equator. Some put down more leagues from Abad to Engaño, but I follow the common opinion. From Cabo del Engaño to Cabo de Cruz it is 50 leagues, and from Cabo de Cruz it is 110 leagues of coast to Puerto de Sardinas in 36°. Along this coast are Ancon de San Miguel, Baia de los Fuegos, and Costa Blanca. From the Sardinas to Sierras Nevadas, it is 150 leagues, passing by Puerto de Todos Santos, Cabo de Galera, Cabo Nevado, and Baia de Los Primeros. Sierras Nevadas are in 40°, and the last country marked out and graduated in that direction, although the coast still continues to the north to where it closes the country as an island at Labrador or at Gruntlandia. In this last stretch of country there are 510 leagues. The coast line of the Indies in what has been discovered and here put down measures point to point 9,300 and more leagues, 3,375 being in the South Sea, and the other 5,960 in our sea which we call the North Sea. . . . .

The account which I give of the number of leagues and degrees is according to the maps of the royal cosmographers. These do not receive or put down the account of any pilot except under oath or without witnesses. I must also say that there are many other islands and lands in the world besides those we have named. One of these is the land of the Strait of Magellan, which runs towards the east and according to appearance is very large, and extends close to the Antarctic Pole. They think that on one side it reaches almost to the Cape of Good Hope, and on the other to the Moluccas, because the ships of the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza encountered a land of negroes which extended for 500 leagues, and they were of the opinion that this was a continuation of that of the strait just referred to.[1]

[1] Translated from *Historia de las Indias*, Vol. I of Vedia's Edition, 164.

APPENDIX VI

Copy of a letter from Seville to Miguel Salvador of Valencia, which tells of the happy discovery which the Mexicans have accomplished, sailing with the fleet His Majesty ordered built in Mexico: with other marvelous things of great advantage to all Christendom worthy to be seen and read.

Of this affair of China there are two accounts, to the effect that November 17, 1564, by order of His Majesty, a fleet was built in the Puerto de Navidad in the South Sea a hundred leagues from Mexico, consisting of two ships and two *pataches,* to discover for our King the Spice Islands, called the Philippines. They cost more than 600,000 pesos of *tepuzque*[1] when ready to sail.

On that day they left the port and sailed together six days; on the seventh a storm struck them which separated from them the *patache* of fifty tons carrying twenty men. After sailing fifty days, land was seen, composed of many islands, among which there was one very large, and there she anchored. The people of the islands, much whiter than our Indians, assembled on the beach, the women being even lighter than the men. Not only the men but the women were dressed in affairs of woven palm leaves with colored silks worked in; for display they keep their teeth colored and bored, and in the holes there are some little pins of gold. The men wear breeches of cotton cloth, with silk garters with many pieces of gold. Among them was one who seemed to be of greater quality; he was dressed in silk, with a cutlass, the hilt and ornaments of which were of gold and precious stones. Our people asked them for some food which they gave in exchange for trifles. They asked, however, for iron, and it was given to them. When they saw nails they wanted nothing but nails, and these they paid for with gold-dust. They carry some very beautiful steel daggers, and appear to be civilized people and of much account. They use weights and measures. They gave our people deer, pigs, chickens, quail, rice, millet, and palm bread, all of which was in great abundance. The *patache* was there almost thirty days awaiting the other ships, but as they did not come, it was determined to return to Mexico. When they left the island, they fell in with a junk, which is a ship of almost a hundred tons burden, in which there were sixty Indians. When these saw the *patache* they all took to swimming and went to the shore, which was nearby. Some soldiers by order of the captain went aboard her and found that she was loaded with porcelain, cotton cloth, painted linens, and other things of the country, and some quills of ground gold, of which they took only one; besides, they took some porcelain and cotton cloth, and very little of the rest, merely some samples. The *patache* was 230 days on her journey out and back. They found it necessary to go up to more than 40° towards the north. From the port which they left to this island it was 1,700 leagues.[2]

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[1] A peso of *tepuzque* was one of eight *reales.* The expression was used in Mexico at that time to distinguish this peso, which was not then coined, from the one of account in common use, the *peso de oro* or *peso de minas.*

[2] The preceding was evidently from Arellano's account.

The other three ships found within fifty days many islands. They stopped at some of these and in each one many things happened of which the account is so long that it covers twenty sheets of paper. Finally they reached a large one named "Iubu,"[3] where they established amity with its king in the following manner: the king extracted some blood from his chest, and the captain did the same from his, then throwing the blood from both in a glass of wine, they divided it in half and each drank one-half of it. This, they say, creates an unbreakable friendship. With all this, however, they had some troubles and sacked a little place, finding in a poor house an infant Jesus, such as come from Flanders, with his veil and a globe in his hand, as fresh as if it had just been made. They wished to settle in that island, as it abounds greatly in all kinds of food. They commenced to make a fort, and built a church outside of it in which they placed the infant Jesus, and gave it the name of "Jesus."[4] The island they called "San Miguel" because they arrived there on the day of his apparition. From there to the Malucos where the spices are found it is 150 leagues, to China 200 and to Malacca 500. They found there some very fine cinnamon which the inhabitants of the islands had brought from the Malucos, also ginger, and very beautiful things made of silk. Of the three ships they sent the *Capitana* from there to Mexico, which she reached after the *patache*, and where they were preparing two others to be sent to their aid. There are many other large islands in that neighborhood, of the same character as this one. Among the others there is a country so rich in gold that they do not think it of any value, and which contains such a great quantity of cinnamon that they burn it in place of wood. It is inhabited by people so splendid that they equal those of Spain. There is a king there who has continually a thousand men for a guard, and is so much esteemed that none of the vassals sees his face except once a year. If they have to talk with him about any business, they do so through a *zebratana*.[5] When he allows them to see him once a year they present him with great riches. They are very excellent people; they make brocades and silks woven in many different ways, and hold gold and silver in so little value that this king gave three *barchillas*[6] of gold-dust for a breastplate of hawksbells. What gold is found there is in dust. When they returned they loaded these three ships in that island with such a quantity of gold that the king's fifth amounted to 1,200,000 ducats. The Moors sail about there with ships trading and exchanging things from their country for gold, cotton cloth,[7] spices, cloves and other articles. The fleet fell in with one of their ships and took it, although they defended themselves so that one of them was killed and more than twenty men were wounded. They had many things

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[3] An error for Zubu, the word in the text is not very clear.
[4] Afterwards the name of the town.
[5] Probably for *cebratana*, a long wooden pipe.
[6] A *barchilla* was about one-third of a *fanega*.
[7] *Sp., mantas.* It is possible that these were a kind of covering or shawl made of cotton which the Filipinos made before the conquest.

made of gold, cotton cloth, and other spices which they had obtained in trade. The islands are so numerous that they say they number 75,800. This island of Iubu where they made a settlement is where they killed Magellan.

They say the Portuguese, perhaps two years ago, came there with some caravels, calling themselves Spaniards and vassals of the king of Castile. They robbed and sacked many islands, and carried off many people as captives, so that our people might obtain a bad name among the inhabitants, as they saw that our fleet was being built in New Spain. So it was that when our people arrived, the natives thinking they were those people fled to the mountains with their jewels and property, and the general has seen himself hard put to pacify them and give them to understand what they are.[8] He certainly must be a sagacious man, because by the account it can be seen how much he has suffered in not getting in touch with the natives, and that he has treated them with much affection without doing any harm to anyone. This is a grand thing and of great importance, and the people in Mexico brag much about the discovery as they think that they will be the heart of the world. In the ship of advice which has now come here, they bring ginger, cinnamon, gold-dust, an arroba of shells very rich in gold, and white ones, gold jewelry, wax, and other things, as well as many trifles and many beautiful things to show what there is in that country. Even if they had not brought them, they would have done much in having discovered the navigation in those parts, a matter of great importance. With the *Flota* we shall know more; of what is found out I will advise your worship.[9]

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[8] *Sp., que son ellos.* The expression is somewhat ambiguous, but the *ellos* probably referred to the Portuguese.

[9] Translated from the facsimile of the original made by Antonio de Graiño in Madrid in 1905. W. E. Retana, who at one time owned the pamphlet, was of the opinion that it had been written by someone who came to Spain with Urdaneta. This is correct only in part, as the document contains internal evidence that it was made up in Seville from the accounts of both Arellano and Urdaneta. There are indications in one of Isla's memorials that other accounts of the expedition had also been published.

APPENDIX VII

The Bolaños-Ascension Derrotero

A true and certain *derrotero* by which to navigate from Cabo Mendocino, that is, from the latitude of 42° to the Puerto de Acapulco along the coast of the South Sea, made at the time the exploration from Cabo Mendocino to the Puerto de Acapulco was performed by the orders of the Conde de Monte Rey, viceroy of New Spain, in the year 1602, by Sebastian Vizcaino, *general* of the fleet which made the exploration, and compiled by Father Fray Antonio de la Asçension, a barefoot friar of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, who accompanied the exploration as second cosmographer.

In the latitude of 42° there is a massive[1] cape, apparently a cliff, rising out of the sea. [In the margin: Cabo de San Sebastian in 42°.] From this the coast of lower land runs south about eight leagues, where the land makes another point, massive and bare, with some white bluffs which rise out of the sea. This point in almost 41½°, is called "Cabo Mendocino."[2]

From here the coast runs south-southeast[3] to the latitude of 39½°, of medium elevation, very heavily wooded and with some small bare hills on the shore of the sea. At this latitude a low point of white cliffs rising out of the sea extends out.[4] From here the coast runs southeast a quarter south to 38½°, where the land makes a point of medium height separated from the coast so that at a distance it appears to be an island. It is called "La Punta de los Reyes" and is a steep *morro*. On its northeast[5] side this furnishes a very good shelter, making it a good port for all ships. It is in the latitude of 38½°. Note that in anchoring in this port, called "San Francisco," for shelter from the south and southeast winds, you have to do so at the end of the beach in the corner on the west-southwest side. On the northeast side there are three white cliffs very near the sea, and in front of the one in the middle an *estero* enters with a very good mouth without breakers. On going in this, you will soon encounter friendly Indians, and can easily find fresh water.[6] To the south-southwest of this port are six or seven small white farallons, some larger than others, occupying a space of a little more than a league in circumference. Whoever comes from six leagues off Cabo Mendocino bound for this port, on a course southeast a quarter south, will come to the Punta de los Reyes and will see the farallons, a good

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[Footnotes beginning with G show the differences in the *Navegacion especulativa* of Gonzalez.]

[1] *Sp., grueso,* a word of frequent occurrence in this document. Its meaning is not always clear. He seems to have used it as the opposite of *delgado,* and consequently meant thick. However, one can hardly call a cape "thick" in English.

[2] G., 41½°.

[3] G., "southeast."

[4] Pt. Arena in 38° 57′. It will be noted that Bolaños puts it just one degree north of the Puerto de San Francisco, and this is almost the exact difference in latitude between them. On later maps it appears as Punta Delgada, Punta de Barrancas, or Tierras de Blanqueales.

[5] G., "north."

[6] This information he obtained when with Cermeño.

landmark to recognize it. Here it was that the ship *San Agustin* was lost in 1595, coming on a voyage of exploration. The loss was caused more by the man commanding her than by the force of the wind.

From the Punta de los Reyes about fourteen leagues southeast a quarter south there is a point.[7] Before reaching it the country consists in places of sierra, bare to the sea and of medium height with some cliffs. From here the coast runs southeast, low at the sea with cliffs, but soon the country inside becomes massive and wooded until you reach a point of low land in 37½° named the "Punta de Año Nuevo." From this point the coast runs to the east, forming a large *ensenada* which ends at a point of low land heavily covered with pine groves down to the sea itself. This was named "Punta de Pinos" and is in 37°. From Punta de Año Nuevo it is about twelve leagues southeast to this point.

On nearing this point, a massive range is seen to the southeast,[8] extending from the northeast to the southwest. Steering straight towards the point of this from the northeast, the Punta de Pinos will soon be seen. It is a low hill, about two leagues long, running north-northeast and south-southwest, and well covered with groves of pine trees. Near the point on the south side there is a patch of very white cliffs, a very good landmark by which to recognize it. This Punta de Pinos forms on the northeast side a fine port, and continuing in a straight line, you will enter it and can come close to the land in a depth of six fathoms; all the point and the entrance are of rocks. Steering southeast and east, after you have passed the rocks there is a fine beach. Before reaching this there is a very good clean anchorage, sheltered from all winds except that from the north-northwest.

In this port named "Monte Rey," there are many fine pine trees suitable for masts, spars and yards, all very near the beach. Where the rocks end at the beginning of the beach there is an *estero* of salt water in which the tide enters when high. A musket-shot away from the beach southeast of this *estero* and close to it is a very moist flat place where, in digging down a very short distance, very good sweet water in abundance comes out. The port is in the latitude of 37° and is a very good one for relief of the ships from China, as this is the first land sighted on their way to New Spain.

Following the coast from the Punta de Pinos, south-southwest[9] of it is another fine port which extends from the north to the south, and has shelter from all winds except the two from these directions. In this empties a river of very good water and little depth, on the banks of which are many very high black ash trees, straight and smooth, and many other trees of Castile. It comes down from very high white sierras and is named the "Rio del Carmelo."

From the end of the point just referred to, the coast runs south-southeast

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[7] Probably Pigeon Point.
[8] G., "southwest."
[9] In G., a small ommission occurs in this sentence and in part of the preceding sentence.

about six leagues, the land being very massive and high with some cliffs rising out of the sea, among which is a very high white peak.[10] The sierra is somewhat extended as the coast runs and when it is clear it can be seen more than twelve leagues at sea. It is named the "Sierra de Santa Lucia," and near it is a *morro* of medium height, round like a loaf which from a distance looks like a very well made farallon.[11] In order to see the most of these landmarks you have to sail two leagues from land, which can be done without fear, as the coast is very safe and clean.

From this sierra and *morro* the coast runs southeast a quarter south, high and rugged over the sea with some spots of trees above, until you reach a point of low bare land in 35½°, named the "Punta de la Concepcion." From this on the coast runs east, inclining a quarter southeast for more than twenty-five leagues of massive country. In the middle of this stretch there are many trees extending from the top of the sierra down to the sea. About eight leagues southeast of this point there is an island of medium size about three leagues in circumference with two or three rocks and a farallon to the north-northwest of it about a league distant which is usually full of seals, and is named the "Farallon de Lobos."

From this island in a line towards the east one after the other are three[12] larger islands. The one farthest to the east is large and high,[13] trending northeast-southwest and has three farallons on the east side of it, more than a league and a half away. All these islands are very well inhabited with people very friendly to the Spaniards. They make use of some small boats like those of the Ladrones, except that they have no sails or counter-weights. Altogether the islands are about twenty leagues long, and between them and the mainland there is a very good safe passage named the "Canal de Santa Barbara."

Returning to the mainland, where are the woods above referred to, there is a town of friendly Indians near the beach, and as the coast runs from east to west there is not much surf, and you can come close to it with a boat or shallop and any ship can anchor there to relieve its needs. Following the coast, south-southwest with the last island of the four referred to, the land forms an *ensenada* with a clean beach. This is at the end of a massive country which trends south-southeast, and is southwest of the island referred to. This is named "La Punta de la Conversion," and is in full 35°.[14]

Note that whoever comes from six leagues off Cabo Mendocino by the course given, southeast a quarter south, will reach the Canal de Santa Barbara without losing sight of land.

From the Punta de la Conversion the coast continues to the east for more

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[10] Mount Carmel.
[11] Pt. Sur.
[12] G., no "three."
[13] G., "largest and highest."
[14] G., no "full."

than ten leagues, rough and rugged down to the sea, and then the coast forms a large *ensenada* which affords no shelter.[15] The land near the sea is low.

From the last of the four islands referred to, southwest a quarter south, is a small island south a quarter southwest of the Punta de la Conversion.[16] About five leagues to the east of this there is a small high island about three leagues in circumference named "Santa Barbara." More than eight leagues to the east of this is another large high island, which must be more than twenty leagues around, the greatest length being from northwest to the southeast. This has many ports on the northeast side sheltered from all winds from the sea. It is well inhabited with very friendly people. The middle of it is in full 34° 20′, almost 34½°.[17] It is named the "Isla de Santa Catalina." About ten[18] leagues to the south a quarter southeast of this is a very large high island named "San Clemente" in short 34°. Between the mainland and all these islands there is a very good clean passage more than six leagues wide in the narrowest part and in this place more than ten.

From the Punta de la Conversion the coast trends east for more than fourteen leagues, very rough and rugged without any trees to a point which the land makes extending north-south, and with a hill of medium height bare on top, which from afar looks like an island.[19] To the east of this is a very good *ensenada* with shelter from the northwest, west and southwest winds. It is named the "Ensenada de San Pedro" in 34½°, and in it there is a small island. Here are friendly Indians.

From the point of this *ensenada* the coast runs southeast to the latitude of short 34°,[20] the land is of medium height near the sea, full of beaches and with some cliffs rising out of the sea in parts. It is very safe and free from shoals. Here there is a hill of low bare land about a league long thrown out from the north-northwest to the south-southeast, which looks like an island from a distance when running along the coast.[21] When four leagues at sea to the west it seems *vaciado*.[22] On the southeast side it is cut off sharply, at the bottom of a white cliff. Northeast of this is a very good port named "San Diego" which is entered from the south. Always keeping close to the middle at a distance of a half a league you pass the land and hill. From the cliff or hill a point of *callaos*[23] runs out to the north comprised of pebbles or heavy ballast. Near the cliff there are ten fathoms of water at high tide and close to the hill, behind the point of pebbles or ballast is a very good anchorage in five or six fathoms,

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[15] Santa Monica Bay.
[16] An error for "Concepcion." The island must have been San Nicolas.
[17] G., 34½°.
[18] G., "two," an obvious error.
[19] Pt. Vincente.
[20] G., no "short."
[21] Pt. Loma.
[22] G., *"vallado."* It is difficult to say what was meant by either expression.
[23] This word probably means ballast or pebbles, and the point is still known as Ballast Point. G., "Punta de los Guijarros ó Lastre."

sheltered from all winds and without any sea or surf. From here the port enters the land more than two leagues to the north and north-northeast, all with a good bottom of mud with ten to twelve fathoms of water in the channel. On the east and northeast side the land is low, flat, and with a clean beach, and by reason of the fact that the water runs into it, some *esteros* enter here which make it look like two or three islands. One can enter or leave this port by the flood and ebb tides with much safety. There is very good wood, and sweet water can be found on the east-northeast side of the anchorage in a sand beach by digging some shallow (not very deep) wells. It is in the latitude of almost 34°. Note that on the southwest side of the cliff at the entrance there is a very large field of kelp, but you do not have to be afraid of this, as you can pass through it without danger, as there are twelve or fourteen fathoms of water where this kelp is found. The coast runs from here to the south-southeast.

To the southwest of this port about six leagues distant are three small islands, with some other small farallons, trending northwest-southeast, named the "Islas de San Martin."[24] They are a very good landmark to recognize the Puerto de San Diego.

Leaving these islands on a course southeast a quarter south, you come to a large *ensenada* which the mainland forms with an entrance which bears east-southeast to west-northeast,[25] very clear and surrounded by land and high rocks. [In the margin: Ensenada de Todos Santos 32° 40′ full.] All this coast is very high and broken land without trees. The *ensenada* has close to it at the entrance on the southeast side, two small islands which can be passed on any side by whomsoever wishes to enter the port. It is called the "Ensenada de Todos Santos" and is in the latitude of 32½° full,[26] almost two-thirds of a degree. The easternmost island has a peak and the other one to the outside is flat, like a mesa. They are about a musket-shot apart. To the east of these islands there are seven or eight small farallons in a line which run out from the mainland. Between these and the islands you can pass with safety, and can even come close enough to the farallons to stick the bowsprit into them, as the water is very deep all around.

Proceeding, the coast runs southeast a quarter south, the land very broken and the coast very clear of shoals, until you reach a somewhat high small island a little less than a league in circumference, with a ravine at the top. It has no trees. It is called "San Marcos,"[27] is in short 32°, and is about two leagues from the mainland, between which and the island you can pass very easily with confidence. Note that from the Ensenada de Todos Santos to this island the coast has some points and *ensenadas*, especially an *ensenada* or large bay ten

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[24] The Coronados. If Father Antonio corrected this *derrotero* as is claimed, it is strange that he did not use his own name for these islands. G., "Isla de San Martin, south-southwest of San Diego."

[25] G., "north-northwest."

[26] G., "32° full."

[27] Now known as "San Martin."

leagues before reaching the island, which provides shelter only from the west, northwest, north and northeast winds. The country is very pleasant. It has a beach on the north-northeast side and there is a depth of from ten to twelve fathoms, the bottom clean. The bay makes a cape cut off at the sea on the west side, on top of which the land is level. The Indians are warlike and daring. The bay is named "San Quintin." The others are of little account.

From this bay to the island the coast forms some low points, although a short distance from the sea it is high and well settled.[28] When sailing six leagues at sea the coast is seen to run southeast a quarter south, and in sighting the island three round peaks will be seen to the east-northeast which look like islands; but they are not, as it is all mainland.

About three leagues to the east-southeast of the Isla de San Marcos the land makes a low point stretching out from northwest to southeast a little more than a league in length. On the north side of this there is a very good *ensenada* sheltered from the northwest and west winds. Close to the point, an *estero* enters in a northwest[29] direction. The water is three fathoms deep on the bar, and inside from six to eight.[30] Here some very good fresh water can be obtained. In anchoring in the *ensenada* in water six fathoms deep with a clean bottom, very good water can easily be found in holes which can be made in a green cane brake. There are many Indian fishermen, inoffensive and friendly to the Spaniards. It is named the "Baia de las Virgenes" and is in the latitude of 31° 40′.

Turning back to the course southeast a quarter south, four leagues out to sea, you go running along the coast of land of medium uniform height without any trees, until you reach a small island named "San Gerónimo," which has more than a league away, to the southeast a quarter east, some shoals on which the sea breaks. These can be easily seen from a distance and therefore are safe. You can pass between them and the mainland, as the channel is two leagues wide. There are also two from the island to the mainland. This island has two farallons on the east-southeast[31] side close to it. It is in the latitude of 31½°. Turning again to the course southeast a quarter south, and passing four leagues to seaward of the Isla de San Marcos, you come to an island of medium height in short 31° 20′ (about a quarter of a degree) more than twelve[32] leagues away from the mainland. It is called the "Isla de Cenizas," and in a line north-south with it are some high mesas, very level on the top and rising out of the sea, which the sailors call "Mesas de Juan Gomez." They are somewhat more than ten leagues long and at the foot of them at the southeast side is a bay named San Francisco [in the margin: in 31° 10′] almost east of this island, and which has

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[28] G., *"doblada,"* instead of Bolaños' *poblada*.
[29] G., "southeast."
[30] G., "six, seven or eight."
[31] G., "southeast.
[32] G., "two." In his preceding chapter Cenizas is said to be in 30°.

shelter from the west-southwest, west, northwest and north.[33] In it there are many Indian fishermen.

Proceeding from this Isla de Cenizas by the course southeast a quarter south, being outside, you will come to the Isla de Cerros, the middle of which is in the latitude of 29°. It is a very high island, full of hills and peaks in the higher part,[34] and extends from north to south on the side of the mainland, and on the side of the sea from north-northwest to south-southeast, until you reach a high round *morro* with two or three farallons close to it, named the "Cabo de San Agustin." From there the island runs to the east-northeast. This island has three sides or coasts, almost in the form of a triangle, and on the northwest side has a very round *morro* which looks like a hat, with two small farallons close to it. It is seventeen[35] leagues from this island to the mainland on the north-northeast and more than eight[36] to that on the east, which is the nearest. There are no shoals in all its circumference nor in all the sea around about it. More than six leagues to the southeast of Cabo de San Agustin there is another smaller island, sandy and gravelly, entirely bare, trending from the east-southeast to the west-northwest. It is in the latitude of 28½°, and is called the "Isla de la Natividad de Nuestra Señora." The Isla de Cerros must be more than thirty-six leagues around. Between the small island and the mainland there is a very good passage more than three leagues wide with a clean bottom of twelve to fourteen fathoms of water (in which there is much kelp[37]).

Note that if you come sailing along this coast in a fog and find yourself in the *ensenada* between the Isla de Cerros and the mainland, there is nothing to fear, because between one island and the other there is a width of more than five leagues, very clean, without anything to be feared, and betweeen the mainland and the small island there is also a good passage as stated, although you will find some very large fields of kelp, commonly called *balsas*. There is nothing to fear from these, as where they grow there is always much depth of water. If perchance there should be need of water it can be found in the Isla de Cerros on the northeast side of the coast running north-south, at the foot of the highest mountains, among some green rushes where a small stream of sweet water comes down from a ravine. Here as much wood and water as necessary may be taken with much ease. Departing from this watering-place for Cabo de San Lucas between one island and the other you have to sail southwest, but the canal is very wide and you can leave it as you wish. If you desire to sail out between the small island and the mainland, the passage is very good and safe as stated.

Having departed from the islands, you steer southeast a quarter south a day's journey and then another[38] to the southeast without hesitation. Twelve

[33] G., "east-southeast, southeast, and northwest."
[34] G., no "higher part."
[35] G., "eighteen."
[36] G., "somewhat less, in places more than eight leagues."
[37] In G., the words in parenthesis are omitted.
[38] G., no "another."

leagues from the last islands is a very good port called "San Bartolomé" and if you are searching for it, you will soon see it, for it has a small bare hill, which looks like an island, to the southeast of the port. This port has no water or wood and is in the latitude of 28° 15′.[39] Continuing by the southeast-a-quarter-south course and having made a day's run of twenty-five leagues, you will be out of sight of land until you reach the latitude of 25° 20′,[40] where you will see a high round hill which looks like an island. You will pass almost twenty leagues to seaward of the Abreojos, which are some breakers on some shoals a little more than a league away from land, and very far from our route. They are in the latitude of 27° 15′.

In the latitude of 28° short there are two small islands, northwest-southeast with each other, and almost two leagues apart. That which is to the southeast is named the "Asuncion de Nuestra Señora." On the north side this is low, and has two farallons near it and two little peaks all close together. To the north of it is a line of kelp which connects it with the mainland. If necessary you can pass through this without fear, and the closer you get to the mainland from the middle, the more depth you will find, and the safer the passage, because there is from six to eight fathoms of water. Between this island and the mainland to the east of it there is a large *ensenada,* sheltered from winds from the south to the northwest and the southeast. If you approach the land here east of the island and between it and the mainland, you can anchor very comfortably in eighteen to twenty fathoms of water of very good bottom, a matter of a musket-shot from the island, and with lines you can load a ship here in a very short time with very good fish.

The island to the northwest is small and low, perhaps a league in circumference, and has on the northeast side a good anchorage with a clean bottom. There is nothing to fear in approaching it because everything on this side is of good depth. On the northeast of this anchorage there are some farallons on which the sea breaks, but between them and the island you can anchor without fear. On this island and the other there is an immense number of seals as large as yearling calves. You can secure sweet water easily to the east of the island on the mainland near the beach by digging holes among some sand-banks; but on the north side very little. The country inland is a lagoon in which much very good salt is deposited. The island is named "San Roque." The Indians are not very safe.

In the latitude of 27° 15′, that is, close to the Abreojos, is a very good *ensenada* named "Ballenas," on the east side of which the land forms a cape, rising out of the sea, and above this inland there is a sierra or a high round peak which looks like a loaf of sugar. Within this cape is the *ensenada*, and close to it are some shoals. On the west side is a very low sand point where the

[39] G., "28½°."
[40] G., "25½°."

sea breaks, so low that it cannot be seen, and appears to be some shoal. Four leagues farther on from this point are the Abreojos, which are some shoals about three leagues from the mainland, and there are others at intervals as far as the mainland. They are soon seen and I do not think that there is any shoal concealed, as all of them show themselves. On the west-northwest side of this bay there are some very high mountains which consist of three hills,[41] very well formed and between them three other smaller ones, one on the northeast side, another on the southwest side, and the other between the two which are towards the northeast, all very distinct from each other. This sierra comes out from a high range inland, and reaches the sea.[42] It is called the "Sierra de los Infantes." In this bay there is an infinite number of whales which I think come to live on the fish which in immense numbers are found here, as well as birds of various kinds and forms, flying about in pursuit of the fish for their food. There are many good Indians here, affable and friendly to the Spaniards, and who give what they have.

On the course above mentioned, these islands are not seen nor this or other *ensenadas,* nor the shoals of Abreojos along this coast, and I therefore do not speak further of them, as they are away from the route and course here laid out.

Having reached the place referred to in 25° 20′, to the southeast of the hill which looks like an island is an *ensenada* of low land which I suspect has shoals in it.[43] [In the margin: Isla de la Magdalena 25°.][44] From here the coast runs on to the southeast a quarter east ten leagues from this hill to where there is a bay[45] about two leagues wide. Within there is a port called the "Baia de la Magdalena" in 25°, affording very good shelter from all the winds. In order to recognize this port, the following landmarks are set down; on the northwest side the land forms a small bare range[46] and about a league before reaching the mouth of the port there is at the top of this a round hill which from the southeast, that is, southeast of the mouth of the port,[47] looks like a well-formed volcano. There are also two farallons at the entrance close to the land on the northwest side which can be seen four leagues at sea. The point on the southeast side also throws out a line of reefs on which the sea can be seen to break from afar; and the point itself is massive and bare. On entering the mouth, on the northwest side at the foot of the volcano and to the east of it[48] you will find a good anchorage, sheltered from all winds. There is no water or wood in the port.

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[41] G. "The Abreojos which have some shoals near the mainland. A little more than a league towards the east-northeast are some high mountains which look like three hills."

[42] G. "From this sierra some high cliffs extend from inland until they reach the sea."

[43] G. "Proceeding from 25° 15′ on our course, to the southeast of the hill that looks like an island there is an *ensenada* in a low country, but according to the information I have about it, it is full of shoals."

[44] Notwithstanding the note in the margin, this was the Ensenada de Santa Marta on the Isla de la Magdalena.

[45] G., "*voca,*" that is, an entrance.

[46] G. "On the northwest side the land is level."

[47] G. omits this interpolation.

[48] G. omits, "at the foot of the volcano to the east of this."

The bay continues to the east-southeast and southeast for more than twelve leagues, where there is another entrance from the sea, and where there is a good bay called "Santa Maria,"[49] which on the northwest side has a high bare *morro* which throws out a line of shoals.[50] On the southeast side of this, there is a beach so low that from afar the hill and *morro* look like an island when seen coming from the southeast.[51] This bay is in the latitude of 24½°, and has an entrance a quarter of a league wide, but there are not more than four fathoms of water on the bar. On the west side of it there are some high rugged *morros*. The navigators from China call this bay the "Puerto de Marqués."[52]

Returning to our course, when as far on as the Baia de Magdalena in 25°[53] and four leagues to sea, steering southeast a quarter east you will come in sight of some high mountains called "Enfado," the end of which to the northwest is in the latitude of 23½° full. From here you have to steer more to the east-southeast. The country continues all of massive sierras to near the Cabo de San Lucas, where it becomes narrower.

Cabo de San Lucas is low land, and shows before reaching it three small peaks almost in a triangle. A white sand dune on the beach, a good league before reaching the cape, is a good[54] landmark. Anyone who wishes to enter the port at this cape has nothing to do except approach this sand dune and run along the coast. Soon three white cliff-like farallons very close together will be seen. Approach these and then turn northeast and north-northeast,[55] when the Baia de San Bernabé, which is behind them, will soon be seen. The bay is a good port and very deep. You should anchor off the beach on the northwest side and the farther you get away from the rocks the better and cleaner is the anchorage.[56] To the northeast there is a cane brake on the beach where there is much sweet water. The bay and cape are in latitude 23° 20′.[57] There is plenty of wood and fish, and it is a good summer port, but in other seasons I do not consider it safe,[58] as it is not sheltered from the southeast or south-southeast winds.

Departing from this port for the Cabo de Corrientes, the first land of Christians seen by the ships which come from China, you must steer east-southeast until you see three islands in the middle of the crossing called "Las Tres Marias." These extend from northwest to southeast. The one to the northwest is the largest and has a farallon on the northwest side, and is about forty leagues more

[49] G. "To the southeast you will find more than twelve fathoms of water where another bay is formed named Santa Marina." Bolaños wrote Santa Mª, an abbreviation which usually stand for Maria, but Gonzalez was right.

[50] G. adds, "to the southeast."

[51] G. omits this sentence.

[52] G. "This bay is in 24½°. It has an entrance a quarter of a league wide, and no more than four fathoms of water in it."

[53] G., "24°."

[54] G., "the best."

[55] G., no "north-northeast."

[56] G. omits the last part of this sentence.

[57] G., "22½°."

[58] G. omits this opinion.

or less from Cabo de San Lucas. They are islands of medium size, about ten leagues in length all together, and very well covered with trees and with much game.[59] From the one on the southeast to the Cabo de Corrientes, it is about twenty leagues. [In the margin: By this course you will pass more than four leagues to the seaward of these islands.]

If one wishes to go from the Cabo de San Lucas to the Islas de Maçatlan [in the margin: Islas de Maçatlan in 23°; the distance across here is forty leagues], you have to steer east and east-northeast if the currents are running to the south. You will then come to the said islands, or ten or twelve leagues to the windward of them, that is, to the northwest.[60] The islands are two in number, small and round, not very high, and close to the land. Between them and the land on the east is a good anchorage and you will find four or five fathoms of water and clean bottom. The best entrance to this anchorage is between the two islands, on which breed a great number of pelicans and other birds. To the east-southeast[61] there are some white farallons, and to the southeast of these a very large *estero* enters, forming a good port. In this there is sweet water close to the beach and plenty of fish. For a large ship the best entrance to the anchorage between the islands and the mainland is between one island and the other. The islands are in the latitude of 23° and almost two-thirds.[62] Besides this there are along the coast to the Cabo de Corrientes many good ports, and large rivers empty into the sea. All the coast is settled with Spaniards, who have very large haciendas.

The Cabo de Corrientes is heavy rugged country containing few trees. Inside to the east is a high range with peaks at the highest part called "Los Coronados." To the northeast of the cape is a large *ensenada* which enters the country more than ten leagues to the east-northeast, called the "Valle de Banderas." On the northwest side, that is, the other side of the Valle de Banderas, are some small farallons close to two medium sized islands called the "Islas de Tintoque."[63] They are safe, as there is nothing to fear beyond what can be seen above water. The Cabo de Corrientes is in the latitude of 20° 40′. From here the coast runs south-southeast and southeast a quarter south for more than twenty-five leagues of clean and safe beach to a low point which has three or four rocks close to it. From here to the southeast the coast begins to form an *ensenada*. Three leagues from the point are four or five very small islands, very close to the mainland, which for *fragatas* furnish a good anchorage under their shelter. To the east-northeast of the one in the middle there are on the mainland some houses where usually some Spanish fishermen[64] from the Villa de la

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59 G., "*casas*," instead of "*Caza*."
60 G. says the islands were northwest.
61 G., "east."
62 G., "23½°."
63 G., "Tinto."
64 G. has "Spaniards" instead of "Spanish fishermen."

Purificacion live. There is good sweet water where these houses are and the place is called the "Islas de Chamela."[65]

From here the coast runs southeast about six leagues of safe land to two small farallons which, before reaching them, look like two ships under sail if you are sailing close to land.[66] They are called the "Farallones de Apaçulco."[67] From here the coast runs southeast a quarter east and even more.[68] Four leagues distant from these farallons are five or six others, large and small, off the mainland, extending from the east-northeast to the west-southwest. To the east of these a matter of about three leagues is the Puerto de la Navidad. The landmarks are: on the southeast side two large *morros* north-south of each other, between which there is a ravine, so that from a distance they look like islands;[69] the one nearest the sea has a well-formed farallon close to it, which looks like the top of a pillar and about a cannon-shot from this farallon to seaward is a black rock above the water which looks like a shallop. There is no shoal or reef beyond what appears above the water.[70] To the north-northeast[71] of this rock there are some whitish rocks and on the land side of these between them and the landmarks just referred to, there is a piece of clean beach about a league in length at the end of which, on the northwest side, under the shelter of the rocks is a very good summer port, called the "Puerto de Melaque." On the mainland close to the beach in the woods there is a plentiful supply of sweet water. At the end of the beach on the southeast side close to the high *morro* an *estero* enters which makes, just inside, a bay, but it is only one for small *fragatas*.[72] This is what they call the "Puerto de la Navidad," where they built the first ships which went to China. It is in short 19½°.[73]

Departing from this port, five leagues distant there is a very white loaf-shaped farallon, a quarter of a league from land. To the southeast of this lies a very large bay two long leagues across the mouth. Entering by this, towards the east-northeast, you will soon see a clean beach about two leagues long, at the northwest part of which there is a corner with a small island which shelters it and makes it a very good port for all winds. It has good sweet water and is called the "Puerto de Salagua,"[74] the same as the navigators from China call the "Puerto de Santiago."[75] At the end of the beach on the southeast side is a very good port called "Las Caletas."[76] Note, at the entrance to this bay on passing

[65] G., Chamela, only.
[66] G. omits the last clause.
[67] G. omits this sentence.
[68] G. omits "even more."
[69] G. adds, "but are not."
[70] G. interpolates here a sentence in regard to the Volcano of Colima being a landmark for Navidad.
[71] G., "northeast."
[72] G. omits the last clause.
[73] G., "19° short."
[74] This is where the present town of Manzanillo is located. Santiago was in the northeast part of the bay. It is quite likely, however, that many writers did not distinguish between the two.
[75] G. adds, "eight leagues from Navidad."
[76] The end of the bay still bears this name.

a white farallon close to the northwest side, are four or five rocks above the water, which can be passed on any side without danger. A little farther on to the north-northwest is a large *ensenada* of which I give no details because it has neither water nor anything else of value.

From the Puerto de Salagua onward the coast runs to the east-southeast about eight leagues to a flat beach full of trees, where a hill is seen about two leagues from the sea extending northeast-southwest which looks like a galley with an awning over it. From this beach a very wide valley extends to the north-northeast,[77] called the "Valle de Caxitlan,"[78] covered with cacao plantations and ranches of the Villa de Colima, which is about eight leagues inland. About four leagues northwest of this is a very high volcano which emits smoke, although very little. It can be seen from a great distance.

Following along the coast for five or six leagues,[79] at the end of the beach there is a point called "Punta de Suchisi," massive and very rugged with a *morro* of medium size rising out of the sea which from a distance looks like an island.

Here begin the Motines, a massive very rugged country. From this *punta* the coast runs southeast but soon turns nearly east. The Motines continue for more than twenty leagues.[80] The coast is very safe and whoever passes by in November or December will do better by sailing near shore than outside by reason of the land winds. Leaving this coast of Motines, the country at once becomes lower on the seacoast and a clean beach soon begins which extends for more than eighteen[81] leagues. Going along this, about eight leagues beyond the Motines the beach is filled with mangroves and other trees, very high and thick, and in front of a ravine north-northeast of these mangroves is where the Rio de Zacatula empties. A league from the sea on the bank of the river is the Villa de Zacatula.[82]

From here the coast runs on east-southeast for more than ten leagues of clean beach, at the end of which a very high sierra begins, which can be seen for many leagues, if it is clear. It is called the "Sierra de Pantla,"[83] and in the middle of it there is a lower hill which extends down to the sea. Close to this will be seen four or five farallons of medium size and small, and on the northeast of these an *ensenada* forms and extends north to a beach at the end of it. In the middle of the *ensenada* is a round bare farallon.

From the farallons just mentioned at the mouth of the *ensenada*, a good league to the east about a cannon-shot from land, is a small black farallon. To the north of this between some cliffs rising out of the sea is the Puerto de

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[77] G., no "north-northeast."
[78] G., "Catlan."
[79] G., "six."
[80] G., "twenty-two." G. has entirely rewritten the description of this part of the coast, although he has embodied some of the information contained in the Bolaños *derrotero*.
[81] G., "fifteen."
[82] G. omits this sentence.
[83] G., "Sierra de Plata."

Siguatanejo, in the latitude of 18°.[84] Note that this port cannot be seen, as it is between some cliffs, but in going from the farallon towards the north the mouth is soon discovered, and a beach within the port appears, and the anchorage which is to the northwest can be seen. The port is a very good safe one, has water and mangrove timber suitable for yards and masts, and fruits of the country. On leaving this port, the coast soon forms an *ensenada* more than two leagues long of clean beach, extending to a round *morro,* not very large, which from a distance looks like an island. Near it are two very white farallons, between which and the land[85] any ship can pass.

From here the coast runs east-southeast almost eight leagues, although it forms an *ensenada* which they call "El Calvario." At the end of this *ensenada* there is a point of medium height in the shape of a peak which from a distance looks like an island, called the "Punta de Petatlan."[86] It trends northeast-southwest. From here to the Puerto de Acapulco the distance is twenty-four leagues more or less.

From here the coast runs east and east-southeast,[87] to the Puerto de Acapulco, and five or six leagues from the point is a great grove of high trees more than a half a league long. Here commences the Playa de Tecpa,[88] which continues to Acapulco for more than eighteen leagues. The beach is clean without hill or point of any kind.

More than fifteen leagues before reaching the Puerto de Acapulco, if it is clear, you will see a high mountain with a mesa on top of it extending from northeast to the southwest, which from a distance looks like an island. On approaching it another lower country appears joined to it on the southwest[89] side. Sailing directly towards this, the point which extends farthest from the land and also looks like an island has in it[90] the Puerto de Marqués. This is southeast of the Puerto de Acapulco. Another small hill soon appears, the Isla Redonda, between the north side of which and the mainland is the entrance to the Puerto de Acapulco. Although the channel seems narrow, it is very safe, and can be entered without fear. There then appears on the northeast side a large beach, towards which you sail straight until the corner opens up where the houses are. If the wind is from the northwest, you have to sail as close to it as possible, and when you arrive you can anchor without any fear whatever. Note that the large sierra above the Puerto de Acapulco is called the "Sierra de Zitala." The port is in 17°.[91]

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[84] G., "17° 36′."
[85] G., "between them."
[86] G., "Satlan."
[87] G., no "east-southeast."
[88] G., "Playa del Puerto de Acapulco."
[89] G., "southeast."
[90] G., "is" instead of "has in it."
[91] From the Isla Redonda above mentioned, G.'s text is different and worth quoting, as it accords better with the facts. "Isla Redonda which provides two entrances to the Puerto de Acapulco, by either of which a ship of very great burden can pass. I am of the

This *Derrotero* was made in the years 1602 and 1603 by the pilot Francisco de Bolaños, and corrected and added to with many matters which were lacking by Padre Fray Antonio de la Ascension, a barefoot friar of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, while occupying the position of cosmographer. The *Derrotero* was made when the fleet went to discover Cabo Mendocino, and all the coast from there to the Puerto de Acapulco. The commander of the fleet was Sebastian Vizcaino, and the governor of New Spain, the Conde de Monterey, the viceroy. It was finished March 23, the day of San Benito Abad, the Friday on which the *Capitana* [torn] entered the said port.

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opinion that the best is by the Boca Grande, because the other, Boca Chica, is very narrow and can only be attempted with a favorable wind. The best entrance is always by the Boca Grande. Entering by this you will see to the northeast a great beach, and you have to keep on sailing until the corner where the houses are opens up. When you see them, go straight towards them, and there is anchorage wherever it seems advisable. Note that when eight or nine leagues to the west of the port you will see towards the northeast among some mountains two rather large peaks, which are called the 'Dos Tetas.' When seen from this place they are somewhat separated. When one covers the other and they bear north, you will then be as far on as the Playa de Coyuca. Also take note that the high country over the Puerto de Acapulco is called the Sierra de Siclata. The port is in the latitude of 16° 45′."

1542 Navegaçon del mar del sur al Norte
Paralelos de 1543 de Juº Paez.

Partio juan rodriguez del puerto de nauidad para descubrir la costa dela nueba españa
a xxvij dias de junio de mil.D.xl.y.

trabo desde el puerto de nauidad hasta cabo de corriente vnos dos noches. yazen treynta leguas sobre sueste

1542 julio desde el miercoles hasta el sauado siguiente anduvieron sudueste alluengo dela costa, 35. leguas

domingo a.9. dias de julio subieron vista dela california, tardaron en atrabesar y coronar amor delos tres quarenta dias fueron muy fauorables casi 4/5 dias surgieron el lunes siguiente a 3/4 del dho en la punta dela california. de ay estubieron dos dias. de ay fueron al puerto de santa lucia el sauado siguiente. e tomaron agua, no vieron en estos dias ynjio ninguno. dizen q este puerto. en .23. grados. y es desde la punta al puerto limpio e fondable y es tierra pelada y doblada.

partieron del puerto de santa lucia el sauado a la noche y el sabado siguiente. a ocho del dho mes subieron la punta dela trinidad que esta en 25. grados. abra de santa lucia. 5. leguas. es esta limpia sin ninguna, dentro en la tierra parescen sierras altas e peladas e dobladas. estubieron surtos aqui por los tiempos contrarios de oest noroeste hasta el miercoles siguiente.

miercoles a.12. dias del dho mes partieron de ay. el puerto dela trinidad haze puerto y ysla q esta ay y es buen puerto a hinchar para los vientos de noroestes. el puerto se haze de la cabeça dela ysla dela banda del sueste y es puerto limpio y fondable no tiene agua ni lenia, tiene la ysla diez leguas de longitud y de latitud 2 leguas. surgieron esa noche.

partieron el sauado siguiente y passaron por el puerto de santa justa en. 25. grados y 1/2 este puerto no ay aqui ni lenia. su trabesia es sueste tiene buen reparo para ponientes. fueron nabegando por la costa q haze vna gran ensenada. el cabo dela qual esta en. 26. grados. abra tierra barca e medanos de arena costa blanca e limpia, fueron nabegando alluengo della con bientos bonancibles hasta los. 27. grados y miercoles a.19. del dho mes fueron en tierra a vn puerto q hallaron. e salidos en tierra hallaron vn camino seguido seguidos. e fueron por el vntizio de arrabuz donde hallaron vna fuente de agua. es tierra llana de tierra y pelada y muy seca pusieron nombre el puerto dela madalena. abra. 40. leguas dela baya de san min hasta este puerto.

el sauado siguiente a.20. del dho partieron deste puerto y fueron nabegando alluengo dela costa con vientos nuues. y obra de seis leguas de alli allaron vn surgidero de trabes. vna punta que llamen punta de santa catalina y assi anduvieron nabegando alluengo dela costa y el martes siguiente a.25. del dho mes de julio descubrieron vna baya grande en .27. grados y 1/2. caminaron muy poco estos dias por los nuues tiempos. surgieron en este puerto y pusieron nombre el puerto de santiago. abra del puerto dela madalena. 23. leguas, estan dela punta de santiago en cima leguas vnos bajos muy peligrosos y de pena y parescen dino quando ue bienta la mar en ellos. estan vna legua de tierra y en .27. grados y medio vna llamada abra roso, fueron caminando por la misma derrota alluengo dela costa hasta los .28. grados y alli surgieron al abrigo de vna punta. aqui ay arboledas lo que uieron

desde la punta dela california, ablia desta punta alpuerto de santiago ala punta del nomueste. 23. leguas son sierras altas y fragosas con algun arboledo. [illegible] santana tiene vna ysleta obra de vna legua de tierra /

v Juebes a 27. del dho partieron del dho puerto de santana y fueron a surgir robra de seys leguas de alli en vn puerto q pusieron nombre puerto fondo por el mucho fondo que tenia. q junto a tierra habia treynta brazas. es limpio, y partieron el lotro dia siguiente del dho puerto y tornaron a arribar tres vezes al dicho puerto con tiempos contrarios y estubieron el dho puerto hasta el lunes siguiente /

v lunes a 31 del dhomes partieron del dho puerto fondo y surgieron robra de rocha leguas de alli aquella noche y otro partieron a su nabegacion /

agosto — v martes primero dia de agosto partieron de alli y andubieron obra de diez leguas donde surgieron en vn puerto q pusieron sanct vincula, esta este puerto abista dela ysla de cedros. este este puerto en .28 grados y medio largos es tierra alta y fragossa y pelada, desde california aca no hemos visto yndio ninguno /

v miercoles a dos del dhomes partieron de este puerto y les dio viento contrario y andubieron bolteando. fueron a surgir a vna ysla que esta delaparte del sueste de ysla de cedros quatro leguas della, / y esta, y esta ysla q llamaron sant esteban con la xremate de la punta dela tierra firme sueste oeste esta de nornoroeste sueste, esta vna legua dela tierra firme / desta punta la tierra firme buelue la costa hazia ses nordeste q haze vna ensenada grande que nos parescio tierra entre la ysla y la tierra firme, aze buena canal y hande pasar a legados ala ysla porque ay vna xestinga debaxo q sale dela punta hasta vn quarto de legua, ay mucha yerba sobre agua que se cria del fondo y esta pegado a barco, arrese esta ysla con sanct vincula. noroeste sueste, terna esta ysla tres leguas de rredondez. estubimos en este ysla con biento contrario hasta el sabado siguiente a cinco del dhomes de agosto tiene buen puerto dela vanda del sueste, ay muchas pedrica de anzuelo y muchos pardos

v partieron dela ysla de sant esteban sabado a cinco de agosto y fueron a surgir a ysla de cedros donde estubieron hasta juebes a diez del dhomes tomando aguada y lenia, no hallaron yndios a vn que hallaron rrastro dellos, hasta esta ysla en .29. grados la punta de sotabento dela vanda del sur, y tiene esta vanda del sur buenos puertos. agua y lenia y esta parte pelada que no tiene sino vnas matas pequenas es ysla grande y alta y pelada y arrese cassi leste roeste y terna de longitud esta vanda del sur. .20. leguas /

v partieron de ysla de cedros juebes a diez dias del dhomes de agosto para seguir su viaje y fueron la buelta dela tierra firme nabegando al norte anduvieron este dia robra de diez leguas. y el viernes siguiente fueron a surgir a vn puerto y le llamaron puerto de santa clara es buen puerto fueron en tierra y hallaron quatro yndios. los quales se huyeron. este este puerto en .30. grados escasos. corre se con ysla de cedros. nornoroeste sudueste. y arrese esta costa desde el puerto hazia la ensenada, nornoroeste. sudueste, es costa limpia y fondable, es tierra pelada y no es fragossa tiene llanuras y valles. estubieron en este puerto hasta el domingo a .13. del dhomes por los muy rrecios bientos /

v domingo a 13. dias del dhomes partieron deste puerto y fueron nabegando a la capa esta costa con bientos escasos surgiendo cada noche, y el martes siguiente surgieron en vna punta que haze vna ensenada que esta en .30. grados y medio, tiene muy poco rreparo, llamaron la punta delmal abrigo /

agosto. — ✓ el miercoles siguiente fueron nabegando a luengo dela costa y dioles mucho viento nornoreste q̃ hera su contrario y estubieron al resguardo ala noche sin pasar para adelante nada y el juebes siguiente andubieron con agua cerca y con tantas calmas q̃ no tomaron la tierra y esta noche siguiente tubieron mucho viento de nornoreste q̃ estubieron al resguardo y el viernes siguiente andubieron con bientos rronacos y se altaron a boslobento de la punta de mar abrijo. seis leguas assi andubieron hasta el sabado siguiente a 19. del dhõ mes que surgieron en ensena y slapequena. q̃ esta media legua de tierra firme, estara diez leguas de la punta de mar abrijo, esta en. 30. grados. y ⅔. y tiene buen surgidero y buen rraso, llamaronle san bernardo. tiene una legua de norte sur. corre este la costa dela tierra firme. nornoreste. susueste. y es costa limpia, la tierra adentro es de muy buen parescer y llana y ay valles buenos e alguna arboleda y lo otro es pelado. no allaron esta dias senal de yndios.

✓ domingo a. 20 del dhõ mes de agosto partieron dela y slas de san bernardo y allegaron ala punta del engano q̃ estara siete leguas desta y slas. la q̃al punta esta en. 31. grados corre se la costa dela punta. hazia la y slas nornoreste. susueste. la punta del engano es tierra no es alta. y parece assi buena tierra y llana. tiene sierras sin peladas. no bimos senal de yndios. e assi fueron nabegando hasta el lunes siguiente, siguiendo la costa al norte. e al nordeste. e obra de diez leguas de la punta del engano. descubrieron un buen puerto el q̃al surgieron y tomaron agua el ena, esta en. 31. grados y m̃ es puerto para poder hazer q̃al quier adobio, ales nabios bolviendolos amonte,

✓ el martes siguiente. a 24. cap̃n juan rodriguez cabrillo fue en tierra y tomo posesion en ella en nombre de su mag̃d y del Illmo señor don antonio de mendoça. y le puso nombre el puerto dela posesion, allo una laguna que tiene tres grandes y allaron algus yndios pescadores que luego huyeron, tomaron uno dellos al q̃al dandole ciertos abalorios le soltaron y se fue, la tierra adentro es tierra alta y doblada e tiene buenos valles. y parece ser buena tierra. aunque es pelada. estubieron en esta tierra hasta el domingo a. 27. del dhõ mes adobando las velas y haziendo aguada y el juebes vieron ciertos humos y fueron alla con el batel. e allaron obra de treynta yndios pescadores los quales estubieron quedos y truxeron al nabio un mucha cho y dos yndias ales quales dieron de vestir e rrescates y los de xaron yr. delos quales no pudieron entender nada por senas.

✓ viernes siguiente. 7 endo a tomar agua. allaron en la aguada ciertos yndios y estubieron quedos e les amostraron un xapuey de agua e una salina de sal q̃ habia mucha y dixeron por senas q̃ no hazian su abitacion allí sino dentro en la tierra e q̃ habia mucha gente, este dicho dia en la tarde vinieron cinco yndios a la playa a los quales truxeron alos nauios. y parescieron yndios de mar. y entrando el nauio sen̄alaron y contaron los espanoles que estaban ay, y sen̄alaron que habian visto rotos nabios como alle, que tenian barbas y q̃ trayan perros y pallestas y espadas, venian los yndios vestidos con un betume blanco por los muslos y cuerpo y brazos. y trayan amanera de cuchillada puesto el betun parescian sombreros en calcas e jubon acuchillados y sen̄alaron que a cinco soles de alli estaban los espanoles, sen̄alaron que habia muchos yndios e tenian mucho maiz e papagayos, venian subidos en cueros de venados y los trayan los cuerpos de venados adobados amanera de como adoban los mexicanos

los queros que traen en las cutaras. es gente crecida y dispuesta traen sus arcos y flechas como los de la nueba españa. con sus pedernales las flechas, dioles el capitan una carta para que llebasen a los españoles que dezian que hauia dentro en la tierra /

partieron deste puerto de la posesion domingo a 27. del dho mes de agosto y nabegando su derrotta hallaron una ysla dos leguas de tierra firme. es despoblada. haze buen puerto en ella, pusieron la nombre san agustin terna dos leguas de redondez y andubieron asi luengo de la costa con tiempos escasos barlobenteando hasta el miercoles siguiente a 30. del dicho mes que les dio mucho biento de noruestes que les hizo arribar a la ysla de san agustin, en esta ysla hallaron rrastro de gente e dos cuernos de vaca. e arboles muy grandes que hauia hechado alli la mar q̃ tenian de longor mas de sesenta pies y de gordor que no podran abarcar dos hombres a cada uno, parescian a cipreses. e auia cedros. hera mucha la cantidad de esta madera, no tiene otra cossa si buen puerto no esta ysla. estubieron en esta ysla hasta el domingo siguiente

set.e domingo a tres dias del mes de set.e partieron de la dha ysla de san agustin e fueron nabegando su derrota y el lunes siguiente surgieron en la tierra cobra de siete leguas a barlobento. en costa de norte sur. e luego fueron su derrota. e fueron nabegando con tiempos bonancibles y escasos en costa de norte sur. hasta el jueves a siete dias del dho mes de set.e q̃ fueron a surgir en una ensenada q̃ haze la tierra e aqui se acaba la costa de norte sur. e buelue al norueste. en esta ensenada haze un valle grande y es tierra llana a la costa. e dentro ay sierras altas e tierra doblada al parescer buena, toda la costa es braba. e aplaselada q̃ media legua de tierra estauan en diez braças surtos. ay por aqui muchas yerbas q̃ estan sobre el agua /

el viernes siguiente a ocho del dho mes andubieron con bientos escasos barlobenteando y allaron aqui corrientes contrarias. fueron a surgir a una punta q̃ haze cabo e haze buen abrigo del oes norueste, pusieron le nombre el cabo de san. m. haze rremate de tierra de una parte e de cotra, aqui hazen rremate unas sierras altas que vienen de tras y comiençan cotras sierras pequeñas, haze un valle grande e cotros muchos al parescer. es buena tierra, esta en. 32. grados y medio y es puerto limpio e fondable. correse con la ysla de san agustin. norte sur. /

estando en este cabo de san min fueron en tierra por agua e hallaron una laguna pequeña de agua dulce donde tomaron agua. y en esta aguada binieron quarenta yndios con sus arcos e flechas. no se pudieron entender con ellos, venian desnudos trayan maguey asado para comer e pescado, es gente crescida. aqui tomaron posesion. estubieron en este cabo hasta el lunes siguiente /

lunes a ocho del dho mes partieron del cabo de san. m. y nabegaron cobra de quatro leguas. por costa de nor nordeste sudueste. y de alli buelue la costa al norueste. es tierra alta y pelada y el otro dia siguiente. nabegaron en costa de norueste sueste cobra de seys leguas. toda esta costa es braba y limpia y el otro dia siguiente. tanbien nabegaron con rruines tpos cobra de quatro leguas en costa de norueste sueste. en tierra ay sierras altas y fragosas y el jueves siguiente surgieron cobra de tres leguas adelante en una punta que sale a la mar q̃ haze cabo de una vanda. e de cotra. llamase cabo de t. esta en. 33. grados. no ay agua ni leña ni allaron señal de yndios /

Set.

Partidos del cabo desa cruz hallaron se el sabado siguiente dos leguas del cabo de
. t. por los vnos tiempos en costa de nor nordueste sudueste. y en tierra bieron
yndios en vnas canoas muy pequeñas. la tierra es muy alta. é pelada esca to
tierra desde la california, aquies tierra de arenales alamar y de aqui empieça
la tierra de otra parte que es tierra de berme jales y de mejor paresçer

domingo a 17. dias del dho mes andubieron nabegando para seguir subiase y cobra de
seis leguas del cabo de cruz. t. allaron vn puerto bueno y cerrado. y para llegar alla pasa
ron por vna ysleta q esta cerca de la tierra firme, en este puerto tomaron agua
en vna lagunilla de agua llobediza. y ay arboledas como de caybas. é cepto que es madera
rrezia. hallaron mabeyas grandes q tiraya la mar. llamase este puerto
san mateo, es buena tierra alparesçer, ay grandes cabanas. el ayenba como la de
espana. y es tierra alta y doblada, vieron vnas manadas de animales como ganado
que andaban de ciento en ciento. é mas. que parescian el paresçer y el andar como ob
jas del pirin y la lana luenga. tienen gubernos pequeños segun parece en tiempo y
tan gordos como el dedo pulgar y la cola ancha y redonda é de longor de vn palmo
y esta en. 33. grados y tercio. tomaron posesion del, estubieron en este puerto hasta
el sabado siguiente /

sabado. a 22. del dicho mes partieron del dho puerto de san mateo y nabegaron al ueste
de la costa hasta el lunes siguiente. y andarian cobra de diez é ocho leguas. vieron muy
fermosos valles é arboledas é tierra llana y doblada y nose vieron yndios /

el martes siguiente y el miercoles nabegaron al ueste de la costa cobra de ocho leguas y
pasaron por vnas tres y slas pobladas de tierra dellos la vna dellos es mayor q las otras
q tenia dos leguas de compli. e case abrigo de los poniente estan tres leguas de tierra
firme. estan en treynta é quatro grados este dia se vieron en tierra grande auna de
, es tierra buena alparesçer é de grandes valles é dentro de la tierra ay sierras
altas llamaron las yslas desiertas /

el lunes siguiente andubieron cobra de seys leguas por costa de nor nordueste y descubrie
ron vn puerto cerrado é muy bueno al qual pusieron nombre san miguel. esta en. 38.
grados y tercio y despues de surtos en el fueron en tierra q hauia sente de la q les
esperaron tres é tbados los otros se huyeron. de estos dieron algunos xuxes cato y dixeron
por senas q por dentro de la tierra habian passado sente como los espanoles. amostraban
tener mucho miedo / este dicho dia a la noche fueron de los navios en tierra a pescar
con vn chinchorro é paresçe que estaban ay algunos yndios y començaron los a flechar
y hirieron tres onbres /

otro dia por la mañana entraron mas adentro del puerto que es grande en el Patel
y truxeron dos muchachos los quales no entendian nada por senas y dieron les sendas
camisas y enbiaron los luego /

y el otro dia siguiente por la mañana vinieron a las naos tres yndios grandes y por senas
dixeron que andaban por la tierra adentro onbres como nosotros barbados vestidos
é armados como los de los navios y senalaban que llebauan vallestas y espadas y hazian
ademanes con el braco derecho como que alançeaban y andaban corriendo como que yban
a caballo y que matauan muchos yndios de los naturales y que por esto tenian mie do

estaſente cobien dispuesta y crescida, andan cubiertos anpieles se animates, estando
eneste puerto passo un temporal muygrande. enpoxo por ser bueno elpuerto no sintie
xbn nada, fue de codest. sudueste, é sudueste. tiempo desecho este es elprimer
temporal que han passado. estubieron eneste puerto hasta elmarte siguiente, a qui
llamaban alos xpianos puercamal/

Ot e 1

v martes siguiente a tres dias del mes de octubre partieron deste puerto desan miguel
y el miercoles y jueves y viernes caminaron por su derrota robra de diez. e ocho leguas
aluengo dela costa por donde vian muchos valles llanura y muchas aumadas y
dentro dla tierra sierras, y fueron a nochecer junto a unas y otras que estan de tierra
firme robra desiete leguas y porque calmo el viento no pudieron llegar esa noche
acellas/

v sabado asiete dias del mes de octubre amanecieron otras y otras que pusieron nombre san sal
bador el viento sopleo esurgieron en la una dellas y fueron a reconocer el un batel en tierra a ber si
abia fuente. e como el batel llegaba cerca. salio mucha cantidad de yndios de entre elas
matas e yerbas dando grita. e haziendo señas de que saliesen en
tierra. y vian como yban huyendo las mugeres y dolos vateles los hizieron
señas que no tubiesen miedo y luego asegurados y pusieron en tierra sus arcos
e flechas. y herbaron una canoa buena al agua que cabrian ocho o diez yndios
y vinieron alas naos, dieron les cuentas y rescates con que se olgaron
mucho e despues que fueron los españoles en tierra y estubieron muy
seguros ellos y las yndias e todos. aqui les senalo mygndio viejo. que esta
tierra firme andaban hombres como los españoles vestidos y barbados
no estubieron en esta ysla mas de hasta medio dia/

v el domingo siguiente a ocho del dho mes allegaron en tierra firme en una baya
grande que llamaron la baya delos fumos por los muchos fumos que en ella vieron
aqui tomaron platica con unos yndios que tomaron con una canoa. los quales senalaron hazia
el norte q̄ avia españoles como ellos. esta esta baya. en. 35. grados y es buen puerto y
buena tierra de muchos valles y llanuras y arboledas/

v el lunes siguiente a nueve dias del dho mes de octubre partieron de la baya delos fumos y an
duvieron este dia robra de seis leguas y surgieron en una ensenada grande y de
aupasaron. el otro dia siguiente martes y andubieron robra de ocho leguas. por esta
de nornoueste sueste y vimos en tierra un pueblo de yndios junto a la mar y las casas grandes
a manera delas de la nueua españa y surgieron en frente de un valle muy grande de
onde esta. aqui vinieron alos navios muchas canoas muy buenas q̄ cabian en cada una
de ocho o trece yndios y les dieron noticia de xpianos que andaban por la tierra aden
tro. en costa de nornoueste sueste. aqui les dio algunos rescates con q̄ se olgaron
mucho, senalaron que en siete dias podian ir adonde andaban los españoles y
estubo de terminado juan rodriguez de ymbian dos españoles dentro ala tierra,
tambien senalaron que avia un rio grande, que estos yndios ymbian en una
canoa a la ventura alos xpianos, pusieron nombre deste pueblo el pueblo delos
canoas, andan cubiertos con mantas de pelleja de animales. son pescadores y comen
pescado crudo. tambien comian maiz, esta este pueblo en. 37. grados
o tercio, la tierra adentro es un valle muy fermosso y senalaron q̄ avia
dentro en aquel valle mucho maiz é mucha comida. parece dentro de aqueste

valle vnas sierras muy altas tierra muy doblada. llaman a los xpianos ta quimine
, aqui tomaron posesion. aqui estubieron hasta el viernes @ 13. dias del dho mes
viernes a 13. dias del dho mes de octubre partieron del pueblo de las canoas para su viaje
y andubieron este dia seis o siete leguas. y pasaron de tierra de dos yslas grandes
que tornan quatro leguas cada vna y estaran quatro leguas de la tierra firme
son despobladas porque no ay agua en ellas y tiene buenos puertos, va la costa
de la tierra firme al oes noruestе. es tierra llana y de muchas cabanas y arboledas
y el sabado siguiente corrieron su via y andubieron dos leguas no mas y surgieron
en frente de vn valle muy fermosso e muy poblado e tierra llana e de muchas
arboledas. aqui vinieron canoas con pescado a rrescatar. quedaron grandes amigos
y el domingo siguiente a quinze dias del dho mes. andubieron nabegando su viaje
al uengo de la costa cobra de diez leguas y siempre hubo muchas canoas porque toda
la costa es poblada sima y venian muchos yndios siempre en las naos. y nos señalaban
los pueblos y los nonbraban por sus nombres / q son / xuco / bis. / sopono / alloc /
/ xabaagua / xocotoc / potoltuc / nacbuc / quelqueme / misinagua / misesopano /
/ elquis / coloc / mupu / xagua / anacbuc / partocac / susuquei / quanmu /
gua / asimu / aguin / casalic tucumu / ync pupu /. todos estos pueblos estan
desde el primer pueblo de las canoas que se dize / xucu / hasta aqui, estan en
muy buena tierra muy buenas llanuras e muchas arboledas e cabanas andan vestidos
con pellejos. dezian q dentro en la tierra habia muchos pueblos e mucho maiz de alli
a tres jornadas. llaman al maiz coep. y tanbien q hauia muchas vacas, llaman a las
vacas / cae / tanbien nos dieron noticia de gente barbada e vestida. pasaron
este dia de tierra de vna ysla grande que terna quinze leguas de largo y dixeron que
estaba muy poblada y que abia los pueblos siguientes. / niquipos / maxul / xuguas
/ nitel / macamo / nimitapal /. llamaron la ysla salucas, abra de aqui al
pueblo de las canoas / 18. leguas, estara la ysla de tierra firme de yo leguas
lunes @ 16. dias del dho mes nabegando al uengo de la costa andubieron quatro
leguas y surgieron a la tarde en frente de dos pueblos. y tanbien este dia sien
pre vinieron canoas con las naos y señalaron que adelante abia canoas muy
mayores /
el martes siguiente 17. del dho mes andubieron tres leguas con tpos bonancibles
y fueron con las naos desde q amanecio muchas canoas y el capitan siempre les
daba muchos rrescates e toda esta costa por donde han passado esta muy poblada
, trayanles mucha sardina fresca y muy buena, dizen q a la tierra adentro ay
muchos pueblos e mucha comida, estos no comian cossa de maiz, andaban vesti
dos de pellejos y traen los cabellos muy largos y rrebueltos con vnos cordeles
muy largos y metidos por entre los cabellos y aquellos cordeles a muchas dagas
de pedernales y de huesso y de madera. la tierra es muy excelente al parescer
miercoles a 18. dias del dho mes andubieron corriendo la costa hasta las diez coras
y bian toda la costa poblada: e porque llebaban el viento fresco no llegaron canoas
, allegaron @ vna punta que haze cabo como galera y le pusieron nombre cabo de galera

y esta en. 36. grados largos, é porque les dió nornoroeste fresco dieron el bordo sela
mar y descubrieron dos yslas la vna grande que terna ocho leguas de costa de
leste oeste y la otra terna quatro leguas y en estre que nà ay vn puerto bueno y
sin poblados, estan diez leguas de tierra firme. llamanse las yslas de san lucar y
, dela tierra firme hasta el cabo de galera se corre al oeste. quarta del nordeste
y desde el pueblo delas canoas hasta el cabo de galera es costa prouinçia. muy poblada de llam
anla / xexu /. tiene muchas leguas diversas vnas de otras, tienen muy grandes
guerras vnos con otros y ay desde el pueblo delas canoas hasta el cabo de galera. 30.
leguas, estuvieron en estas yslas hasta el miercoles siguiente porque hizo mucho
temporal /

x miercoles @ 25. dias del dho mes partieron delas dhas yslas delas mas estaba a
barlovento, tiene vn puerto muy bueno que por todos los tpos dela mar no se les daxa
nada estando dentro /. llamaron la posesion este dia andubieron poco porque no habia
tpo y a la media noche siguiente. les dio vn viento sudueste y oes sudueste con lluvia que
se vieron en aprieto porque les hera trabesia y esta bancesca de tierra y no pudieron
doblar el cabo de vn cordon ni de otro y el juebes siguiente, abispras les alcanco el viento
al sur en que andarian en su derrota diez leguas en costa de nor noroeste sursueste, toda
esta costa es poblada al parecer buena tierra, esta noche se tubieron a la mar por
que les hera el tpo en trabesia y el viernes y el sabado y domingo siguiente andubieron
con bientos contrarios barloventeando a vna parte y a otra sin poder ganar nada
y estaban en. 36. grados y m. diez leguas del cabo de galera, ansimismo andubieron
lunes y martes a 31. dias del dho mes vispra de todos santos bolteando @ vna parte
y a otra y que sieron allegar a la tierra firme. en busca de vn rio gran de que les
dan noticia del que estaba de la otra parte del cabo de galera. porque hacia entierra
muestras de rios y no hallaron ninguno ni tampoco surgieron aqui porque hera
costa muy brava, hallaron en este mes en esta costa los tpos como en espana de
los. 39. grados arriba y con mucho frio a las mañanas y a las tardes y con los tem
porales grandes con aguazeros y los ayres pesados /

v miercoles a la media noche primo dia de nouiembre a la media noche yendo del bordo sela
mar les dio mucho tpo del nor noroeste y no les parecia llevar paño de vela y al
alba fresco en tanta manera que no pudieron hazer menos de yr a buscar abrigo
y fueron al abrigo de cabo de galera y alli surgieron y fueron en tierra porque
habia vn pueblo grande que llaman / xexo / en que vian estar muy a mano la
lena. acordaron de yr al pueblo de las sardinas por que estaba el agua y la lena
muy cerquita a mano, llamaron a este abrigo de galera puerto de todos santos
, el juebes siguiente se fueron al pueblo delas sardinas donde estubieron tomando
agua y lena tres dias. los naturales de la tierra les aguadaban y traian la lena
y el agua a las naos, llamase este pueblo del puerto de sardinas / cinicut / y los
cotros que estan de alli hasta el cabo de galera son / cinicut / anacoy / maquimano /
/ paltarine / anacoac / olisino / cuacac / paltorac / tocane / opia / opistopia / nocoo /
/ yutuno / quimen / miona / paxonisopona / es señora destos pueblos vna yndia
biexa que vino a las naos y dormio dos noches en la capitana. y lo mismo mucho de y dios
, el pueblo de cinicut parecia ser cabecera de los otros pueblos porque venian alli de

rotos pueblos al llamado de aquesta serra. llamase el pueblo que esta al cabo, xera
desde este puerto. al pueblo delas canoas es otra prouincia. que llaman Xuca
noui tienen sus casas redondas y cubiertas muy bien hasta el suelo. andan cubiertos
de pieles de muchas maneras de animales como pellotas de encinas y otra semilla
que es tan gruessa como maiz y es blanca de que hazen tandeles, tiene buena cantidad
, dizen que ala tierra adentro ay mucho maiz y y andan alla con hesamo nos otros
, e esta este puerto en. 35. grados y dos tercios /

v Lunes a seys del dhomes de nouiembre. partieron del dho puerto de sardinas e aquel
dia no andubieron cassi nada. e hasta el viernes siguiente andubieron con muy
poco tpo. este dia llegamos al cabo de galera. por todo este camino no pudian
valerse de yndios que les venian a dar de comer con agua y pescado y amostraban mucho
amor. tienen en sus pueblos muy plaças grandes. y tienen un cercado como cerca
y al rededor del cercado tienen muchas cosas de pie de xaynadas en tierra que
salen encima tres palmos y en medio delas cercas tienen muchos maderos hincados
como masteles y muy espesos tienen muchas pinturas de los mismos palos y creemos
que adoran en ellos porque quando bailan andan bailando al rededor desta
cerca /

v el sabado siguiente diadesan min a onze dias del dho mes de nouiembre andubieron nabegan
do al longo dela tierra y hallaronse esta mañana a seys leguas del cabo el mismo passaje
donde arribaron primero. y todo este dia tubieron buen biento que caminaron con algun
po dela costa de nornoroeste sueste. andubieron bien veynte leguas. toda esta costa
que andubieron este dia es costa brava sin abrigo ninguno y ya una cordillera
de sierra en toda ella muy alta y tan alta es alamar como a la tierra dentro. sale
la mar en ella. ni bieron poblazon ni humos. y toda la costa que no tiene abrigo de
norte esta despoblada. pusieron nombre alas sierras las sierras de san min. estan
en. 37. grados y medio, el rio mate dellas y de estas sierras al noroeste haze
un cabo que sale alo mar que esta en. 38. grados. pusieronle cabo de min. /

v esta dicha noche de sabado a quatro horas de la noche estando de la mar roba de seys
leguas de la costa al rezepare esperando al dia con biento sueste. cargo tanto tpo
de sueste. e el sueste con lluvia y cerrazon que no podian tener palos de
vela e hizoles arrear con un papo de vela del trinquete con mucho trabajo toda
la noche y el domingo siguio cargo mucho mas este tpo de fecho, que duro el dia y la
noche hasta el lunes siguio a medio dia y hera tan grande la tormenta como que de
abex en espana. el sabado a la noche perdieron de vista la compania /

v el lunes a trez dias del dho mes de nouiembre a hora de bisperas. abonanco el biento y salio
al oeste luego dieron las velas y fueron en busca de la compania a la buelta de la
tierra rogando a dios que les deparase que no se perdiesen mucho que seria pena de
muerte. fueronse al norte. este dia no noroeste con biento oeste y oest noroeste y el mar
siguio en amaneciendo hubieron vista de la tierra y tubieron que andar hasta la
tarde y fueron a reconocer con una tierra muy alta y andubieron al rededor de la
costa por ver si habia algun puerto donde recogiesen y hera tanta la mar de
leva que auia que hera espanto ver, y la costa brava y sierras muy altas y

ala tarde se pasaron al rreparo q̃ ostà de nornoeste sueste, y nos ciẽron la tierra
en vna punta que sale ala mar que aze cabo y esta cubierta de arboledas la punta y
esta en 40 grados /

v miercoles q̃ 25 del dho mes tubieron vista dela costa de que dieron mucha
gracias a dios quela tubieron por perdida e arribaron sobre ella. juntaronse ala tarde
, los del otro navio pasaron mas trabaxo y rriesgo q̃ los dela capitana por ser el
navio pequeño y no tener puente, esta tierra donde andaban es de parescer muy
buena. en ella no vieron yndios ni fuegos, ay grandes sierras cubiertas de
nieves, ay mucha arboleda. ala noche amayñaron y se pusieron al rreparo /

v jueves siguiente a 26 del dho mes de nouiembre amanesçieron sobre vna ensenada grande
que venia de buelta que parescia abrir puerto e rrio y andubieron vaxlo bolteando
este dicho dia y la noche y el viernes siguiente hasta que vieron que ni abia rrio
ni abrigo ninguno y para tomar posesion. echaron ancla en 45 brazas no.
osar entrar a tierra por la mucha mar que habia. estaba esta ensenada en 39
grados la costa es toda ella estan llena de pinos hasta la mar. pusieron le nombre
la baya de los pinos. la noche siguiente estuvieron al rreparo hasta el dia siguiente

v el sabado siguiente arribaron la costa y hallaron se ala noche sobre el cabo de sant
toda esta costa este dia es muy braba y ay mucha mar de leba y la tierra
muy alta. ay montañas que se van al cielo y la mayor parte de ellas, yendo nave
gando cerca de tierra parece q̃ quieren caer sobre las naos, estan llenas de
nieves ala cumbre. pusieron les nombre sierras nevadas. y al principio de ellas
haze vn cabo que sale ala mar que le pusieron nombre cabo de nieves. a rrese
ca costa nor nornoeste su sueste no parece que abitan yndios en esta costa
, esta este cabo de nieve en 38 grados y dos tercios. y siempre corre el viento
nortes haziendo claro y limpio el tpo /

v jueves a 22 dias del mes allegaron de buelta de las islas de santa lucas a vna della
llamada la posesion y arribaron toda la costa punta por punta desde el cabo de
pinos hasta ellas. y no allaron abrigo ninguno por que de rrecesidad tomaron de
bolver ala dha y sla por que estos dias pasados vento oest nornoeste muy
mucho y venia la mar de leba muy grande desde cabo de sant
pinos, no vimos yndios ni nos y causalo la costa ser braba y desabrigada y
peligrosa de la costa. y dela vanda del sueste del cabo de sant en 42 leguas
allaron la tierra poblada e muchas humadas porque es buena tierra, empeça
desde el cabo de sant hasta los 40 grados no vimos señal de yndios, esta el
cabo de san sant en 37 grados /

v estando y temporeando en esta y sla de posesion a tres dias del mes de henero de
mill e quinientos e quarenta y tres, fallesçio desta presente vida el capitan Juan Rodriguez
cabrillo capitan de los dhos navios de vna. traida que dio en la dha y sla al tpo. que
la otra vez estuvieron en ella. de que se quexo mucho de brazo por junto al ombro. de que
por capitan el piloto mayor que hera vn baxo de tez moreno natural lebantisco.
y les encargo mucho al tpo de su muerte que no se dexasen de descubrir quanto
posible fuesse por toda aquella costa, pusieron nombre a la y sla de

Juan rrodriguez. llaman los yndios a esta ysla. / ciquimuymu, y a otra llaman / nicalque, e a la otra llaman, limu / en esta ysla de la posesion ay dos pueblos el uno se dize / çaco / y el otro, nimollo llo / en la otra ysla ay tres pueblos. al uno llaman / ni chochi / y el otro / coycoy / y el otro / estocoloco / en la otra ysla ay cocho pues. que son / niqueses que lua / poele / pisqueno / pualnacatup / patiquiu / patiquilid / nimumu / maoc / pilidquay / lilibeq. /

henº

los yndios destas yslas son muy pobres, son pescadores, no comen cotra cossa si pescado no. duermen el suelo. todo su negocio y exercicio es pescar, en cada cassa dizen que ay cinqta animas biben muy coporcada mte. andan desnudos / estubieron en estas yslas desde 23. de nouyre hasta dizinuebe de henº en todo este tpo que fueron cassi dos meses hizo muy rrezios tpos de ymbierno y de aguas los tpos que mas siguieron fueron coest subduestes y susuduestes y coest. noruestes hubo tiempos muy desechos /

viernes a 19. dias del mes de henero de M.D.XLIII. / se hizieron a la vela de la ysla de Juan rrodriguez que se dize ciquimuymu, pa ya a la tierra firme en busca de algunos bastimos pa su jornada y en saliendo del puerto les dio mucho tpo. de coest noruestе. que les hizo arribar a las cotras yslas de san lucas y surgieron en la ysla de limun que pusieron nombre. S.S. y tubieron necesidad de lebantarse cotra vez de alli porque no habia puerto mas del abrigo de las yslas y torno el viento a la trabesia y andubieron a la rredonda destas yslas cocho dias con los tpos. muy Ruines abrigandose con las mismas yslas de los tpos Ruines y a 27. dias del dho entraron el mismo puerto de la ysla de Juº. rrodriguez donde estubieron primero, el mayor trabajo que tenian hera por los tpos. no ser fixos q andaban mudandose de uno a cotro / los que mas afixan son del coes. noruestе, al coest sudueste /

martes a 29. dias del dho mes de henero partieron de la ysla de Juan rrodriguez para la ysla de san lucas q esta en medio de las cotras para tomar ciertas anclas que habian dexado con un tiempo no las pudiendo tomar, las quales tomaron. e tomaron agua

hebrº

Partieron desta ysla de san lucas lunes a doze dias del mes de hebrº q no pudieron mas presto por los rruines tiempos q les hizo de vientos e muchas niebas es poblada y la gente es como la de la cotra ysla llamanle los yndios / nicalque, ay tres pues. en ella q se llaman / nicochi / coycoi / colco / este dia fueron al puerto de las sardinas a tomar leña e cotras cosas necesarias para su viaje que no las abia en las yslas /

miercoles xiiiº dias del dho mes partieron del puerto de sardinas habiendo tomado una vatelada de leña, y no cosaron estar mas alli por la mucha mar q habia, no hallaron tantos yndios como primero ni pesqueria ninguna por caussa del ymbierno, los naturales comian de las vellotas de las enzinas e cotra semilla. e yerbas del campo crudas de aqui fueron a la ysla de S.S. porque estaban alla mas seguros de los temporales para poderse hazer a la vela pa poder correr por la mar

domingo a 18. dias del dho mes de hebrº partieron de la ysla de S.S. con el

viento nordeste bonancible. e corrieron al sudueste. porque les dixeron q̃ havia
hazia el sudueste rotras yslas. q̃ fueron a anochecer este dia rotra de 30
leguas dela yslla de ·ss· y vieron seys yslas ascllas grandes y dellas
pequeñas. este dia seles murio vn marinero. y el lunes. siguyo amane
cieron abarlobento delas yslas ala mar rotra de diez leguas. y vuelt viento
nordeste fueron del bordo dela mar e cinco dias al sudueste. y a cabo que
andubieron rotra de cien leguas. hallaron los tpos mas xuentos y mucha mar
y sucedio a 22. dias del dicho mes de hebrº. hizieron rotra buelta para la
tierra para yr en busca de cabo despinos. con viento susueste que les duro
tres dias. y cadadia yban mas arrezeando. y el domingo siguiente en amanecien
do tubieron vista del cabo despinos y fueron este dia a anochecer veynte
leguas abarlobento en costa de nordueste sueste y corria sin abrigo / nose
vio fuego ninguno en tierra. e vieron vna punta q̃ hazia como isleta de
tierra. que bolvia la costa al nordueste. a la media noche salto el viento
al sududueste. y corrieron al nordueste hasta el dia. y por la mañana salto
el viento al oest. sudueste muy rezio. que duro hasta el martes siguyo corrieron
al nordueste /

V martes a 27. dias del dho mes bolvio el tiempo al susudueste. q̃ duro todo el dia
corrieron al oest nordueste con los trinquetes baxos por q̃ ventaba muy rezio. en
anocheciendo salto el viento al oeste corrieron toda la noche. al sur con
pocas velas. andaba mucha mar q̃ los comia /

V el miercoles siguyo a 28 dias del dho mes. en amaneciendo salto el viento
al sudueste fresco. e no vento mucho. este dia tomaron el altura en 44.
grados. hazia la noche refresco el viento y salto al susudueste. corrieron
esta noche al oest nordueste con mucho trabajo y el sabado con amanecyendo
salto el viento al sudueste con mucha furia y las mares venian de mucho
parte que les fatigaba mucho e pasaban por encima delos navios. que no tenen
puentes si dios no los socorriera no pudieran escapar y no pudiendo tenerse
al reparo de necesidad corrieron en popa al nordeste ala buelta de tierra
e tubiendose ya por perdidos se encomendaron a nra señora de guadalupe y
hezieron mandas. e corrieron ansi hasta las tres oras despues de medio dia
con mucho miedo y trabajo porque bian que yban a perderse. e vian ya
muchas señales de tierra que estaban cerca assi de pajaros como de pal os
muy frescos que salian de a tierra nos rios porque en la gran tempestad no parec
ia la tierra y a esta hora les socorrio la madre de dios con la gracia de jesu xpo.
e vino vn aguacero dela parte del norte muy rezio que les hizo correr toda
la noche. de el 1º dia siguyo hasta el sol puesto. al sur con los trinquetes
baxitos. e porque havia mucha mar del sur enbestia les cada vez por
popa y pasaba por encima de popa vna peña y salto el viento al nordueste
e del nordueste con mucha furia que les hizo correr hasta el sabado a tres
X semanero del dueste y ales pueste con tanta mar que los traya desatinados

...que si dios y su vendita madre milagrossamente no los saluara, no pudieran escapar
... el sabado a media dia abonanco el tpo. e fue do al noruestte. de que dieron mucha
... gracias a nro señor, e la comida tambien pasaban en tripa. por no tener. sino solo
... vizcocho e agua do /

v parecele les. que queda ... no vio mui grande. deq tubieron mucha noticia. entre
.41. grados. e. 43. porque vieron muchas señales dello, este dia a la tarde nos nos
creyeron al cabo de pinos, y por la mucha mar que habia no pudieron hazer
menos de correr la costa de buelta en busca de puerto. pasaban muchos frios /

v la nea a cinco dias del dhomes de março de 1603. en amaneciendo se hallaron de la
marco ysla de juan rrodriguez y no osaron entrar el puerto por caussa dela mucha tormenta
que andaba q rrompia la mar e la entrada del puerto en quinze bracas hera el
tpo. nor noruestte. es apuesta la entrada. arribaron al abrigo dela ysla de ss. para
yr en tierra firme dela vanda del sueste y la noche pasada rindo con mucho
temporal consola m. con sendos papos de velas e los tringuetes seles desaparesció
el otro nabio que sospecharon que la mar lo hauia comido y no le pudieron bescu
brir mas ni aun despues que amanecio. creen que estarian en .44. grados
quando les tomo la tormenta postrera que les hizo arribar /

v Juebes a ocho dias del dhomes partieron dela ysla de .ss. para yr en tierra
firme en busca del otro nauio y fueron al pueblo delas canoas. y no hallaron
nuebas del otro nauio. y aqui tomaron agua troyndos /

v el viernes siguo a nueue del dhomes partieron del pueblo delas canoas. e fueron
ala ysla de san saluador e tampoco allaron la compañia /

v domingo a onze del dho mes arribaron al puerto de san miguel. y tampoco allaron aq
la compañia ni nuebas della. aqui estuuieron seis dias; aqui tomaron nos mucha leña
para lenguas para llebar ala nueua españa e dexaron ciertas señas para si alle
gasse el otro nabio /

v sabado a 17. dias del dhomes partieron del dho puerto de san miguel. el domingo
siguo. llegaron en la baya de san mateo y tampoco allaron rrastro del otro
nauio /

v domingo a 18. dias del dhomes a la tarde partieron desta baya de san mateo y
el miercoles siguo. a 21 del dhomes llegaron al puerto de la poseçion y tampoco
hallaron nuebas dela ansenba esperaron dos dias sin entrar el puerto
porque no osaron entrar el por. el mucho noruestte que ventaba y por que estaua
este la mayor de necesidad se lebantaron con /.

v viernes a 23. dias del dhomes partieron del puerto de la poseçion y el sab
siguo a media noche llegaron en ysla de cedros y estando en calma. el lunes
siguo a 26. dias del dhomes allego el otro nabio en ysla de cedros
de q se rolgaron mucho e dieron muchas gracias a dios /. este nabio passo
de ysla de san juan rrodriguez de noche por encima de unos baxos que pensaron
perderse y prometieron a los maxinos de yr se a su yglesia. de nuebo en su amparo
de nra. señora con libro /

abril

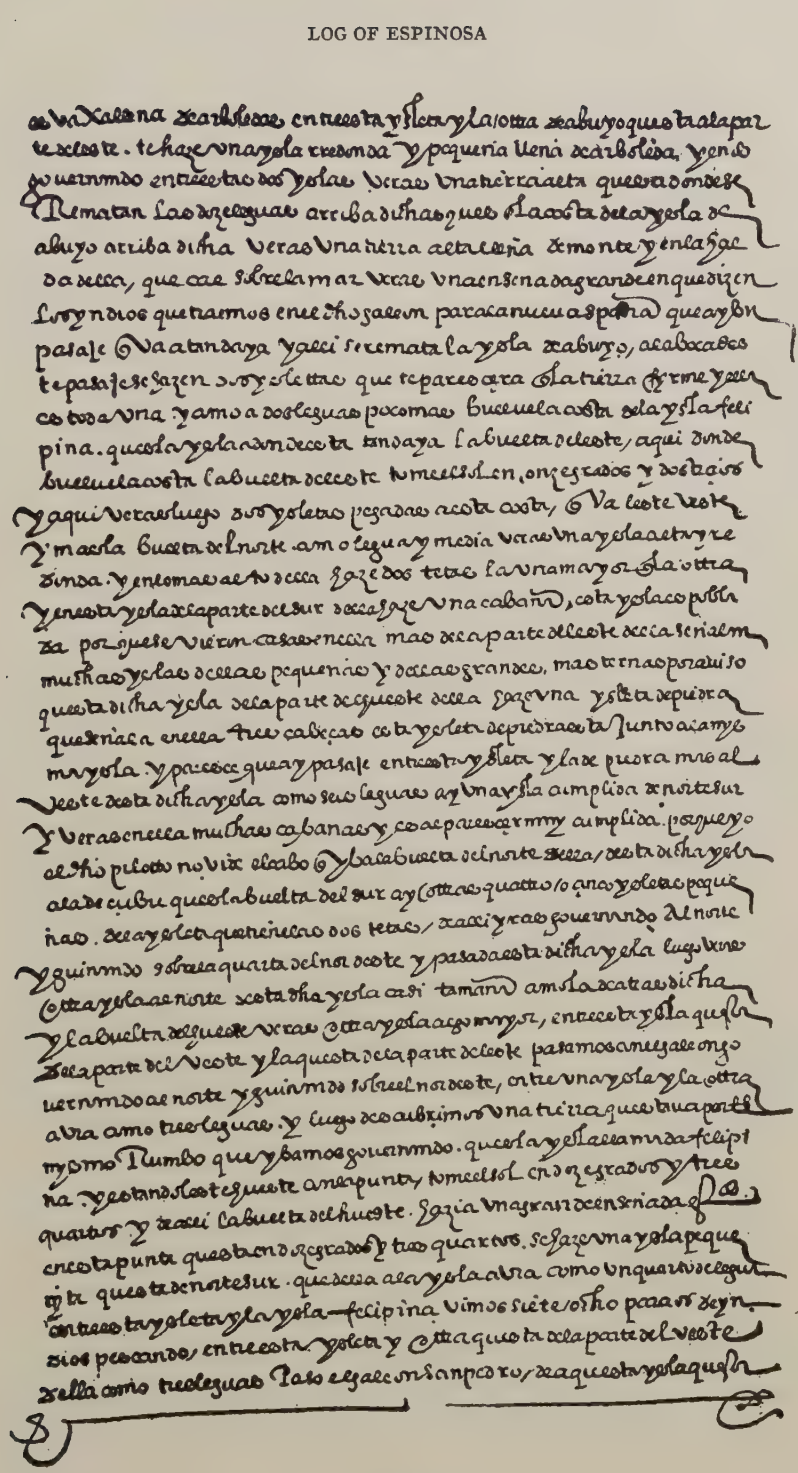
v lunes a dos dias del mes de abril partieron de ysla de cedros la buelta de la nueba
españa porque no tenian bas tim.s p.a tornar a cometer a descubrir la costa, llega
ron el puerto de nauidad sabado a 14. dias del dho mes de abril

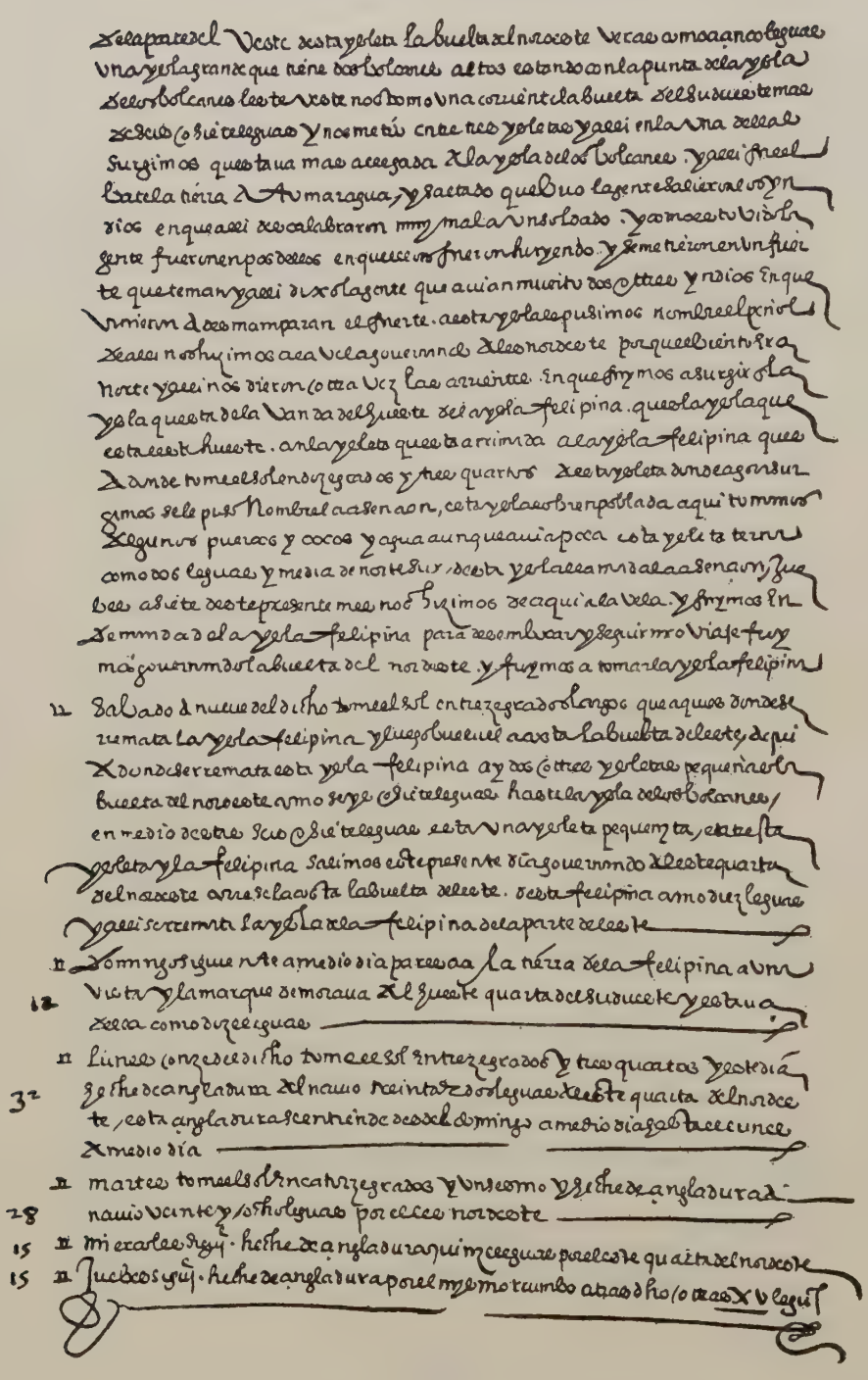
v vino por cap.an de los naulos bartolome ferrel piloto mayor de los dhos nauios en falta
de juan rrodriguez cabrillo que murio en ysla de la posesion venian sombres en los
dhos nauios

Derrotero del Piloto Rexo pinosa de la buelta
de las ysl̃as del poniente

En nel Nombre de Jesus y de su bendita madre / Relacion y derrotero hecho
por Rodrigo de xexo pinosa piloto de la galeota nombrado sanjoan de quo de capitan
Joan de la ysla y de xexo por mandado del Ill̃o señor mg̃uel lopez de legaspi de
gouernador y capitan general de las ysl̃as del poniente por su mag̃d me fuemos
que bimes en la nao capitana nombrada sanpedro por piloto della en compañia
de estevan Rodriguez piloto mayor. que a de yr en esta nao por piloto
de cubu, para seguir el viage a la buena ventura. a la nueva españa de que
va por capitan el muy mag̃co señor felipe de salazar corregidor / el derrotero es como se sigue

Viernes por la mañana a primero de Julio de mill y quinientos y setenta y vn años
nos hizimos a la vela de la ysla de cubu para seguir nuestro viage con la buena ventura
para la nueva españa. salimos por entre la ysla de cubu y la ysla de matan
que esta ysla de matan esta de la parte del sur de cubu, que ay entre la una
ysla y la otra vna legua y media. y aunque muy angosto
en parece que ay buen puerto de ancoraje y vna ysla a la ottra y tienen
por aviso. que de cubu e ir a la buelta de leste nordeste, en este passaje ay
nas por aviso que quando mas se allegare a la ysla de matan es mas ynsalubre y sin reposo ninguna porque si se llegan a la ysla de cubu y de
algunos plaseles de baxos. y peligro a la ysla de matan. y en cabos de cio
y siete y/o ocho braças de fondo y salimos fuera de entre estas dos ysl̃as
domingo de mañana y la costa hay ysla de cubu como de siete/o/ocho leguas por
luengo de la buelta del norte no tiene nenguna ynsidias sino en saliendo de entre estas
dos ysl̃as de nordeste y gouernar la buelta del nordeste hasta dar
en la vista que esta la parte del veste de cubu y yo en el vaxel yendo costeando
la vista la buelta del norte quarta del nordeste como de legua y media de
costa costa no tiene nenguna requesta de que guardarse tiene bino de lo que vieren parece
/ de en este costa hazen dos ensenadas grandes que entran la buelta de leste
que estando fuera bien poco de tierra. se parece otra que haze pasaje. de
tal ysla a la de cubu a la otra de vna ysla a la otra como / o hasta legua
y mas ternan por aviso que yendo gouernando al norte primero treze
ysl̃as de la una parte de la ysla de cubu mas al norte de la una
legua de la otra se haze vna ysla vaxa de cumplida de dos leguas, esta ysla





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11 Biérnes siguiente me naro de la gare el biento Al sueste y tomaua de l sur y
12 hesse al nauio de ãngladura de q eleguas
11 Sabado siguiente tome el sol en diez e siete grados de largo hesse al nauio de ãngladu
25 ra veinte de ãnco leguas por el nordeste quarta de este
11 Domingo siguiente a diez e siete del dho tome el sol en diez e otho grados de largo
25 y hesse al nauio de ãngladura veinte y ãnco leguas
11 Lunes siguiente tome el sol en diez e nueue grados y hesse de ãngladura al nauio trein
30 ta leguas por el nordeste quarta del este, paque traue el biento sueste
11 Martes siguiente hesse de ãngladura al Nauio veinte y dos leguas por leste
22 quarta del nordeste, aqui medio el viento mas largo
16 11 Miercoles siguiente hesse de ãngladura diez e seis leguas por este
11 Jueues dia de corpus xpi que fue a veinte uno del dho estando yo en el dho puerto Despues
junto a esta isla donde tuue lengua la vide un farellon por la vanda de sur tras
que parecia a un barco que tenia buelto, este farellon a un ferme al punto que
trayan mi carta esta en altura de veinte grados, porque este dia no se pudo
tomar el sol ni otro dos o otro dia por causa de los aguaceros, es este baxo
tenia de ãmplidor de dos leguas y me dia de nordeste sudueste y tenia
auiso que este baxo de dho era pieda muy pequenita y los mas un arreçi
25 fe que rebienta mas en el. este dia hesse de ãngladura al nauio veinte y
300. l. ãnco leguas, este dho baxo esta de ãbu. CCC. leguas y esta de la punta de
de ãbu las felipinas que por otro nombre tenemos puesto punta de los spiritu
240. l. sanctu. de la parte del leste, CCXL leguas y esta nordeste sudueste quarta del
este oeste con la dicha punta de los spiritus santo confirme a punto que tra
ya en mi carta
11 Viernes siguiente hesse de ãngladura al sol nauio veinte leguas por el este nordeste
20
19 11 Sabado siguiente hesse de ãngladura diez e otho leguas por el este quarta
del nordeste este dia nos dio el biento en el sueste
11 Domingo siguiente hesse al nauio de ãngladura por el mismo Rumbo arri
19 ba dicho diez y seis leguas
14 11 Lunes siguiente hesse de ãngladura por el mismo Rumbo catorze leguas
16 11 martes siguiente hesse de ãngladura al nauio diez e seis leguas por leste
12 11 Miercoles sig.te hesse al nauio de ãngladura doze leguas por el nordeste quarta de leste
20 11 Jueues sig.te hesse al nauio de ãngladura veinte leguas por el mismo Rumbo arriba dho
30 11 Biernes siguiente hesse de ãngladura por el nordeste treinta leguas
11 Sabado siguiente hesse de ãngladura al nauio por el Rumbo arriba dho
20 veinte leguas desde qual dia comcaron a yr las felipinas hasta este presente
que trapostero deste presente mes de contino tuuimos los buenos pun
tos por la vanda de este trabo
11 Domingo primero de Julio tome el sol en veinte y quatro grados y lo mismo y
15 estando la nordeste del biento en este hesse de ãngladura quinze leguas por el
nordeste

XI Lunes siguiente tomee el sol en veinte y quatro grados y un tercio he hecho de anglad
24. sura veinte y quatro leguas para el nornoroeste quarta del norte
XI Martes tomi el sol en veinte y siete grados largos he hecho de anglad tenia
27 leguas para el mismo Rumbo
XI Miercoles he hecho de anglad al navio veinte leguas para el nornoroeste cuar
20 dia tomee la estrella del norte en veinte y nueve grados menos un quarto
XI Jueves tomee el sol en veinte y nueve grados y un tercio y he hecho de anglad
29 ra veinte y quatro leguas para el nornoroeste, este dia nos dio el viento sues
nordeste y viramos la buelta del sueste, y estos dichos dias con gruesos dio
el viento en ese sueste y viramos la buelta del nordeste
XI Viernes siguiente tomee el sol entre inta grados y he hecho de anglad diez y
17 siete leguas para el nordeste quarta del norte
XI Sabado siguiente tomee el sol en treinta grados y dos tercios y he hecho de
14 anglad catorze leguas para el nordeste quarta del norte
XI Domingo siguiente he hecho de anglad al navio ocho leguas con este rumbo
8 y viendo viento en popa fuimos corriendo para el nordeste hasta ponerse el
sues nordeste y ansi fuimos gouernando para este
XI Lunes siguiente tomee el sol entre inta y un grados menos un quinto y este dia
8 he hecho de anglad diez y ocho leguas
30 XI Martes hecho de anglad treinta leguas para este
XI Miercoles siguiente tomee el sol entre inta grados y dos tercios he hecho de an
45 glad quarenta y cinco leguas para este
XI Jueves siguiente, tomee el sol entre inta grados y un tercio este quedo minu
mos la altura siendo para este esto a causa que nos dio tan gran agua y
38 este dia he hecho de anglad treinta y ocho leguas
27 XI Viernes siguiente he hecho de anglad veinte y siete leguas al este
XI Sabado siguiente tomee el sol entre inta y un grados menos un seismo y este
dia he hecho de anglad al navio por este quarta del nordeste y este
dia nos cesso el viento. de manera que fuymos gouernando del nor
nordeste hasta dos o tres horas de la noche y luego nos fue cesando
de manera que fue corriendo para el nordeste. hasta el domingo por la mañana
y luego nos fue mas cesando el viento, que fue que gouernamos al norte
quarta el nordeste este propio dia que fue domingo a tres de dicho
mes tomee la estrella del norte en treinta y un grados y medio y tambien tome
el sol en treinta y un grados y dos tercios y he hecho de anglad al navio de
22 inte y dos leguas con rumbo de Rumbos que arriba tengo dicho, Lunes
nos dio el viento escasso y fuimos gouernando a norte y a quarta del nordeste
y ansi nos dio el viento el nordeste y luego viramos la buelta del sueste
XI Martes tomee la estrella del norte en treinta y dos grados y un seismo y be
11/17 10 viamos gouernando a este sueste y ansi hazia mos el camino del sueste porque la agu
la nordeste traya una quarta de casta y otra que la nao abatia por

Manera que del camino del ceSueste hazia mos el camino del Sueste

11 (Miercoles X nueue dia · ansu le de vna buelta y otra ganaria lana o anghrme al
17 punto que traya en my carta la buelta del este diez & siete leguas, cote dia nos
dio el buinto neleste vnas vezes mas largo y otras mas cocado y ansi gifica
mos la buelta del nordest y andabamos anfi me arriba dho

11 Juebes antes que fuese dia tome el polo estrella del norte en treinta y dos grados y
medio, a medio dia tome el sol en treinta y dos grados y un terçio largos & he
18 dia & he de angladura al nauio diez & o tho leguas por el nordeste

11 Buierneo X vinte del dho tome el sol en treinta y tres grados y tres quintos
20 & he de angladura veinte leguas por el norte quarta del nordeste

11 Sabado siguiente he he de angladura veinte i dos leguas al norte quarta del no
22 deste y cote dia nos he tome el polo estrella del norte en treinta y cinco gra
dos y medio

11 Domingo dia de la madalena tome el sol en treinta y seis grados y un terçio
22 largo & he he de angladura veinte & dos leguas por el nordeste, cote dia
nos dio el buinto neleste y fuymos corriendo por el leste, cote dia tome
el estrella del norte. entreinta y seis grados y medio cocados

11 Lunes por la mannana tome el polo estrella del norte en treinta y seis gra dos y un
14 terçio largos. y tambien tome este dia el sol en treinta y seis grados y un
quarto & he he de angladura catorze leguas

22 11 Martes & he he de angladura al nauio veinte & dos leguas por este

11 Miercoles dia de senor Santiago tome el sol entreinta y seis grados y cator
ce minutos por este a causa que nos dan los tranches agujas, cote dia
32 he he de angladura treinta y dos leguas por este

11 Jueues veinte y seis del dicho que fue dia de senora santa Anna he he de
27 angladura veinte y siete leguas

11 Buierneo he he de angladura al nauio por este treinta leguas y parte
30 del camino a este quarta del nordeste

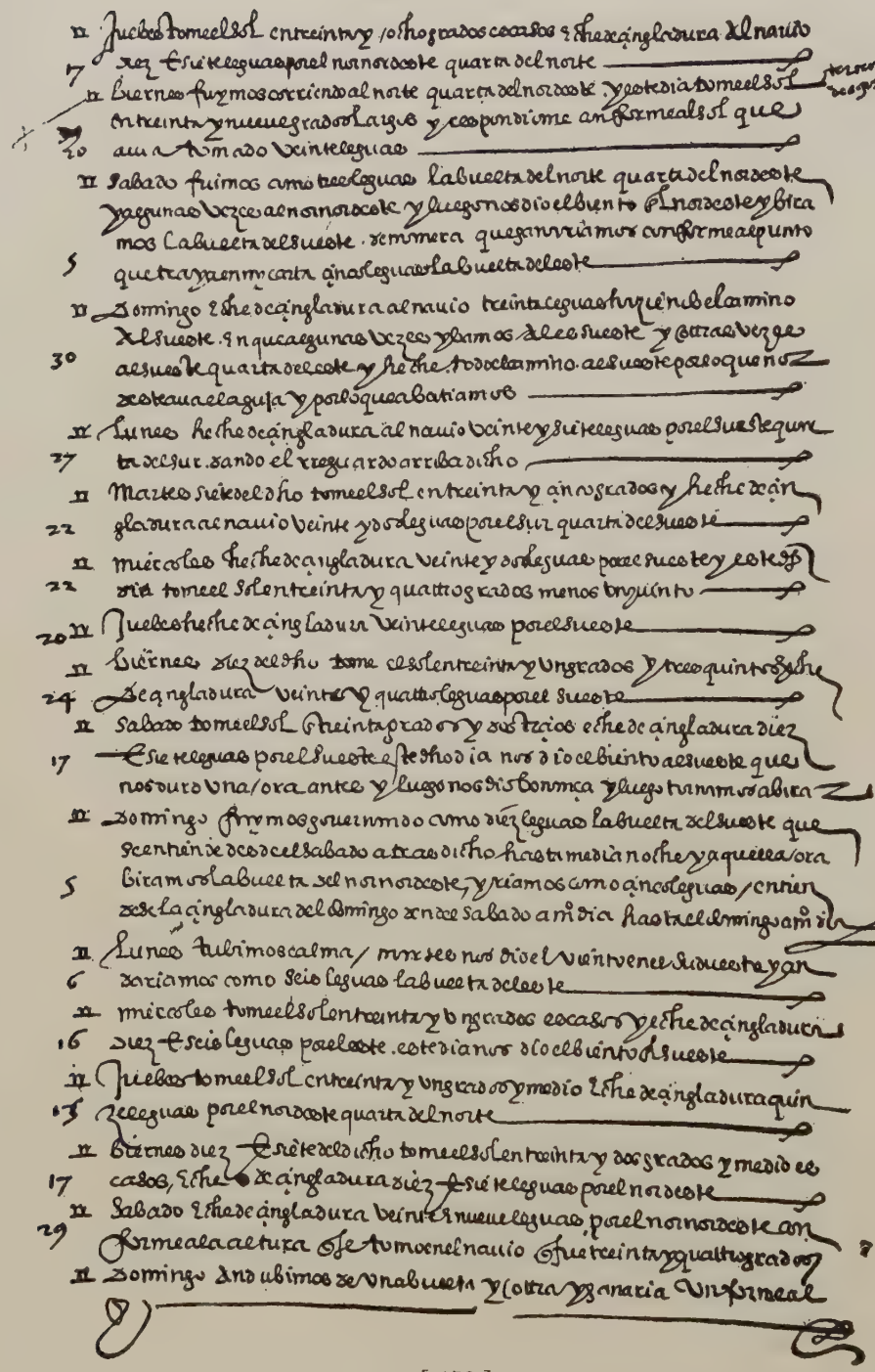
11 Sabado tome el sol entreinta y seis grados y tres quartos & he de angla
35 dura al nauio treinta y cinco leguas por el es nordeste, por que el punto
era sueste y tomaua a deste

11 Domingo he he de angladura diez & siete leguas por este quarta del nor
17 deste cote dia nos dio el buinto al sudueste

11 Lunes tome el sol entreinta y siete grados y un quinto y he he de angla
10 dura al nauio diez leguas por este este

11 Martes abrimos calma, y este dia en la tarde abrimos buinto al nornordeste

11 Miercoles Primero de agosto fuymos gouernando al este quarta del
sueste y otras vezes al sueste y otras vezes al sueste hasta
dia que nos dio el buinto al este y bi ramos la buelta al nornordeste y
anghrme a punto que he he en my carta hallee que auia ganado. 6 tho le
8 guas por los Rumbos arriba dichos



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10 punto que ch̃e en my carta diez leguas la buelta del nordeste

D Lunes veinte del dho marque my agujа. estando las agujas del sudueste y
20 halle que estaua fixa al norte y he de ãngladura veinte leguas por
el sueste

D martes tomee el sol entre cinta grados y dos tercios cele dia huzimos dos bu
celas en que andariamos quinze leguas la buelta del sudueste y dio
leguas la buelta del nordeste quarta del norte

D Miercoles tomee el sol entre cinta y quatro grados la rgos y este dia por el nor
este en que algunas vezes yuamos gouernado al nordeste quarta
del este y otras vezes tomando mas del este y otras mas cerca
porque ssi mas podiamos hechar Rumbo cierto, por andar el biento
30 jugando y no estar fixo en vn rumbo y hechariamos todo el camino por
el nordeste de ãngladura treinta leguas

D Jueues tomee el sol entre cinta y ancos grados la rgos y he de ãngladura quin
15 ze leguas

D Biernes he de ãngladura diez ãncos leguas por el nordeste y este dia tomee el
35 sol entre cinta y ãnco grados y vn quarto

6 D Sabado he de ãngladura seis leguas por este porque el biento se rabonnica
por el sueste

D Domingo veinte y dos del dho tomee el sol en treinta y ancos grados menos vn ter
16 mo y he de ãngladura a nauio diez leguas. que me respondio to
do el camino a leste sueste. y por esto entendi que las aguas me auian
abatido. porque auiamos gouernado al este ssi algunas vezes a este
quarta del sueste, y por esto tube entendido que me auia abatido las
aguas y trae el punto nor nordeste y algũas vezes este tomaua el norte

D Lunes yriamos como quinze otras la buelta de leste sueste y andaria el
16 nauio diez leguas y todo mas nos dio vn rosagueros con algunas
D martes veinte y ocho de dho tomee el sol en treinta y ancos grados
menos seis minutos y este dia andymos como trze leguas la buelta del
sur este y luego nos dio el viento nordeste y algũas vezes nordeste
16 y ansi fuymos gouernando al nordeste y algunas vezes al nor nor
este y este dia he de ãngladura diez leguas

D murieron se fuymos gouernando al nordeste quarta de este y algũas vezes
al nordeste porque el biento trasnordeste y algunas vezes tramontana
30 sur y otras mas cerca de este he de ãngladura treinta leguas

D Jueues nos dio el biento tanto y con aguaceros que nos hizo yr sin
24 velas de gabia, este dia he de ãngladura veinte quatro leguas por el nordeste

D Biernes he de ãngladura diez e ocho leguas por el nordeste quarta
18 del norte porque este dia nos dio el biento cerca del sueste

D Sabado primero de setiembre tomee el sol entre cinta y ocho grados y vn

largos, coledia temia mpuntoen altura detreinte y siete grados y dos tercios pro
to que vna dequi xelsque temia mpunto alos treinta y ocho grados y medio largos
mesmo de norte sur porque este dia elbiento fue calma y pola mucha ma z
que los dias pasados temamos tengo entendido que amiamos dexado caer tura y
tambien podria ser que anao vuiescandado mas de lo que y se auia hecho se
ingla dura este dia ——

11 Domingo 8 he de ingladura trecelegua as leo noroeste cotra ingladura entre dos
de sabado a medio dia hasta el domingo a medio dia, y aesta vra a medio elbien
3 to cresciose que an vnagua ero quen osbuco tuma vez de lac de dia y quando
vino a media noche nos dio tan recio que nos hizo sanglae bonetre ——

12 Lunes 9 he de ingladura alnauio veinte y quatro leguas poel noroeste ando se
reguardo almucho viento que traya mos y mar coleo dia en la tarde nos dio tan
24 to viento q vbimos de repartar porque auia mucha serrazon porque alguno s
dellos que se hallauan puntos con sus mas cartas se hallauan antierra de la
nueua españa y a media noche nos dio elbiento en el sursudueste y fuimos bel
gouernando al sueste quarta aleeste ——

11 Martes 10 meel sol entre ynta y siete grados y vntercio y coledia hizimos bel
y se he de ingladura alnauio doze leguas, coledia mandar mgouernar delsueste
12 enque yo fuy de parecer que gouernasemos alsueste porque yo me hallaua
de tierra de quarenta y vngrados. cxcviij. leguas de la figura de mi carta y con
forme a otra figura q yo auia visto de la primera fuy andando me hallaua de tierra de quarenta y vngrados como actualmente goza dicha. cc x leguas
i de la nueua españa tierra y de la longitud que auia vna carta mas que en otra de
causa que en la figura de mi carta tenia mas de la tierra la buelta del veste que
en la otra en que ambas eran yguales en longitud del puerto de la nauidad
hasta el de cubu ——

11 Miercoles quinze del dho tomee el sol treinta y ocho grados y vn quarto largos
33 de la tierra y se he de ingladura treinta y tres leguas poel sueste quarta de leeste
11 Jueues tomee el sol entre inta y siete grados y vntercio estando en el nauio vein
25 te y dos leguas poel sueste el buen viento trasnueste y a este / oramandamos
gouernar alleeste sueste ——

11 Viernes tomee el sol entre inta y siete grados y vntercio este dia he se de ingladura
16 diez y seis leguas poel este porque el buen viento trasnor y tomau a del sueste
11 Sabado tomee el sol entre inta y siete grados y medio en ocaso y se he de ingladura
25 veinte y dos leguas poel este, y esto q mes multiplicamos en altura y en causa
que el buen viento no nos dexaua yr a leeste a cosa ninguna de estas ——

20 11 Domingo 12 he de ingladura alnauio veinte leguas poel este ——

11 Lunes dize el dho tomee el sol entre inta y siete grados y medio este dia se he
5 de ingladura a nueue leguas poel este quarta del sueste ——

6 11 Martes 13 he de ingladura a alnauio seis leguas poel sueste ——

23 11 Miercoles 14 he de ingladura de veinte y tres leguas poel este y en este buen viento nos mes
tey tomaua del sur, coledia nos dio de leeste sueste y bamos gouernando alleeste sueste

11 Jueues 15 he de ingladura veinte y siete leguas poreste sueste, en que nos he
27 gouernabamos alsueste equarta eleeste, porque me hallaua por mi carta

[472]

Veinte y tres leguas de la tierra mas cercana, y me demoraba N.no.este y poel
co.sueste me hallaua a setenta y quatro leguas de la tierra por mi carta

XI Buirnes & he de ángladura catorze leguas poreleste quarta delsueste y este dia
14 marcamos las agujas y por aquel gouierno auia nordeste a nordeste quarta
dos ter.s de quarta y por una mia que tenia marcada, que la auia yo marcado
2
de el pueito de la nauidad, tambien la marque como he y nos hallauamos media
a tres casa

XII Sabado quinze del dho & he de ángladura treinta leguas La mytad del camino
al este quarta deleste.sueste. y la otra mytad al este sueste, esta quarta que gouer.n
30 uamos mas largo de noche a causa que nos hallauamos on la tierra & y poel dho
Pero espinosa piloto, oy por no he me hallaua on la tierra por la figura de my
carta y mas digo que del puerto de cubu sastra don treinta y un my punto salgome
1545.le. Dx[illegible] leguas. y estuy en altura de treinta y seis grados largos, y a este tardra
desde mdm. me hallee del quarto de la galera, o sho leguas, y la tenia al este, y por esa carta q
Vengo & hando punto del puerto de cubu hasta tres de la nauidad & he de longi
tud dos myll leguas

XIII Domingo diez & seis del dicho tomee el sol en treinta y un grados. y tres quintos
28 de grado y este dia & he de ángladura veinte y o sho leguas, y este dia fuymos
de parecer q gouernasemos al este. y este dia nos dio de viento gl norte

XIV Lunes & he de ángladura al nauio treinta y seis leguas por el leste sueste y este
36 dia nos dio tanto viento norte que nos hizo tomar las velas de gabia

XV martes diez & o sho del dho, a las seis de la mañana estando a sentado de la silla
y el dho piloto vi tierra por la vanda de este sudeste por que yba mos amirando
de la vanda de cabalier y luego mande cacar a popa las velas que hiuan con
volas en las siguientes, con una vela que esta nos hacen sueste sudeste y en el
medio de estas velas alta, y de la una parte y de la otra las cuales dos puntas del
cadas y de la parte del nao cole della, amo a legua y media. Y de la una parte
que parece fuera de la agua. a esta y la llamo sen nombre la descada, esta tra en
altura de treinta y tres grados y tres quartos y esta tierra quando la vide
de ella amo a nueue leguas. y ansi fuymos gouernando al sur quarta al sues
te. y este dia tomee el sol en treinta y tres grados y un quarto y pone este punto
Digo que la tierra & vi esta tra en altura de treinta y tres grados y tres quar
tos desde lunes a medio dia hasta el martes a la hora que vide la tierra
30 he he de ángladura al nauio treinta leguas por el este sueste y este dia no
camos y descubrir la tierra a causa que auia mucho viento y estaua
la tierra ahumada, y ansi fuymos de parecer q gouernasemos al sur
quarta de sueste por dar resguardo a la tierra porque an de ser mi punto
tuyo el dicho piloto traya escrito que esta una vela que estaua en altura de
treinta y quatro grados descadas y los demas a que se hauan puesto
salleuanen la tierra, este dia me hallee del puerto de cubu hasta don
1550.le de ter iam punto este propio dia [illegible]Dc L leguas

XVI Miercoles tomee el sol en treinta y un grados menos un sesmo, este dia & he
46. de ángladura quarenta y seis leguas al nauio por el sur quarta el sueste

xx Juebes 8 che de anglada treinta y seis leguas la my tad del camino al sur
36 y la otra al sur quarta del sueste de manera que da nos el reguardo a la agusa
media quarta que nos este nauia mereçido de el camino todo al sur quarta del
sueste y este dia fuymos de proesa que que ser nas mos al sueste por que estu
mos leste jueste con y olas y cerros

xx Biernes tomee l sol en veinte y ocho grados cacados 8 che de anglada treinta y
ocho leguas en derecentes Rumbos enjuiçio ocho leguas al sueste y veinte
38 leguas al es sueste y las demas al este quarta de sueste por y lam vista de
mm a orilla tierra a

xx Sabado veinte y dos del dicho tomee l sol en veinte y siete grados y dos tes 8 che de
anglada ura al nauio veinte leguas parees este y an bemit gouernmos al este
20 quemos abaxado en altura y mas lo que nos auia este nauia clagusa y antes
otro sauemos abaxado en altura este dia a las ocho de la mmanana estando
·/· vn marinero a cabimon que de la mauia andado, mediaro que bia tierra. y yo
el dicho piloto me fuy a la gabia y bi que era tierra que parecia a vna ysla
y la marque y me demoraba al es nordeste y luego se cubrio de manera que
me pudo creubir que no era tierra, a las tres de la tarde estando yo el dicho piloto
arrimado a la gabia vila tierra y luego tomee la gusa y marque la de cum
y me demoraua al nordeste quarta del este y aunto mauia de lee nordeste es
tierra alta y esta era en altura de veinte y ocho grados. Luego yauia
de my a la tierra de seis leguas y de nde medio dia hasta la noche que la vi, an
† darian de nauio quatro leguas, de manera que esta tierra a mediodia diez e seis leguas
y para la parte del nordeste se nos cubria vna tierra alta a manera de tierra

xx Domingo quando amaneçio bimos la costa que teniamos a cerca, y hazeal
gunas quebradas y tambien vimos la tierra que auiamos visto el dia an
tes y la marque y me demoraba al norte quarta al nordeste, esta tierra ace
ma alta que ninguna de quantas parecen. en la costa tomee l sol en veinte
y siete grados y vn quinto y de aqui adonde me el sol me demoraba vna punta
al sueste quarta del este, llama se esta punta santa catalina esta nace en
·/· esta costa quatro leguas y esta tierra como dicho es ta punta en altura de veinte
y siete grados y vn quinto. porque de donde tome el sol a la punta me demo
raua al sueste quarta del este: esta punta de la tierra que auiamos visto
el dia antes se corre la costa nordeste sueste, toda esta tierra es pelada
y esta punta que esta en altura de veinte y siete grados y vn quinto, es vn
tierra vn medano y arena y por ençima della cae vna mata a de que
parecen capas de lana y en doblando esta punta haze vna ensenada
y luego veras tres rios los vnos de los otros y el del medio es mayor y haze vna isla
en medio, y a un lado haze otra isla, y el que esta de esta parte del sur es
mas mediano y esta parte del norte mas pequeño que ninguno y de la
tierra que esta y de la mar es alta, y de los pinos les a la punta de trasmi
es tierra baxa y arenales y parecen arenales de esta punta de santa ca
talina ba la costa como trez leguas la buelta del les sueste y alli

[474]

Haze vna punta de tierra doblada que esta que esta de los peñoles sobre la mar

Jueues tome el sol en veinte y cinco grados y medio quinto se de norte tome el sol hasta esta hora a nouenta y vna leguas yendo el camino al sueste quarta del este es tierra quando tome el sol de la tierra doze leguas, de aqui vala costa como quinze leguas y de remate de esta quinze leguas de ella vna tierra alta a manera de ysla, que no me determino si es ysla. porque quando llegamos a ella era noche para dalli de esta tierra vaxa a de seguir nar al sudueste de donde tome el sol esta tierra hace tres bolsas la tierra. que señala como ysla. cree tres quinze leguas a dos leguas hallara de fondo en quinze y en veinte braças y todo a rroa de luengo de costa. Arreçifes y no tellegues mucho entierra aquando pasares, esta tierra que haze como ysla tome el estrellar tando las guardas el sudueste en veinte y quatro grados y tres quartos y amo a dos leguas. la buelta de les sueste haze otra tierra alta de cumplidos de diez leguas y luego se haca vna ensenada y luego vala tierra alta como los dos leguas y allí sale vna punta con vnos mogotes cerca que caen sobre la mar

Martes tome el sol veinte y quatro grados, de dunde tome este dia el sol marque esta punta. y me demoraba Aleste de este, y estaria de esta punta ocho leguas que seria alos mogotes sobre la mar corre de la tierra a tres de esta punta Alsueste, doblando esta dicha punta dizen que ay vn puerto y luego vala tierra vaxa

Miercoles tome el sol en veinte y tres grados y vn quarto estaua de treinta y tres leguas y remia vna tierra alta alesteste y la buelta del sueste salia vna punta vaxa y estaria de my como nueue leguas que es vn rio largo de grado poco mas o menos que era alsueste de manera, que bacando lo de la altura que tome esta tarde la punta veinte y tres grados menos vn quarto vn grado es la bacando lanas pareçe que a treinta y quatro leguas y de donde tome esta punta de quinze leguas fuy corriendo para sueste quarta de este hasta poner me en altura de veinte y tres grados y vn quarto que es la altura que tome, es la siah alle que anduue nauio treinta y seis leguas, esta costa de corre norte sueste y esta punta arriba dichas el remate de la tierra de la calentura esta en altura de veinte y tres grados menos vn quarto, las señas que tiene esta costa son las siguientes, de la tierra alta va vna punta de tierra baxa de cumplidos de dos leguas la buelta del sueste que es donde Remata la dicha tierra y sobre la punta haze vn pan Redondo que señala como ysla y es toda tierra firme y en la parte de la tierra haze otro mogote de manera de pan de aquicar y el pan que esta sobre la Mar haze vna mancha blanca que toma la mitad del pan y luego se ala mia de la mar vna ancha sangra y esta punta es pinte nombre cabo blanco. por la mancha blanca de tras dicha y esta noche murio el maese y los echamos a la mar sobre este cabo, y esta noche marque el aguja y alle que es tres fixa al norte

Jueues veinte y siete del dicho tome el sol en veinte y dos grados y enteraio
este dia anduuo el nauio veinte y /oth o leguas en que viñe a tener dio
28. este y asta poner me norueste sudueste con el cabo arriba dicho y de alli viñe
a tener dio Xles sueste hasta poner me en altura de veinte y dos grados y un
traio que es la altura que vi me este dia y me respondio todo el camino al sues
te quarta al este y asi me respondio las veinte y /oth o leguas Arriba dige
este dia murio el piloto mayor este uan Rodriguez. murio en tierra las nueue
y las dixe o la mañana

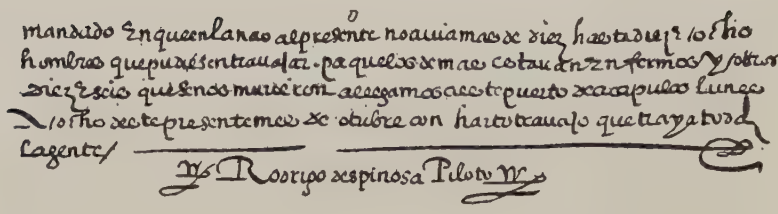
Viernes veinte y /o thode dicho tome el sol en veinte y un grados y medio nor
dos mi nutos. halle que auia andado el nauio en este dia en altura veinte y
/oth o leguas parece sueste este dia entre las dos y las tres oras
28 bimos dos yslas y las marque y la que estaua a la banda del nor este
me demoraua al este y tomaua de la quarta del sueste. y la /otra al este
quarta del sueste, estas dos yslas que estaua al nor oeste de mj auia /onze
guas quando la vide a mj parecer, de manera que quando tome el sol
este dia a medio dia estaua de mj esta dicha ysla mas de cerca de quinze
leguas. porque es tierra alta y conforme a cuanto yo traya esta de la tierra
de la parte del nor oeste Veinte y un grados y un traio y quando de las dos a bri
mos fuymos a cubrimos la buelta de este porque vi que yslas eran y
antes que llegasemos a ellas con animo de saber las que nos hacia y mas
parecio a mj para reparar y ami que fuesemos gouernando al sueste para que
dentro de mi auia figura que el traya estas tres yslas cerca de la
tierra firme y por mj figura estaua en estas yslas de cabo de arri
ba es a treinta y seis leguas nor oeste sueste, y para reparar
por su figura demaba al cabo de arriba / al sueste

Sabado quando amaneció bimos las yslas arriba dichas y mas otra
que estaua a dos a tres de la parte del sueste y esta /otra las marque y la
que estaua de la parte del nor oeste de todas tres me demoraua a la norte y
esta ysla era alta y de la parte del nor oeste y del sueste hecha a manera
puntas delgadas y tambien marque la del medio y me demoraua al
norte quarta del nor oeste, y es tambien alta y hechas a manera de puntas
tres de la ysla arriba dicha, esta ysla del medio de la parte del sueste
sale una tierra que a mj parecio ser peninsula, a un que este
nome determino para estas dos yslas arriba dichas son
de a mplida de tres leguas cada una de ellas la que esta mas al
oeste de todas estas hay una ysla pequeña y alta y redonda y hes
ha de la parte del sueste una tierra baxa que parece ser ysle
tas. estas tres yslas son en nor oeste sueste con la ysla que
esta de la parte del nor oeste a la del sueste, como / oth o / onze de
las que la que esta mas al nor oeste de estas tres yslas arriba dichas
esta con la punta de la california llamada por cattron ombre cabo blan
co, corre de esta ysla a cabo blanco nor este / o zen o nor oeste

Y ay xestadilha y ysla al cabo blanco setenta y ocho leguas con ferme am q̃ntuquiero
traya en mj carta. Xestobrabimos tierra la buelta del sueste quatra este q̃ se ha
que fue sesgado rumbe sesl. en veinte grados y medio. Este trainglatura de nauio
quatro leguas poco mas este. y a nos poco leste. Xcalli fuy gouernando para sueste
hasta perder en altura xe los veinte grados y medio y asi mesmo pendio que
auia andado el nauio veinte y siete leguas para sueste. y la mesma xelaguada
xeste y la tierra xe nubadilha. que me xmoraba al este quarta xesueste. la
Xcamos ainos entre las quatro y seis braças no sentia xe que tenia cubierta del
cabo xe corrientes. y Vaparael puerto xe la nauidad y aesta hora marque
vna xe aestos ysotes que ese la que esta aca parte xesueste y también
marque esta tierra ferme. y asi dicho conferme a xe Rumas sigue mny gue
la dilha ysla de tierra ferme. tantas. cam̃ tanta y tan grande estuua la ysla
xe la tierra q̃ dize. dez. y ocho leguas. y que estaua esta tierra en altura
de veinte grados largos

IV Domingo treinta xel dicho quando amaneçio vimos la costa q̃ auia dicha y no
conosçia la tierra por auer estado neblina, mas poco a poco fuymos con tra
hazer que estaua entre el puerto de la nauidad y el cabo de corrientes. y a quinze
ralmo el viento y conosçi que ya nos auia adelantado este dicho nauio
en los dichos veinte grados menos vn terzio. y para mas conosçi que estaua del
puerto de la nauidad de çiento leguas para sueste. y que tenia
en el dicho puerto, que fue dez. y nueue grados y vn terzio para tanto digo q̃
costa de la tierra del puerto de çiento leguas, quando me este dia a este
dos leguas y media la costa de la que me aqui sinala en la siguiente / la buel
ta de nordeste ueras vna tierra alta y amogotada. y de aqui parte xesueste
xeste Hazen dos tetas altas y en cada vna de estas tetas S. parecen
dos y aun sen̄ala como si fuesse sinetas. y en medio destas quatro tetas haze
vn aguada. y de cada parte de xe cada tetas juntas esta es la tierra q̃
esta en la tierra alta y a mas adelante dos leguas y media la buelta de este ueras
vn farellon. de piedra pequeño / y este farellon dize cinco dedos
Dicho en la tierra frontero de dicho farellon en que vienen a parar
de xe xa mesa que tra quatro leguas de este dicho farellon tu da esta
ta cerca de la mar. es de arena al blanco y sobre ella mesma, estan dos tres
farellones pequeños cerca de la tierra y aun dizen que estan las yslas que
tras, de aqui a el puerto de la nauidad diez leguas

X Lunes quinze de mes de octubre año del nascim̃to de nro
señor y saluador Jesu xpo de mil y quinientos y setenta y a nos años de mi
nos ymos a surgir en el puerto de la nauidad y este hora mi terzinim carta y dixe
1892. le que auia andado [illegible] leguas de este puerto de la buelta de sesl
Dia de Sr. de octubre to de la Nauidad y aesta hora me fuy de capitan y me dixe que me dixe
mandaba que saliese del nauio porque tuuimos sobre el puerto de la nauidad
dad y el mesmo dia que salimos de el puerto de la capilla y obe dezo a su



mandado en que en la nao al presente no auia mas de diez hasta diez e ocho
hombres que pudiesen trauajar. pa que los demas estauan enfermos y otros
diez e seis que se nos murieron allegamos a este puerto de acapulco lunes
a ocho deste presente mes de otubre con harto trauajo que traya toda
la gente/

Rodrigo despinosa Piloto

IV Martes a seis de octubre de mill e quinientos y sesenta y nueve años el muy mag^co señor felipe de salazco capitan de esta nao sanpedro que va de bolta a la nueva España pedro de la puente mayor. y yo rodrigo de la rosa ansimismo piloto desta nao. y fran^co de castiglia escrivano desta dicha nao. que tambien hemos apuntado y asentado tantas en el cami^no que avian andado. desde el puerto de ayburi hasta esta tierra que vienen este dicho dia andemos tomaron el sol. entre cinco y tres grados y un quarto y que tantas es ansimismo el altura y nos mas subieron y le dieron firmado de sus nombres / p philippe de salazco

V Y luego el dicho piloto mayor tanto y mirose en su carta de marear y hallo que avian andado por su punto y altura desde el dicho puerto de yosa hasta el dicho dia martes que vienen la primera tierra mill e setecientas y quarenta leguas de camino hasta una yosa que esta cerca de la tierra firme de la costa del puniente de la nueva españ que cae treinta y tres grados y treinta y un quarto. porque en el dicho dia anemos sido de camino de los dichos siete leguas de la manana que vienen la dicha tierra a sus nueste de tumo de altura del sol a mediodia entre cinco y tres grados y un quarto y ansi mismo de alli que hallo la altura mas alta que an subido a cinco grados y medio para caparte del norte poco mas o menos y lo firmo de su nombre / Estevan Rodriguez

30 g 1/2 1

VI Y ansi mismo el dicho piloto Rodrigo de la rosa tanto y mirolo por su carta de marear y que avia andado desde el dicho puerto de yosa hasta el dicho puerto de arriba gran^de y hallo que avia de camino mill e setecientas y quarenta leguas. y que a sido la altura que mas a subido a sido treinta y nueve grados y un quarto para caparte del norte y lo firmo de su nombre / Rodrigo de la rosa y espinosa

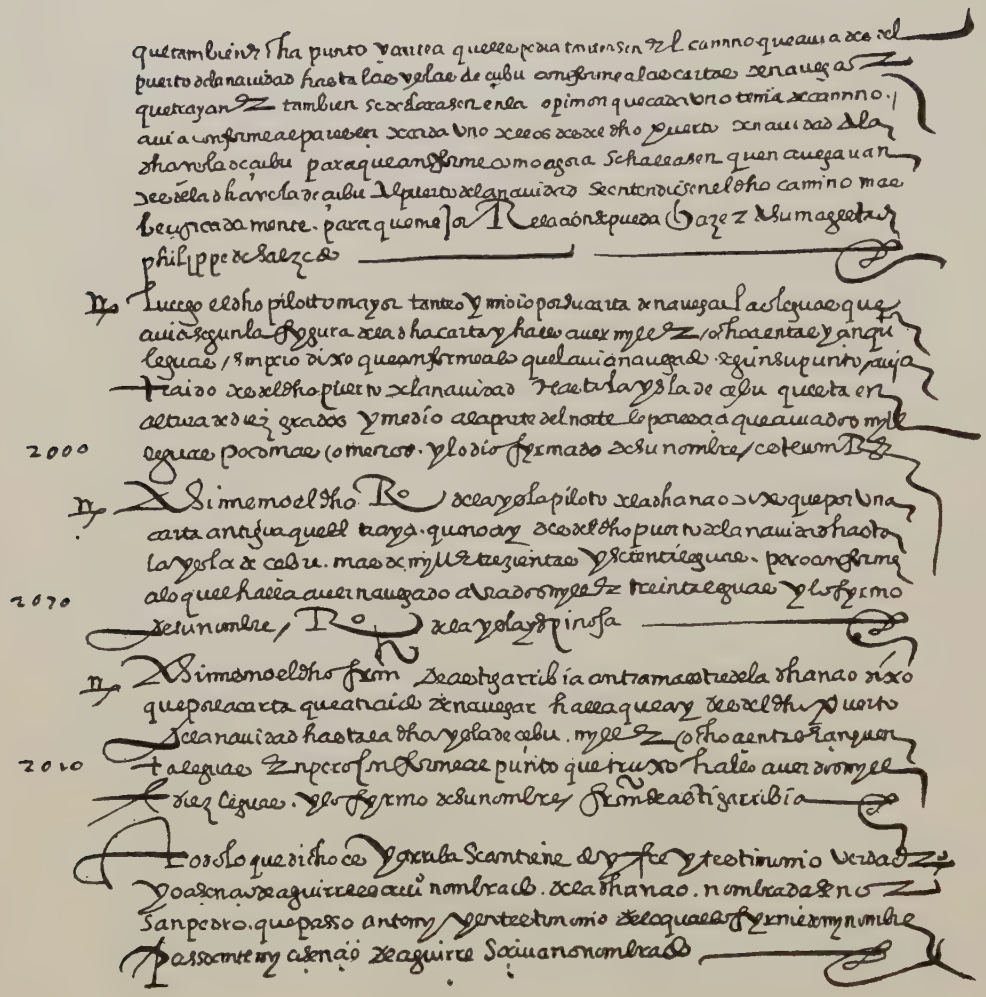
39 g 1/2

VII Y ansimismo el dicho fran^co de castiglia arriba en la mar de este siempre a tomado altura y a hallado punto tanto y mirolo por su carta de marear lo que avia andado de este dicho puerto de yosa hasta el dicho punto arriba en el dicho camino y hallo que avia andado mill e setecientas y quatro leguas de camino y aquella altura que mas a subido a sido treinta y nueve grados para caparte del norte poco mas o menos y lo firmo de su nombre / firmado de castiglia arriba

39 1/2

VIII A todo lo qual dicho de yarriba de suso en este y en todos los dichos de suso yo escrivano de la dicha nao e nombrado de los dichos pedro de la puente mayor y rodrigo de la rosa y fran^co de castiglia pilotos desta dicha nao por mandado de los dichos mis amos fize aqui mi signo en testimonio de verdad / Passo ante mi Juan de escalante escrivano nombrado

IX Lunes a nueve de julio de mill e quinientos y sesenta y nueve años el muy mag^co señor felipe de salazco capitan desta nao sanpedro que va de bolta a la nueva España pidio a pedro de la puente mayor y a rodrigo de la rosa. asimismo piloto y a fran^co de castiglia escrivano desta dicha nao y a cada uno de ellos que



[480]

Viaje por el M. del Sur.

Sum.^{ca} y var.^{s}

56.
1587

Relacion del Viaje i navegacion que el Capitan pedro de Unamuno a hecho desde la isla macarena questa vna legua al sur dela Ciudad de macarena en la fragata nombrada Nr̃a señora de buena esperanza i lo q.^e mas en el biaje a subcedido es lo siguiente.

Primeramente parti dela dha Ysla Macarena domingo doze de Julio como a oras de mediodia i camine a les sueste doce leguas i como a las onze oras dela noche me halle tan adelante dela Ysla de Leme q.^e es la mar furana delas yslas de macan que esta en veinte i dos gradas i medio largas.

Desde esta ysla de Leme se tomo derrota para los Vavu-janes governando a leste coarta del sueste i despues de aver caminado noventa y seis leguas por el dho rumbo Jueves diez y seis del dho mes de Julio como a oras de mediodia se tomo bista destas ysbas de vabuyanes i se pesso el sol i estan en veinte gradas i medio escasos tomose la vista destas Yslas caminando por este rumbo por Noroestear el aguja de marear cerca de vna quarta diosele el resguardo conforme a la variazion della.

Desde estas Yslas Vavuyanes se tomo derrota para vna Ysla que en algunas cartas de marear es-

ta pintada quesedice Licadeoro queesta quatro cientas
Zein quentaleguas destos Davuyanes endezrrota deles
nordeste deste sudueste que esta en altura deveynte
ynuebe hasta treynta i vngrados largos i Caminando
para ladha Ysla Con tiempos diferentes Navegue due
cedias a diferentes Rumbos i alos veinte yocho
del dhomes de Julio tobimos bista de dos Yslas peque
nas queternian Comotresleguas deboro cada vna ia-
partadas vna deotra Como vnalegua ymedia iestan
situadas norte sur quarta de noro esta este sueste en
altura deveinte ycinco grados imedio enque este
dia sepeso el sol lasquales sevojearon imiraron i no
se hallo tener ningun puerto enellas nitener nin-
gunos arboles ni ynsignias detener agua antes en
lo quede ellas seentendio porlavista oCular que ene-
llas sehizo noson deprobech para Cosa alguna puso
seles pornombre las sinprobecho.

Desde estas Yslas setomo ladezrrota esta propia
noche paraala Ysla Rica ~~doro~~ de Oro que enel Capitulo an-
tesdesta sehadado Razon que esta tres cientas ytrein-
taleguas destas Yslas en dezrrota del este vesto co-
arta de nordeste sudueste iestaenaltura delas par-
tes delsur en veinte innevegrados i delaparte del
Norte entreinta i vngrados imedio escasos segun
esta pintada en algunas Cartas en Cuya altura
nos hallamos Miercoles diez ynuebe de Agosto i es-
tando enladha sualtura sebusco ladha Ysla del es

57.

te veste i por los demas rumbos que fueron nescesarios
i se yzo todo lo pusible i no se pudo hallar la dha Ysla por
donde se entiende no la aver.

Desta altura de los treinta y un grados se tomo la de-
rrota al esnordeste en busca de otra Ysla que en algu-
nas Cartas esta pintada que le llaman Rica de plata
que ay de la que dicen Rica de oro i su altura sese-
nta leguas al esnordeste gobernando esta segun su
pintura i arrumbada en las Cartas i esta segun su
pintura en altura de treinta i tres grados asta tre-
inta y quatro desde la parte del sur ala del norte en
Cuya altura nos hallamos sabado veinte y dos de
Agosto i se busco del este hueste i hechas las dili-
gencias pusibles i no se pudo hallar a Cuya Causa
no la debe de haver sino que alguno por oydas le man-
daria pintar en su carta.

Domingo v.te i tres de agosto Alanoche se tomo
la derrota para en busca de las Yslas que dicen de arme-
nio que segun estan pintadas en algunas Cartas esta v.te
leguas de la Ysla que arriva dize Rica de plata que es-
tan en derrota una Con otra Nordeste sudueste en
altura de treynta i quatro grados i treynta i zinco
i un tercio i en su altura nos hallamos Miercoles v.te
i seys del dho mes de Agosto i se prosuno su vista Con
mucho cuydado Con las diligencias pusibles i no se pu
do hallar i se entiende no le de ver.

Desde la altura de la Ysla de armenio arriva de Cla-

que dicen que la ay que treynta i cinco grados i un tercio se
tomo de rroca al este quarta al nordeste i al nordeste en
vusca de la tierra de la nueba españa i tomarla en la
mayor altura que ser pudiese i los tiempos nos die-
sen lugar para desde ay hacer el descuvrimiento q^e
pusible fuese Caminando por los dhos Rumbos lunes
postrero de Agosto en altura de treynta i siete grados
i vn quinto en que este dho dia se pesso el sol i se hallo es-
ta altura aviendo Caminado Ciento i quarenta legu-
as por los dhos Rumbos nos rindio el Arbol mayor en
dos partes. i triquete. i bramper, i despues de aver aderezado los
dhos Arboles lo mejor que ser pudo para poder na-
begar tornamos a proseguir nr̃a derota por los dhos
Rumbos i nabegan de suvimos en altura de treynta
i nuebe grados Juebes tres de septiembre que nos dio vn
viento Les nordeste donde no pudimos subir en mas al-
tura asi por el tiempo no nos dar lugar Como por tener
rrendidos los arboles i el Navio ser pequeño i tener ~~pas~~ polo
reparo la gente por benir no tan acomodada Como Com-
venia para resistir al frio i al Agua Venimos a demi-
nuyr en altura de treynta i dos grados y medio en que
nos hallamos miercoles treynta del dho mes de septiem-
bre i desde esta Altura que este dho dia se tomo se pro-
curo suvir A mas altura i por los tiempos no nos dar
lugar fue trabajoso muciplicar en la dha Altura.

Ynabegando por diferentes Rumbos por lo Contra-
riedad de los tiempos venimos a suvir Con harto trava-

58.

jo en altura de treynta y cinco grados i medio largos en q.e
nos hallamos savado diez y siete de otubre del dho año i es-
te dia se vido tierra. i por no haver claridad por estar la tierra
muy cubierta por la mucha cerrazon que avia de neblina.
por cuya causa no se certifico por entero ser tierra la
que se nos abia parescido i esta noche a prima guardia
yendo a la vuelta de leste tomando del nordeste con viento
su sueste encontramos con dos Ylates pequeños pega-
dos con la tierra firme como m.a legua a la mar i lle-
gamos tan cerca dellos como vn tiro de arcavuz que no a-
ver vuena guardia segun la zerrazon nos perdia
moz. esta noche dimos a la vuelta de la mar asta el
quarto del Alva.

Domingo diez y ocho del dho mes al quarto del alba hi-
zimos el bordo de la tierra i esclareciendo R.s el dia vi-
mos vna tierra Alta a la p.te del sur con vnos tres arbo-
les de pino en lo mas alto del que sirven de marca i a la
p.te del norte vimos muchos vmos al pie del dho zerro
en vnos pinales cerca de la mar i a la dha p.te del norte
vna p.ta hechada como nor ueste sueste i de dentro de la
punta. demostrava vna Vaya grande hazia la parte
del este que dimos trava a ver Puertos en ella i despues
de aver tomado los paresceres de la gente del Navio i par-
ticular m.te del padre fray martin Ygnacio de Loyoba
Comisario de la china i visto que todos heran de pares-
cer de q.e se arrivase a la dha vaya i en ella se viese
lo que avia pues para ello venian i con esta determina-

cion segoverno p.ra ladha Vaya i llegado a ella sevida a la ella
p.te del este vn harenal de vuen espacio de hanchuna
mediana para donde segoverno i surgimos Con ladha
fragata en v.te i sietebrazas de fondo de arena menuda mezclada
Con baxa i al rededor i Vien cerca de ladha faagasa ay
muchas yervas largas y gruesas que nascen en mas
de quinzebrazas son gruesas i tienen las ojas i troncos
grandes que son delos que se dize que en la mar cien leg.s
dela Costa V en los navegantes vnas Valsas grandes los
quales proceden destos q.e harriva se hazeme morir i nas-
cen en toda la Costa hasta pasado la ysla de zedros q.e esta
en v.te y ocho grados y medio largos i no nascen en los rios
Como algunos lo an certificado sino en la Costa Como
arriba se declara, aqui en este puerto ay infinito pes-
cado de diferentes generos i aavoles para Navios i a-
gua i leña i mucho marisco donde se puede reparar de
todo esto quando alguno ~~tengan~~ tenga escesidad.

Como harriva dezimos surgimos en el dho Puerto
a los diez y ocho del dho mes de otubre dia de S.n Lucas
i p.r ser su dia del S.r S.n Lucas se puso por nombre p.to
de S.n Lucas i surto en el Como arriva se dize en el
dho dia ~~Como~~ entre las onze o las doze del dia apartados
del arenal que en el avia Como dos tiros de arcabuz
donde se peso el sol i se hallo estar el dho puerto entre-
inta y cinco grados i medio largos i estando asi surtos
a pocorrato bimos en tierra en vna loma a la alda
de vn zerro dos Indios de ~~donde~~ donde nos miraron a su gusto.

59.

Con la vista destos Yndios se hizo Junta de la gente que avia en el dho Navio i estando todos juntos se trato ~~todo~~ lo q.e se devia de hazer si saltarian en tierra algunos soldados i se visitase lo q.e al rrededor del dho p.to avia i siendo todos de parescer de q.e el Cap.tan Con doce soldados i algunos Yndios Con sus espadas i rodelas saltasen en tierra i se viese la dispusicion de la tierra i se destavriese lo que al rededor del dho p.to avia desembarq.e en tierra Con doze soldados Con sus cotas i Arcavuces llebando por delante Al Padre fray martin ignacio de Loyola Con vna Cruz en sus manos i algunos Yndios Luzones Con sus espadas i rodelas despues de aver dejado orden en la dha fragata para lo q.e se ofreciese i haviendose hecho eleccion de Alcaldes i Regidores p.ra q.e obiese quien diese posesion de aquel p.to i lo demas q.e se descurriese del embarque en tierra Como dho es.

Desembarcados ~~Como dho es~~ en el dho Puerto en la forma que ~~Como~~ dho es se tomo a Cuerdo acia ~~a Sia~~ donde se Caminaria si hazia la p.te donde los Yndios se havian ~~visto~~ poco antes o por el Pinal donde se havian vis.to Algunos fuegos aquella mañana por aver muchos Caminos para diferentes p.tes fuymos de parescer de q.e se Caminase hacia donde se havian visto Los dos Yndios pues el camino q.e iva azia donde ellos parescieron era el mas trillado i asi se comezo a marchar azia la loma donde los Yndios se havian visto i su vido en lo alto de la loma a la p.te de les nordeste se bia desrender vn

Rio devuentamaño por vn llano avajo i muchos Caminos
trillados para diferentes p.tes i no se hallo Rastro de los In-
dios que antes se havian visto en la dha loma i bisto la di-
ferencia de los Caminos a vna p.te i a otra se acordo
que se siguiese vno de los dhos Caminos que yba a la
vuelta del sueste azia vn zerro alto i q.e desde alli se
bezia lo que al rededor ~~biese~~ huviere azia donde Caminamos
llevando ~~por~~ en la delantera Al dho. Padre fray martin Con
su cruz en las manos llevando adelante dos Indios de
los nr̃os por espias i a vn q.to de legua andada los dhos Indi-
os descubrieron gente i dieron aviso Como avian visto
cinco personas i dado el aviso se fueron tras ellos i los
iban siguiendo i a este tiempo se alargo el paso para po-
der ablar Con ellos i en el interin que Con los dos Indios
fuese Diego bazquez mexia Sarjento Con otros solda-
do para que si los alcanzasen les entretuviesen Con
buenas palabras i señales de Paz i amor el q.l
Con los dhos Indios se ha delanto en por de los dhos
Indios para ber si los podia alcanzar i a vn q.e de su
parte hirieron lo posible no se pudieron alcanzar
por estar encumbrados en el zerro i sarjente desinu-
da i ligera no se pudieron alcanzar a vq.e la demas
gente iba marchando a paso largo tovieron lugar de
meterse por otro zerro alta en vn pinal i en vn re-
questo del Camino que yva al dho Ceras allamos dos
lios Como cestos en bueltos Con dos queros de venado
i en ellos no se hallo sino los dos Cueros de venado i o-

60

tras pellejos peq.e ños Como de conejos cortados i hecho a medo de Cadena Con ellos. i vna poca de flor Como de o regano que les debe de serbir ~~Como~~ de comida o bebida por no se hallar otra semilla i segun la Relacion de los Yndios espias entre las zinco personas q.e avian bisto avia dos muge-res porq.e llebaban dos Criaturas a las espaldas i de los dos queros de Venado se tomo la vna i en su lugar se les de-jo Con su ato dos paños de manos i no se le con sintie se les tocase en cosa alguna i hecho esso suvimos a la Cumbre del dho Cerro i ~~en el~~ el se hizo alto i se miro lo q.e la vista pudo des-Cuvrir.

Hecho Alto en la cumbre deste zerro mirando lo q.e al rededor del avia i cerca deste ceras avia otro cerro mas alto co-me tres tiros de arcavuz man de a Joanes de arrajeta Cristobal infanson que Con dos Yndios Con sus espa-das i lo de las suviesen en zima de aquel Cerro que a la mano derecha estava i que de alli mirasen a la re-donda si havio algunas poblazones v otras insignias de gente i mirason si en el dho cerro avia algunos minera-les, los quales fueron i miraron lo q.e sus bistas alcanzaron a vna parte i a otra i hizieron catas en el dho Cerro por si avia al-gunos minerales i visto i hecho lo arriba dho Vasaron a-donde la demas gente estava i dieron por Relacion que nin-guna poblarion ni gente ni humos avian podido des Cu-brir ni en el cerro avian podido hallar minerales sal-vo q.e avia muchos Caminos i entre ellos avia vno q.e iva por el Rio arriva Como axia a leste que era el mas trillado a sus pares-

ceres.

Hecho lo contenido en el capitulo antes desta i des can-
sado la gente vaxamos del dho cerro a cia el Rio i entra-
ron a la orilla del i probaron el Agua del dho Rio i
hallose ser muy buena que bajava por el dho rio en-
tre arena i desde ay se subio por una loma arriva azia
la parte del norte donde el dho Rio azia una gran la-
guna que se entendio que alli avria alguna Barra i
puerto pues tan cerca estava la mar, i llegados a el se
vido ser Agua represada del dho Rio i tapada la via
de la mar Con mucha Cantidad de Arena aunque
sin embargo desto no podia dexar de tener algun tres-
pirador a la mar por devajo del Arena porq. si re
fuera esto segun el Agua del Rio en breve sobre pu-
jara a la Arena i desde ay se camino hazia la fra-
gata por ser ya tarde i llegados Junto de la dha fraga-
ta a un cerrillo i al rededor del allamos mucha can-
tidad de Conchas de ostiones de perlas muy crescidas
i otras Conchas de muchos mariscos.

Llegados a este cerro allamos lo arriva dho donde por
panescer lugar Conviniente para tomar la posesion del
dho puerto i tierra en Nombre de S.M. pues quieta i
pacificam.te yo y la demas g.te aviamos desembarcado i pa-
seado la dha tierra i Puerto Como cosa de la demarcacion
i Corona del Rey Dn felipe nro sor. tome la dha pose-
sion en el dho nombre por diego barquez mexia uno de
los Alcaldes q.e p.ra ello fue electo. i en ella amparado

61.

Como era justicia en forma de vida de dro. Arbolando una
cruz. en señal de la fee de Christo, i de la possesion q.e del
dho p.to i tierra se tomava en nombre de S. M. i Contado ra-
mas de los Arvoles que Alrededor avia i otras diligen-
zias que se ha costumbran azer nos embarcamos en la
dha fragata.

Y estando embarcados i haviendo Cenado Lag.te se trato
de lo que havia de acer mediante D.s otro dia siguiente si entra-
rian en la tierra algun espacio p.ra ber si se hallarian
Algun.s poblaciones de g.te o algunos minerales o al-
gunas insignias dello pues avia tantos Caminos i
a diferentes p.tes estando todos junta i haviendo se tra-
tado sobre lo q.e mas Combenia estando pres.te el dho
Padre fray marin ynacio de Loyola i los demas Reli-
giosos todos Comformes. i de un parecer de q.e puesto
dos avian salido p.ra a cer el descuvrim.to en q.to fuese
posible i los tiempos diesen lugar i q.e pues este dia domi-
ngo que se contaron diez y ocho de otuvre dia del S.r S.n Lu-
cas se havia descuriento el dho p.to i saltado en tierra
i tomada la possesion en ella en N.re de S. M. i haver
tantos Caminos i tan trillados Para diferentes partes
q.e Combenia q.e el Cap.tan Con doze Soldados i un Religioso
i algunos Yndios Con espadas y Rodelas de madrugada
entrasen en la tierra adentro Como q.tro o Cinco leg.s p.r
el Camino mas trillado q.e era el q.e iva p.r el Rio arri-
ba Como a leste i que Combenia se mirase lo q.e demostra-
va en si la dha tierra para q.e p.ra de lo q.e obiese se diese noticia

detodo a S.M. y al ex.mo S.r Viso Rey dela Nueva españa
en su lugar de quien en nombre de S.M. fuymos embia-
dos a esta jornada i bistos los paresceres de todos. Luego se
mandó poner en horden lo nes cesario para desde media
noche a vajo partir a lo que arriba se de Clara.

Lunes diez y nuebe del dho mes Como a oras delas di-
ez antes del dia parti para la dha jornada Con el padre
fray franz.co de noguera. y los doze soldados. i ocho Indios
Luçones Con sus espadas i Rodelas desembaaque en tierra
a las dhas oras despues de aver dexado orden en la frag.ta
delo q.e aquel dia se havia de aren Caminamos azia el
Rio i en ella pu.ta la gente en orden i llebando dos Indios
adelante por espias Caminamos por el Camino q.e el
dia antes nos havia parescido ser el mastrillado que i-
va azia la ta del este Caminando Con el menos Ruydo
que ser pudo para q.do vino el Alba aviamos caminado Co
modos Leg.s sin haver visto ni sentido Cosa alguna de po-
blacion ni humos ni persona alguna i a este tiempo nos
apartamos a vna ladera àcia la alda de vn cerro de vajo
de vnos enzinos i Al Cornoques i otros arboles que en
vn montecillo que alli estava avia i desde ay estan-
do en borcados asta vna ora de sol se miro todo aquel
valle asta donde alcanzo la vista i no pudimos descu-
brir ninguna poblacion ni gente solo mente bimos dos hu-
mos hazia el Rio arriva en vnos bosques de muchos
Arboles de enzinos Al Cornoques Zauzes i otros Ar-
boles Altos i de vaen gordos que parezen Como fresnos

62.

para donde caminamos lo mas secreto que sea pudo llevando
los dos Yndios de espia adelante i llegado donde los dhos vmos
a llamas q.e seg.e mavan dos enzimas grandes a partado el vno
del otro como tiro de Arcavuz parescia avorseles dado fuego como
vn mes.

Des destos vmos partimos el Rio arriva ala vra del este
por el camino mas trillado i por el Rio arriba hallamos mu-
chas pisadas de gente que todo el harenal del dho rio esta-
va tan ollado de pisadas asi hazia el Rio arriva Como el
Rio avajo de personas grandes i medianos i pequeñas, es-
te Rio es de arena gruesa por dondo el Agua pasa de vajo i
Casionlo demas del se puede andar a pie enjuto porque
como digo el Agua pasa por de vajo, salvo que en partes sa-
le el Agua Como manantiales i haze como posadas de a-
gua represada i no dexa de correr por debajo del Arena
todo este tio de vna p.te i otra es bien sombrosa de vnbra de zauzes
i mimbres de vn entamaño Con otros Arvoles altos que
parecen fresnos i muchas yervas olorosas. Como manza-
nilla i poleo. i tomillo i Caminando adelante a ratos por
el Rio. i arratos fuera del aviendo Caminado Como dos le-
guas sin haver vto poblazion nig.te mas del dho rastro el Rio
arriba encontramos A la vereda del Rio de la p.te del nor des-
te vnas Ranchezias viejas de Yndios en que havia diez
y siete Ranchas grandes y chicos a modo de carnorezas
de viz Caya vn flan oyo en el suelo de buena Redon-
der y de fuera Cuviento de ramas de Arvoles muy Cuvi-
ertos i segun el grandor de los Ranchos podrian Cavez on

Cadavna mas dedoze personas paresocan aver seecho como
mes imedio atras. nosehallo enestos ranchos cosa alguna
sino vnas varas que parescen desabugo Conq.e ellos ha-
zen sus lanzas arasjadizas Con vna puya de enzino to-
tado ivn poco o partado del Rio dela otra p.te entre vnos
arboles sehallo vna chosa echa de palos i Cuvierta to-
da de tierra Consola vna pequeña portañola que podri-
an Cavez dentro Come dos personas i havia dentro za-
catereco. i Joyas de arboles en ten diose que serio para
el prinzipal dellos desde estos ranchos Caminamos
el Rio arriva m.a leg.a i siempre yva siguiendo el Ras-
tro y adho y al pie del Rio dela p.te del sueste ala som-
bro de vnos zauzes sehizo alto Don de la g.te Comio, i descan-
so i asta las tres ozas dela tarde nos detuvim.s p.r el gran Ca-
lor que hazia.

Despues de haver comido La g.te i reposados, se acordo Caminar
el Rio arriva Como vna legua hazia vna gran ~~ventura~~ abertura
que hazia la p.te del este demos trava porber si se descu-
vria alguna poblazion en aquella abertura i que si-
andada la Legua que podia aver hasta el piede de vn zerro alto que
havia en ~~gran~~ esta distanzia. Se bolverian para hazia la
fragata i que haquella noche nos halo poriamos en p.te
comoda para otro dia demañana ir a la dha fraga-
ta i asi caminamos azia la ~~dha ventura~~ abertura arriba
dha i en poco rrato llegamos al pie del Cerro alto
i llegados Al pie del. entre vnos Alcornoques semi-
ro la dispusicion de aquella tierra asta donde nra bis-

63.

ta Alcanzaba inosehallo ripudimas descuvria cosa
alguna mas deque elcamino ibaseguido azia ebeste que
Claroseria ir elcamino por lalda devnos Cerros cyban
adar en vnos Cerros Altos que hazia lapaate del este
estavan Conotros muchos Caminos ivisto quedel pie
del Cerro nosepudo descuvrir nisevia nada mande atres
soldados itres Indios quecon sus espadas iRodelas suvi-
esen ala Cumbre de aquel Cerro ide allimirasen a to-
das partes siverian Alguna poblazion. o gente. o fueg.s
isiavia algunos minerales losquales fueron ideay
avn rrato de tiempo Vajaron adonde nos havian de-
jado idieron por rrelacion queno havian podido des-
Cuvrir ninguna poblazion. nivmes nigente niel Cerro
tenia minerales aloque parescia, salvo que vieron q.e
el Rio Siempre yva acialapaate deleste entre vnos
Cerros iel dho Camino Conotros muchos ivan ala par-
te deleste por las lomas devnos Cerros. ibisto queno sepu-
do des Cuvrir ninguna poblazion nigente iquela g.te
estava algo Cansada ino haver vastimentos paramas
de aquellanoche iqueno seria Cordura pasar adelante sin
bastimentos itampocagente en tierra no Conoszida ique
lomejor seria volber hazia el Navio ibisto alparescer deto-
dos iquehera lomas ha cerrado Caminamos àcialafra-
gata i haviendo Caminado Comodos Leguas vna ora
antes de anochecer nos halojamos debajo devnostas
en zinos grandes questavan Junto a el Rio apartado
del Camino Vuen espacio donde aquellanoche re-

paramos puestas. Las centinelas en horden.

Martes siguiento veynte del dho mes de otuvre de dia Claro Camonamos el Rio abajo i no se Camino de madrugada por si por ventura los Indios nos obiesen visto i espiado de noche no huviese alguna Celada i Caminando por el Rio a vajo andados Como una legua i m.a en Contramos Con vna Rancheria de vna p.te y otra del Rio en que havia mas de treinta rranchos del modo de las q.e el dia antes hallamos i en ellas no se hallo sino vnas talegulas de cordel hechos a manera de rred en que trayan algunas Cavas de cordel echas Con cortessas de Arboles bien echos i vnos Cestos viejos en que trayan su bagaje i vn pilon de vn tronco de madera en q.e se entiende molian Algunas Rayces o Cortezas de Arvol para alguna bevida. o comida dellos porq.e sino es vna poca de semilla Como flor de oregano Como el que se les hallo el primer dia no se les hallo Rastro de otra semilla alguna tambien se hallaron Algunas varas Como las de las otras Ranchos del dia antes i Con esto despues de aber mirado al rededor de los Ranchos la Longitud como dos tiros de Arcavuz i no se hallan mas Rastro de lo dho proseguimos nro Camino a ratos por el Rio abajo i Rato fuera del i a cavo de haver Caminado Como dos leguas y pasado el Rio a la otra p.te del veste se yro al te para descansar La gente que seria Como m.a legua de la fugata Como a las diez oras antes de m.o dia. i a cavo de m.a ora Comenzamos a caminar hazia el dho Navio i bini-

64.

endo ansi Caminando a trecho de vn q.to de legua en vna lo-
ma se yzo Alto para alli descanzar por estar cerca el
dho Navio. i descansado que huvo la gente. Comenzamos
a marchar a tomar la vista del Navio por estan cerca
e yendo Caminando. por nra orden. i tomada la vis-
ta del Navio los de la vanguardia Viniendo todos a vis-
ta vnos de otros i baxando de la Loma a vajo azia la ri-
vera donde allamos la varca del Navio i Ajoanes de
Vranzu. Antes de azer alto la g.te de la vanguardia mi-
rando azia los nros de la Retaguardia Vimos descen-
der de vn zerro de pinalles dos Yndios Corriendo azia la
otra p.te de la Loma donde venian subiendo a la vista
del Navio i visto vaxar los Yndios luego bolvimos
hacia ellos a su rreparo pero antes que pudiesemos
llegar a socorrerlos fueron heridos algunos dellos
i llegado a ellos ar Cavuceandolos los hizimos retirar
a lo Alto de la loma. i a este tiempo llegaron Juan de
aranguren. i Juan de Mendoza. heridos de muchos
flechazos i baras ~~[illegible]~~ tostadas i luego en pos dellos chris-
tobal ymfanson herido de muchos flechazos i sino
fuera q. se socorrieron a tiempo los mataran felipe
de Contreras que benia en si mismo en la rretaguardia
por haverse quitado la Cota que traya puesta le hirie-
ron de vna lanza tostada i le atravesaron el pecho de
parte a p.te de que no pudo retirarse i desta herida y otras
que le dieron Como a ombre desarmado murio luego
segun los otros de su Compañia dieron por relazion i Jun-

tamento Con el mataron a vn Indio delos nr̃os de vna lan-
za por haverse descuydado de rreparar Con su zodela:
a los heridos. Se mandaron Curar i Juntar Cademas fon-
te por bajar del dho Cerro Muchos Indios de Nuebo,
i bisto la Copia deellos ser mucha i que iban siempre
avajando pro Curamos de retirarnos ala marina por
nr̃a horden por ser mejor puesto para nr̃a segunidad
i resistirles i Juntos asi la gente que enel Navio que-
dava que havia salido en tierra Al socorro i los que en
tierra se hallaron todos juntos puestos en orden tovimos
Renquentros i escaramuza Con los dhos Indios i en e-
llas murieron algunos dellos i otros muchos heri-
dos. sin q.e delos nr̃os hiriesen mas de vno. i visto esto
se rretizaron i dividieron en tres partes. i nosotros nos
recogimos a nr̃o puesto donde se acordo que si los e-
nemigos ~~tomasen~~ tornasen de nuebo seria bueno Reformar-
nos de vna planchada para poderse embarcar toda
la gente Junta porq.e la varca era pequeña i no se
podian embarcan Sono en muchas vezes i si nos vi-
esemos En nescesidad no podriamos retirarnos la pla-
ncha se yzo i luego a poco rato se truxo a tierra a don-
de la varca estava i en este tiempo los enemigos por tres
~~ce~~ p.tes nos dieron a salto pero Retizaronse Con daño su-
yo sin herir a ninguno delos nr̃os esto hera como a las
Cinco de la tarde quando los enemigos se rretizaron
à zia la loma donde hizieron a los nr̃os teniendo sus
centinelas, i bisto que ya era tarde y el enemigo se ha-

65.

via retirado nos fuymos a embarcar en la plancha i Var
ca.

Lunes diez y nuebe del dho mes de otubre fray mar-
tin ynacio de loyola. i fray Rufino alonso gomez. Pilo-
to de mil recardia miguel sanches. i otras personas q.e
avian quedado en el Navio salieron en tierra este dia mi-
entras yo i los demas soldados fuimos por la tierra a den-
tro i dieron por relacion a verles subcedido en el dho
puerto con los dhos Yndios que despues de haver nos par-
tido aquella mañana para lo q.e arriba dhoes. ellos ha-
vian saltado en tierra asi haver hacia la p.te del su du-
este si habia alguna poblacion o gente por haverse
visto la noche antes vn fuego grande que duro qua-
si toda la noche como hazer alguna aguada. i leña i
q.e mientras el padre fray martin Alonso gomez, Ja-
anes de Vzarzu i otras personas fueron hazia la p.te
donde se bido el dho fuego a ver lo q.e avia, avian que-
dado en el Rio, geronimo de Ballejeda Varbero con
algunos Yndios que fueron a labar i hazer aguada
i leña i que del cerro del pinal avian descendido v.te
i tres Yndios i tres de ellos se hallegaron hasta la mitad de la
sierra a ver lo que hazian los nños i los dos bajaron al Rio
i comenzaron a hablar con el dho Vallejeda no teniendo
mas de su espada i despues de haver pasado dares y toma-
res entre ellos por el cerro arriva en vnenas palabras
i quando vido mal parado el negozio solo procuro
apartarse dellos con hademan que les hizo con

su espada despues de haverle quitado algunas Cosas que lle-
vava Consigo el dho Vallegueda dandolas el propio
por apaciguarlos i en este tiempo sobrevinieron los demas
Yndios i tomaron a los Yndios que estavan lavan de al-
guna rropa i las basijas que llebaron para el agua
que havian de haçer. i subieron el Cerro harriva i
puesto a recaudo el bagaje que havian pillado se bol-
vieron a la mira de lo que se hazia entre los nros i a este
tiempo llegaron el padre fray martin i la demas gente
que havian ido a ber, lo q.e avia de la otra p.te del sudueste
i como bieron los Yndios venir la demas gente entendie-
ron que el dho vallejeda les avia engañado en q.e por
señar les havia dado a entender que no havia mas
gente que el y los Yndios i los que andavan en la guarda
a quien quisieron llebar Consigo i no pudieron porque
se hecharon a la mar i del Navio les tiravan de Ar-
cavuzazos asta q.e llego el dho fray martin Con los de-
mas a donde estavan Vallejeda e Yndios y llegados
a el puesto donde los Yndios estavan en la loma de un
Cerro luego Comenzaron a dar grandes alaridos ha-
ciendo muchos mencos i saltos de una p.te a otra Co-
me quien los q.e ria acometer Estando los nros en su
puesto. Sin hazer Alboroto por lo q.e los Yndios haci-
an antes de paz embiaron al dho Vallejeda i a otro
Yndio de los nros Con bizcocho i algunos paños i o-
tras Cosas q.e entre ellos havian a los quales salie-
ron hasta media ladera de la Loma tres Yndios i los

66.

qui sieron llebar arriva donde los demas estavan i los nños
Como bieron que los querian llebar a lo Alto del zerro se
hicieron in dispuestos i halli Comieron el biz cocho o p.te
dello i Volbieron a sus Compañeros a darles razon de lo
q. havian pasado a vnq.e estavan a la mira i despues
a poco rrato todos los Yndios se hapartaron por tres
partes i ha Cometieron a los nños haciendo muchos
ademanes de querer los matar y tiraron muchas flechas
sin q.e hiciesen daño en los nños sin q.e querer dejar tirar nin-
gun harcavuzazo. el padre fray m.tin hasta q.e bieron
la desberguenza suya que los harcavuzaron e yrieron
algunos dellos i los hizieron retirar a lo alto del Cerro
ia este tienpo heran oras de recojerse Cada vno a su
alojam.to los Yndios fueron a sus ranchos los nños al Na-
vio hallaron A la p.te del Sudueste. a donde fueron los
nños vn rancho Como los ya arriva dichos i al rededor
del i mas desbiados del rancho. Muchas Conchos de per-
las en mucha Cantidad i muy grand.s donde se entien-
de ay mucha i buena perleria i estos Yndios acuden
A la Costa a la pesqueria dellos i los Caminos azia la
p.te del este sera ~~asia~~ donde ellos ban i bienen a la tierra
dentro, la tierra de maritima es de buena dispusicion
para trigo i Mayz. mejor q.e la que hallamos la tierra
adentro.

Enbarcados Como dho es En el Capitulo seg.do antes
desta despues de haver sena de la g.te se trato de lo q.e com-
beria hazer el dia sig.te si se altaria en tierra a los enemi-

gos o partirnos a nro biaje se hacendo que combenia seguir nro bia-
je Costeando la tierra i no salir en tierra Con los enemigos a si
por haverse quemado La polbora el dia pasado estando la refina-
ndo. Como la g.te estar mal herida i pocas medecinas p.a Curad-
los i ser poca la demas g.te para poder resistir a los enemigos
sin tener polbora ni municiones i tambien lo que Combenia
hacerse en aquel pu.to se havia hecho i q.e en la Costa se podria ubus-
car Algunos pu.tos quanto i mas que mas Con venia ir a dar q.tu
A su Ex.a de lo pasado asi se determino partir mier Coles vein-
te i vno de otubre antes del dia Como partimos.

Partidos Miercoles v.te i vno de otubre Con vientos Contrarios an do-
vimos Vordeando hasta el vienes a la tarde v.te i tres del dho q.e nos
dio vn v.to o es norueste. Con vna zerrazon q.e en zinco dias no se pu-
do tomar vista de tierra a v q.e siempre se camino dos Leg.s i a vn
menos de la tierra a Cuya Causa no se pudo ver si havia algun
puerto en la costa asi por la zerrazon grande Como ser muy
pequeña p.a poderse atreber en el Abuscar puertos.

Miercoles v.te y ocho del dho m.s de otu v.e yendo Costeando p.r
la costa dos leg.s de la tierra en Altura de 30. g.dos se hecho vna son-
da p.r ber ynsignias de fondo p.r no se poder ver tierra Con la gran
zerrazon y escurana q.e hacia de neblina i allamos 10. vraz.s de
fondo i en lo q.e el ploma de mastro era vaxios de piedra en la-
gon de mas de m.a leg.a en q.e siempre se sondo en vna Agua i
vn fondo i luego acavado de salir deste paraje en contram.s
con vna agua blanca muy rebuelta q.e parescia ser de zio
donde se sondo i casi se allo la propia Agua i en este paraje
se procuro ber si avia algun pu.to i aunque este dia. i la noche i

67.

p.te del Jaeves si g.te no se pu.do ver la tierra p.ra poder ver la dis pasi-
cion della. i vis.to q.e con la barca no se podia saltar en tierra p.r ser
peq.ña i la Mar andar algo gusa i q.e el tpo. no aclarava antes
Cargava el tpo. se determ.no venir al p.to de Acapulco lo m.s brebe
q.e se pudiese. asi a dar q.ta de lo pasado a v.ra ex.d como p.r estar
la g.te erida muy m.l disp.ta p.r falta de medizinas pues desde la
ysla de zerras p.r el p.to de acapulco estava todo descuv.to mucho tpo. avia.

A las yslas de lequios ni Japon, ni pescadores no fuimos p.r ser
tierras descuv.tos i el Navio peq.ño i sin hartilleria ning.na
i la g.te q.e benia en la dha fra g.ta poca. i la del Japon mucha i beli-
cosa i nave en ella Nav.o i hartilleria con q.e poder ofender. i defenderse.

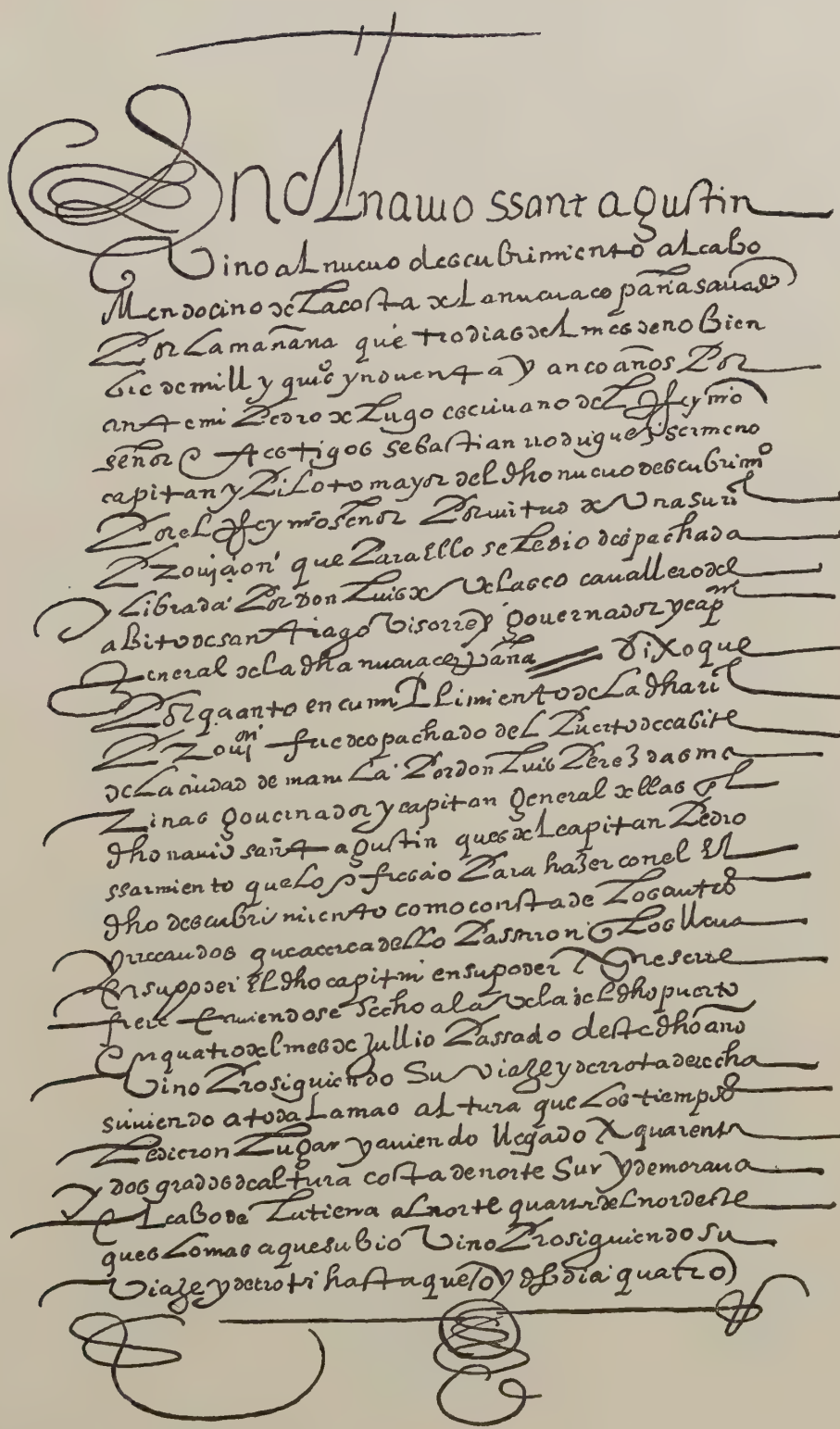
Desde las Ylas de los bavuyanes q.e estan en altura de 20. g.dos i m.o
escasos hasta el p.to de S.n Lucas q.e agora se descubrio q.e esta en 39.
g.dos i m.o largos. se caminaron 1890. leguas. p.r diferentes rum-
bos. Comforme los tpos. davan lugar. avn q.e en derecha de-
rrota avra como 1550. leg.s i p.r esta Altura i camino es muy
buena Navegacion Mas saludable i breve. q.e p.r menos Altu-
ra. i desde el dho p.to de S.n Lucas. hasta el cavo de S.n Lucas q.e es-
ta en 23. g.dos escasos ay 290. Leg.s Caminando al su sueste Co-
mo la mitad i la al sueste quarta del sur. la otra mitad i des-
de este cavo de S.n Lucas hasta el p.to de Acapulco ay como 260.
Leg.s Caminandose la mitad al sueste i lo dem.o al sueste q.ta del este.

En la boca del p.to de valle de vanderas Junto al cavo de corri-
entes q.e esta en Altura de 21. g.dos Largos encontramos con
vna lancha del propio p.to en 12. de Nov.e q.e p.r orden de la au-
diencia de guadalaxa. andava en la costa a dar aviso a los
Navios de la china de come el Cosario Ingles estava en la

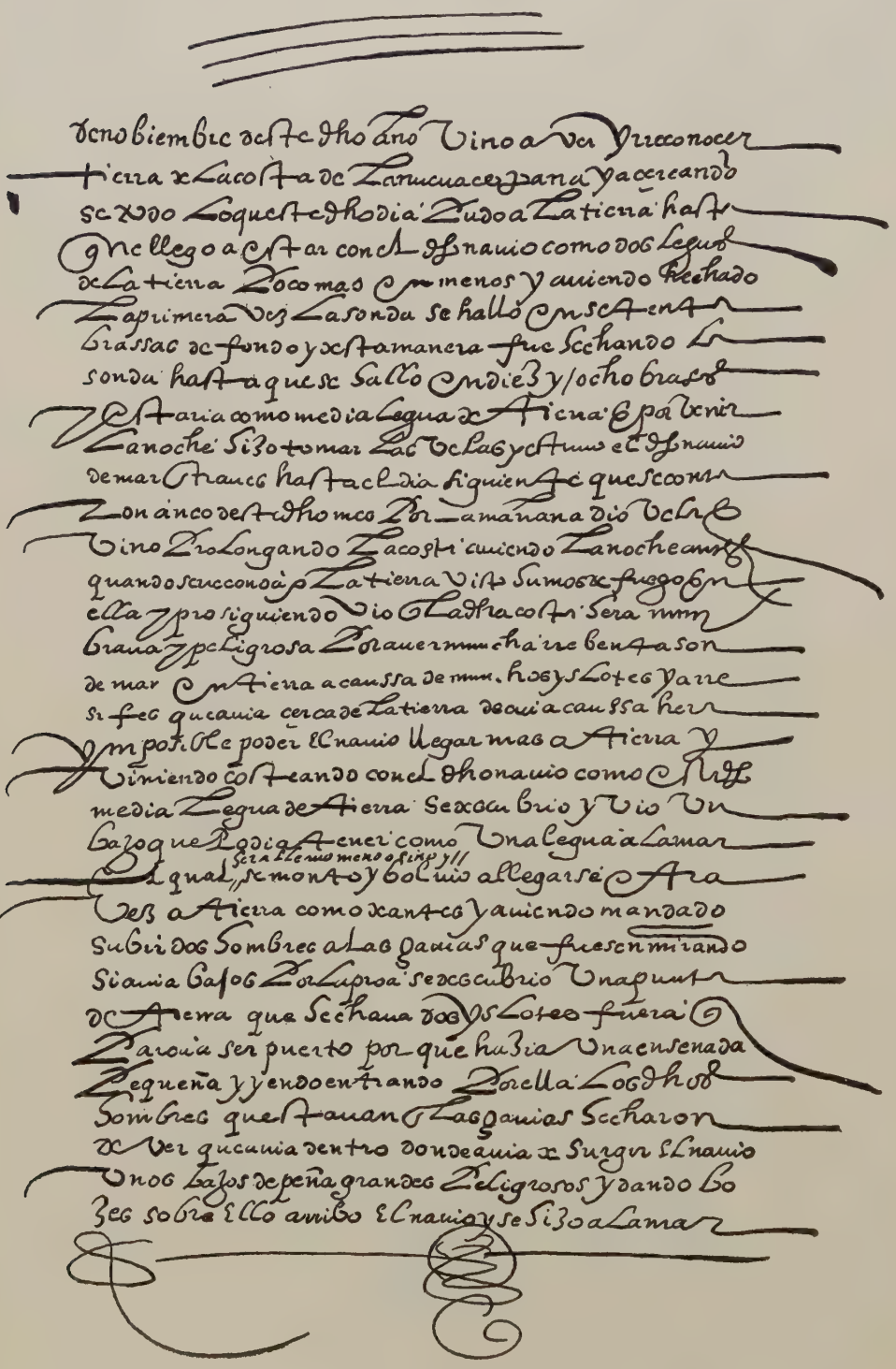
costa i los daños q.e havia hecho i como al pres.te estava en el p.to de
mar a clan dando carena i su instrucion le mandava fuese a dar
el dho aviso a las dhas Naos de china hasta en altura de 29. g.dos 2.
g.dos mas adelante del cavo de S.n Lucas que es en muy buen paraje
p.a ser avisados en tiempo p.a poderse marear del puesto del ene
migo i en nombre de S. M. en la mejor forma q.e de derecho o-
viese lugar hize vn rre q.e rim.to al cap.tan de la dha lancha pa-
ra q.e con toda diligenzia procurase pasar adelante a dar el
dho aviso pues tanto importava al ser viz.o de S. M. i cami-
nase de noche con el fresco de la tierra i q.e de dia se detuv.se en tie-
rra i de ay podia hacer centinela asi a las Naos de china como
si la lancha del enemigo salia a descubrir la costa no le en-
contrase de dia pues de dia con los vien.tos nozuestes i contrarios corri-
ente no podrian navegar i desta suerte podria navegar mejor. i sin ser sentido del enemigo,
por si como dho es la lancha del enemigo saliese a espiar la
costa. i se le dieron bastimentos de vizcocho. arroz. i otros basti-
m.tos q.e p.a n.ro biaje se traian q.e quedo vastezido p.a m.s de vn mes
i m.o sin el maiz i otras cosas q.e p.a su bastim.to llevava entra-
mos en el Puerto de Acapulco ~~[illegible]~~ a 22. de noviembre dia domingo de
donde escrivimos a v.ra e.sa. i dimos larga q.ta del sub ceso
i travajos de n.ro viaje = Pedro de Vnamunu = Corregida
con la original = Antonio de Castro =

En la cubierta: " 1587 = Rel.on del Viaje i descubr.to que hizo el
capitan P.o de Vnamunu desde los puertos de Macan i Canon hasta el p.to de
Acapulco desta N.a España = Carta de Vo. de Dic.e " Son la Carta del
Virrei de N.a España? Videndum

Cotejado

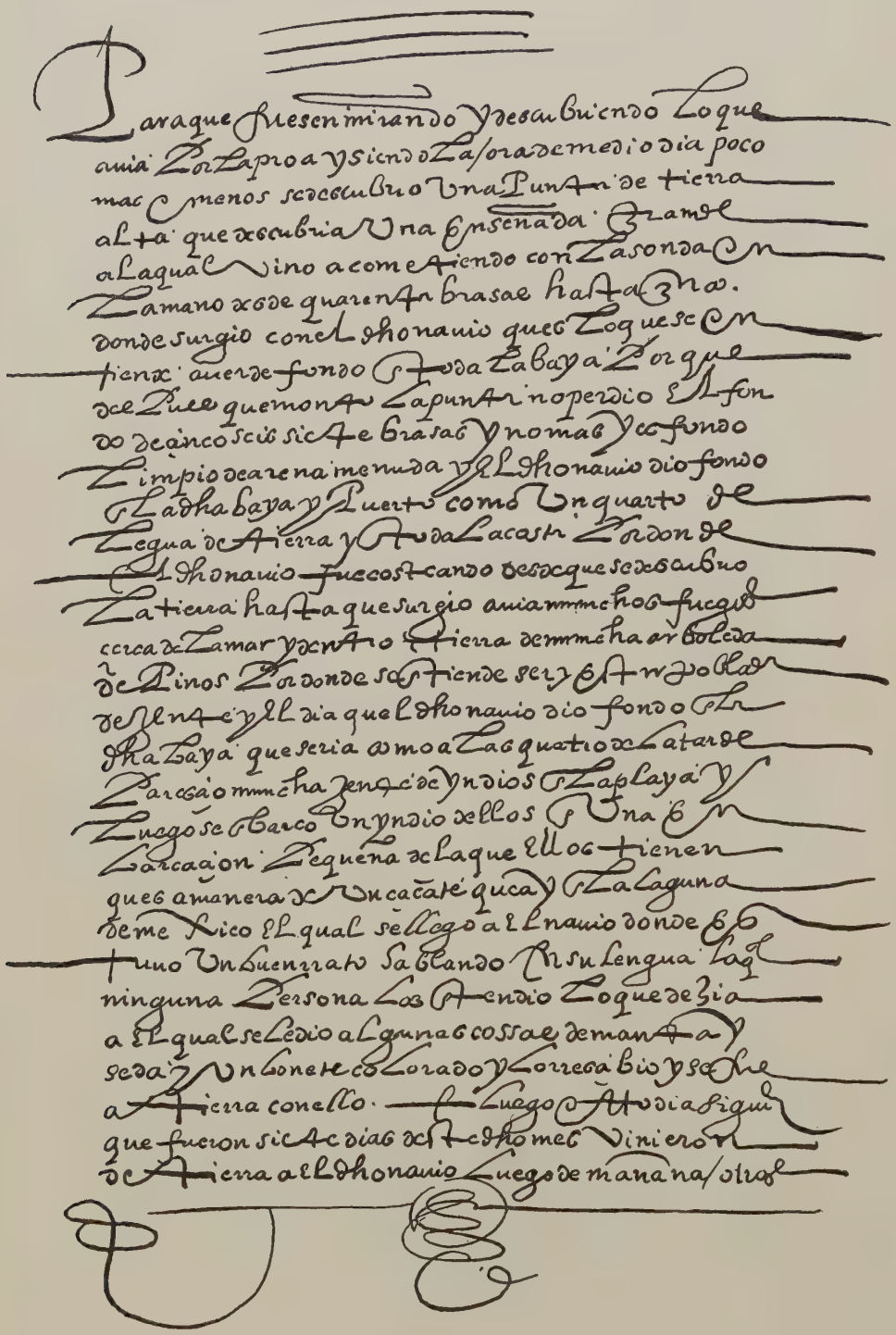


En el nauio ssant agustin
vino al nueuo descubrimiento al cabo
Mendocino de la costa de la nueua españa sauado
por la mañana que tro dias del mes de nobien
bre de mill y quinientos y nouenta y ancoaños por
ante mi Pedro de Lugo escriuano del Rey nro
señor testigos sebastian rodriguez sermeno
capitan y piloto mayor del dho nueuo descubrimiento
por el Rey nro señor por virtud de vna suria
prouiçion que para ello se le dio despachada
y librada por don Luis de velasco cauallero del
abito de santiago visorrey gouernador y capitan
general de la dha nueua españa dixo que
por quanto en cumplimiento de la dha ri
prouiçion fue despachado del puerto de cabite
de la ciudad de manila por don Luis perez das ma
rinas gouernador y capitan general dellas el
dho nauio sant agustin que es del capitan Pedro
ssarmiento que lo ofreçio para hazer con el el
dho descubrimiento como consta de los autos
y recaudos que acerca dello passaron que los lleua
en su poder el dho capitan en su poder y nos se re
fiere e auiendose hecho a la vela del dho puerto
en quatro del mes de jullio passado deste dho año
vino prosiguiendo su viaje y derrota derecha
siruiendo a toda la mas altura que los tiempos
le dieron lugar y auiendo llegado a quarenta
y dos grados de altura costa de norte sur y demorauan
el cabo de la tierra al norte quarta del nordeste
que es lo mas a que subio vino prosiguiendo su
viaje y derrota hasta que oy dho dia quatro

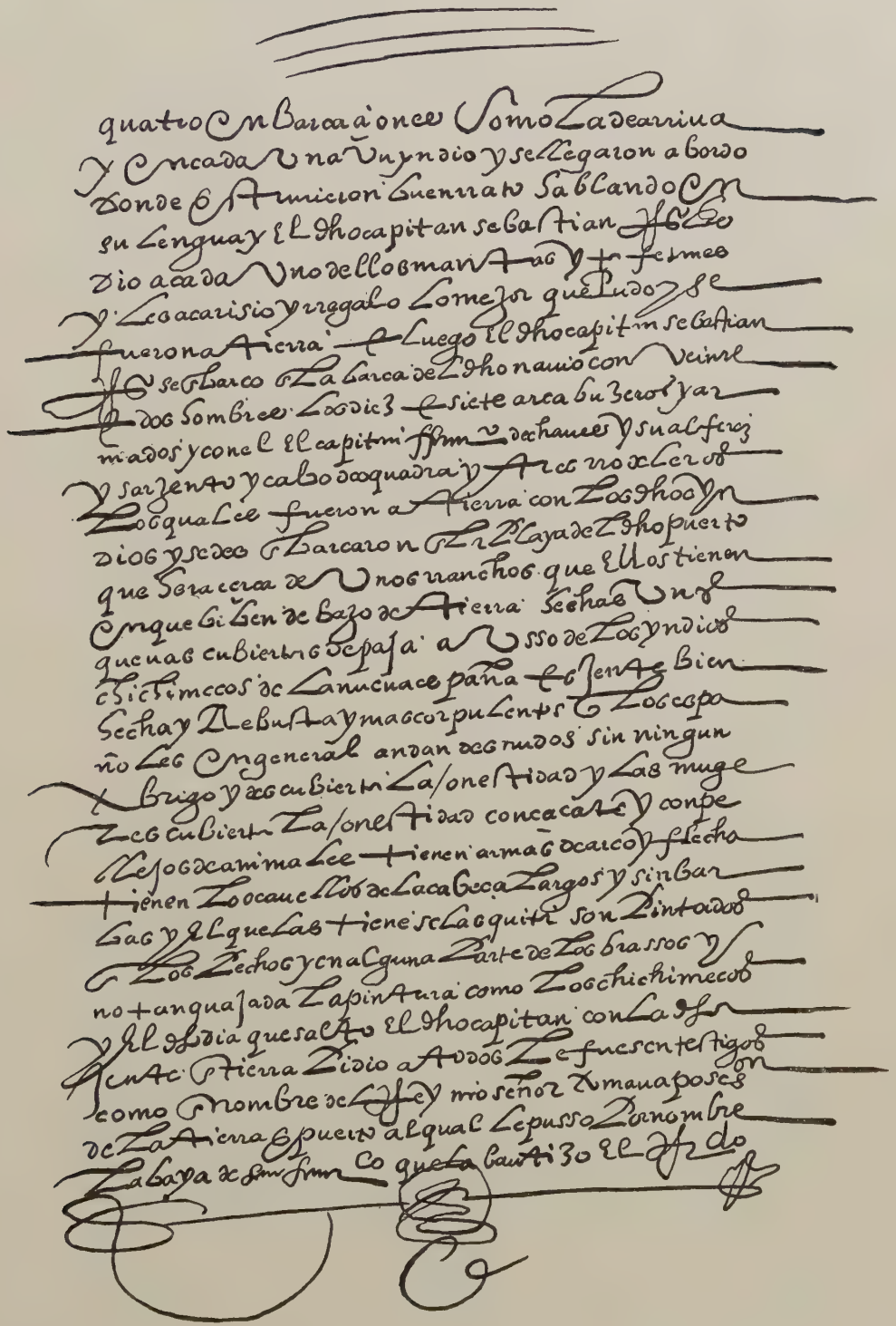


de nobiembre deste dho año vino a ver y reconocer
tierra de la costa de la nueua españa y acercando
se todo lo que este dho dia pudo a la tierra hasta
que llego a estar con el dho nauio como dos leguas
de la tierra poco mas o menos y auiendo hechado
la primera vez la sonda se hallo en setenta
brassas de fondo y desta manera fue hechando la
sonda hasta que se hallo en diez y ocho brasas
y estaria como media legua de tierra e por venir
la noche hizo tomar las velas y estuuo el dho nauio
de mar e traues hasta el dia siguiente que se conta
ron cinco deste dho mes por la mañana dio vela e
vino prolongando la costa auiendo la noche antes
quando se reconocio la tierra visto humos de fuego en
ella y prosiguiendo vio que la dha costa sera mun
braua y peligrosa por auer mucha rrebentason
de mar en tierra a caussa de muchos yslotes y arre
sifes que auia cerca de la tierra de cuia caussa hera
ymposible poder el nauio llegar mas a tierra y
viniendo costeando con el dho nauio como en dos
media legua de tierra se descubrio y vio un
bajo que podia tener como una legua a la mar
el qual sera lleno menos o sino y se monto y boluio a llegarse otra
vez a tierra como de antes y auiendo mandado
subir dos hombres a las gauias que fuesen mirando
si auia bajos por la proa se descubrio una punta
de tierra que hechaua dos yslotes fuera que
parecia ser puerto porque hazia una ensenada
pequeña y yendo entrando por ella los dhos
hombres que estauan en las gauias hecharon
de ver que auia dentro donde auia de surgir el nauio
unos bajos de peña grandes peligrosos y dando bo
zes sobre ello arribo el nauio y se hizo a la mar

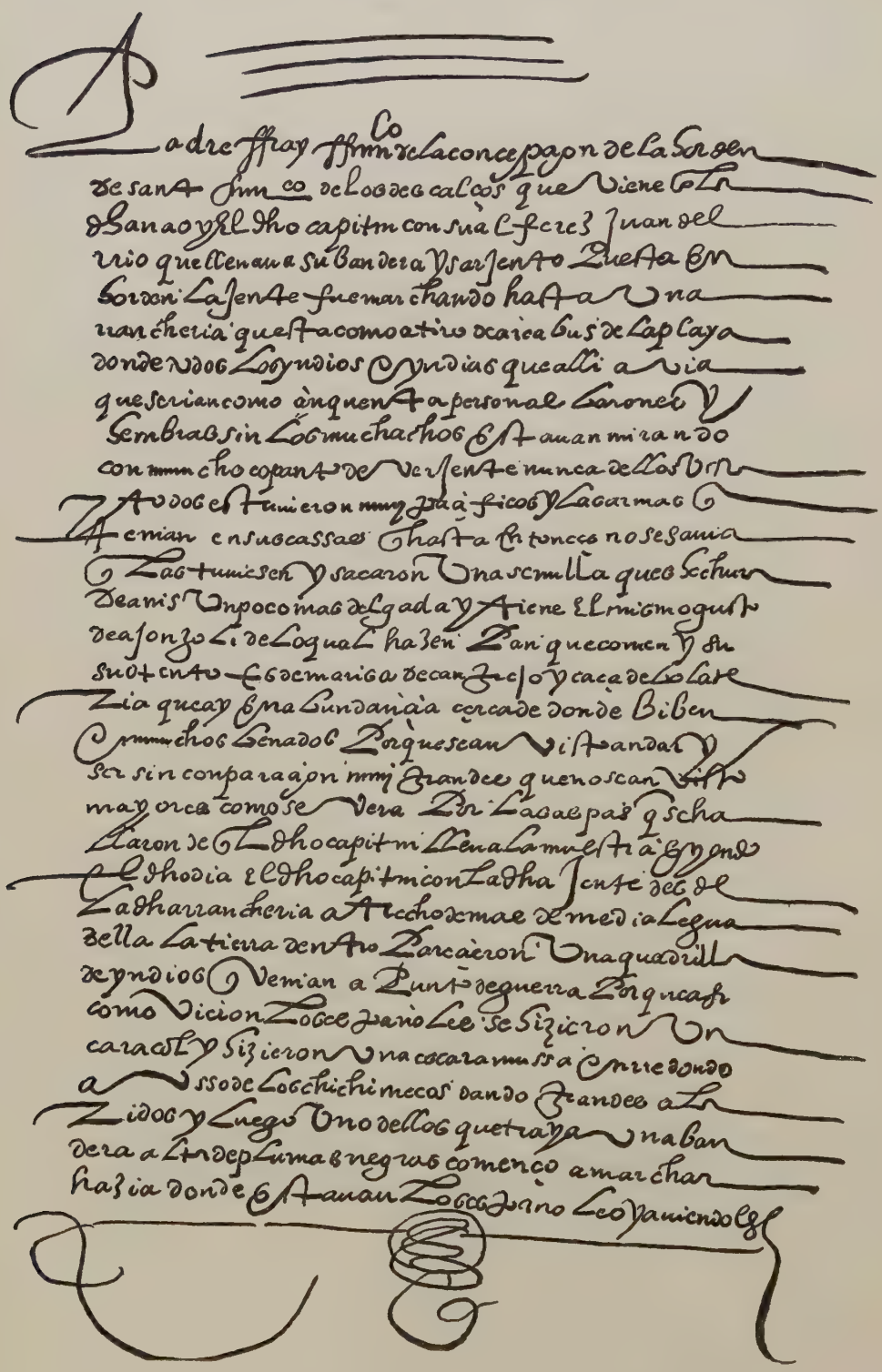
Y se desbio de la tierra la buelta de la mar
porque venia la noche y yendo nauegando
hasta las diez de la noche poco mas o menos
cargo mucho viento y mar que fue forçosso
hechar el nauio de mar en trauee como se hecho
con tantos trauajos del nauio que esto oo
el descurso del viaje no passo tanta tor
menta como le sobre vino y cargo aquella
noche hasta que vino el dia siguiente que
fueron seis deste dho mes que dio vela sola
mente el papahigo del triquete sin bonetas
la buelta de tierra passando mucha tor
menta a nauio y gente por ser mucho el
viento y la mar e visto el mucho peligro en
el dho capitan e pilo tomayor ponia la dha
nao y gente por ser pequeña y venir cassi a
bierta que de tres anpalletas las dos dauan
a la bonba y atemorizados del peligro del
dia mes a el tomar del dho puerto le hizieron
el pilo y maestre y contramaestre de la dha
nao requirimiento de que casase a popa y prosiguiese
su viaje a el puerto de acapulco pues sera ym
posible prosiguir el dho descubrimiento a caussa de
estar la dha nao tan mal tratada como consta
mas largamente del dho requirimiento que dello
le hizieron que passo en Acalonso gomez
escriuano del dho nauio no obargo lo qual el dho
capitan sebastian rrs vino llegandose a tierra
y el dho fue abonansando y estando ya cerca
de tierra como el dia antes lo estuuo pro
longando la costa hizo yrgente a las gauias

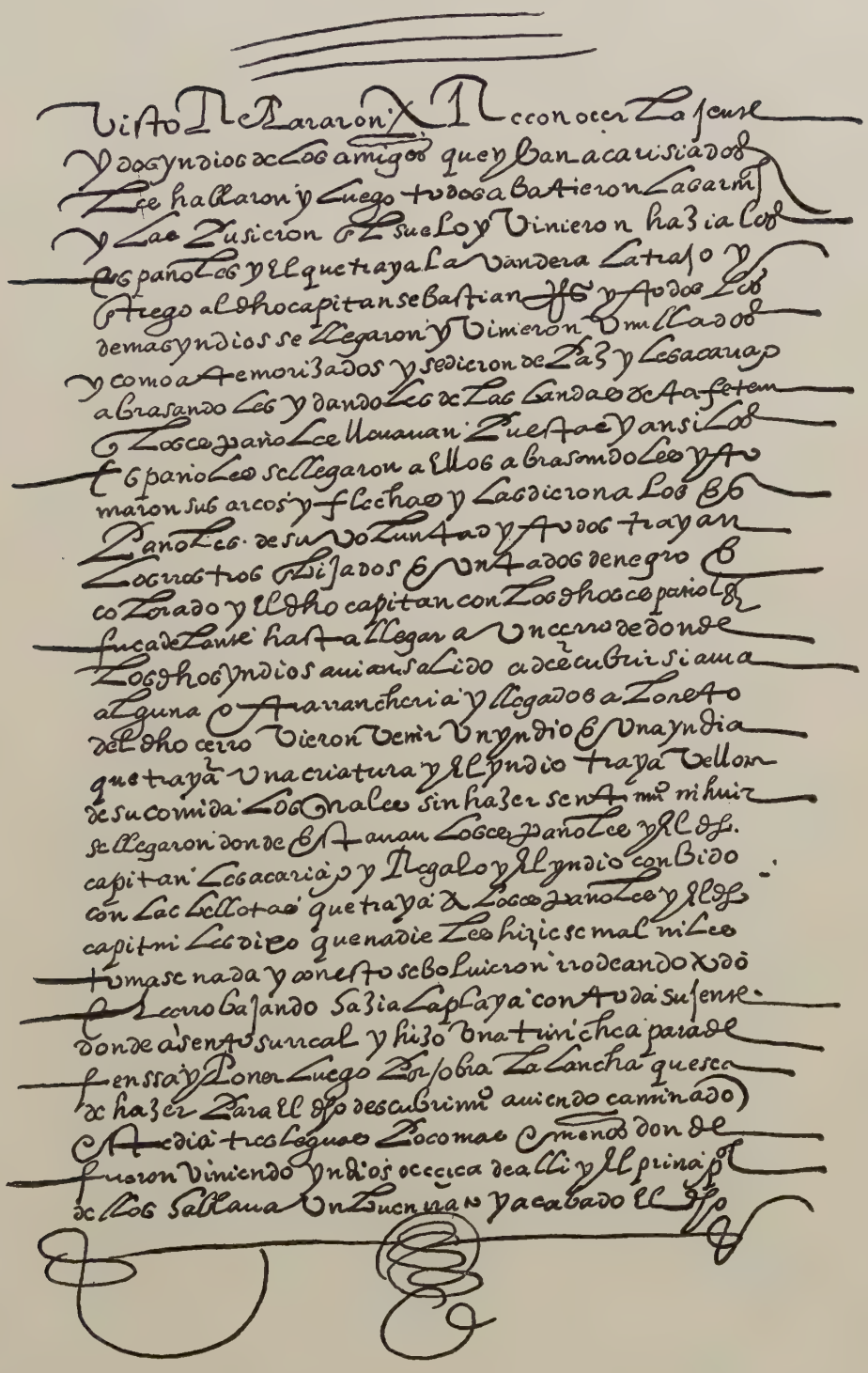


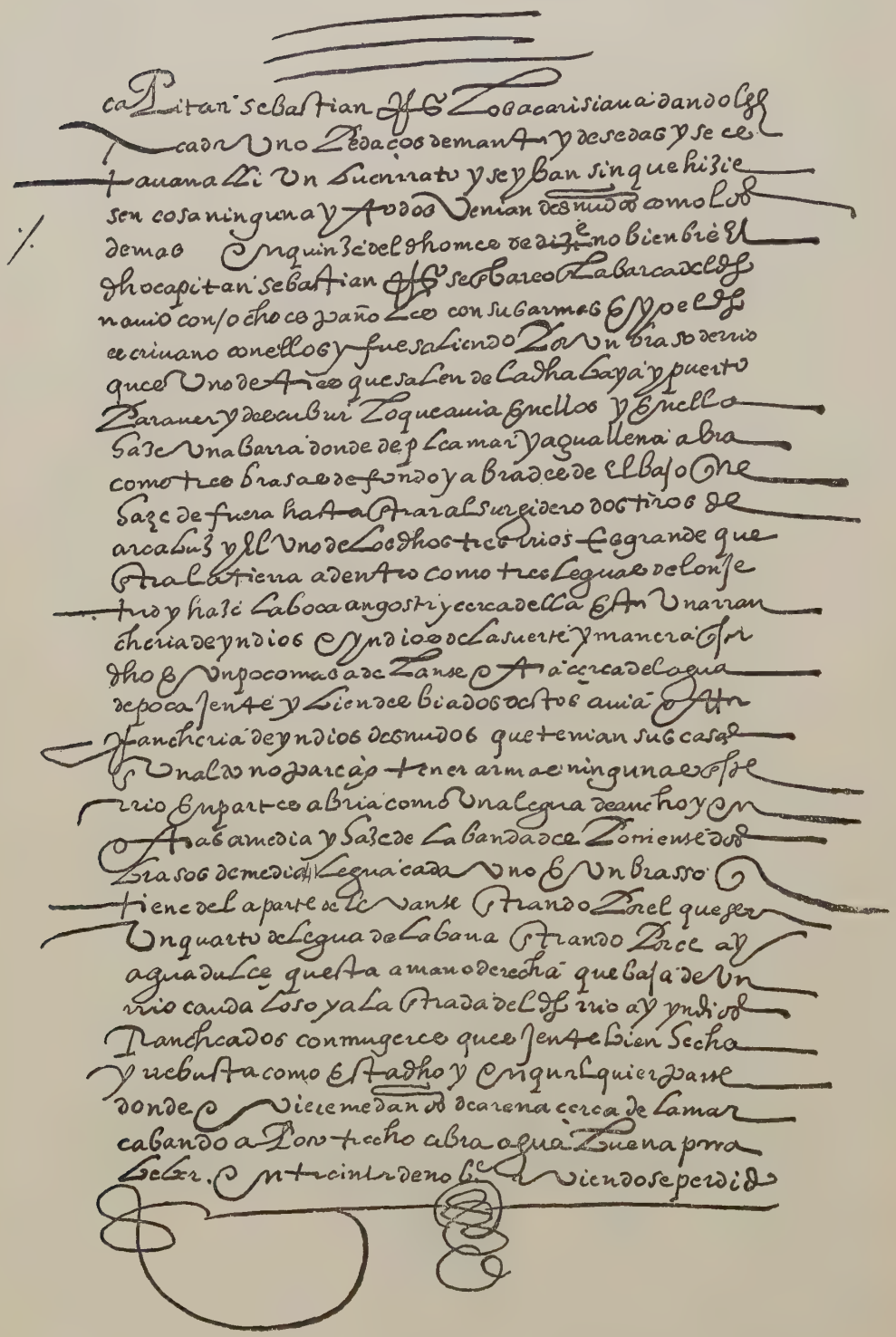
Para que fuesen mirando y descubriendo lo que
auia por la proa y siendo la hora de medio dia poco
mas o menos se descubrio una punta de tierra
alta que descubria una ensenada grande
a la qual vino acometiendo con la sonda en
la mano de quarenta brasas hasta tres.
donde surgio con el dho nauio que es lo que se en
tiende auer de fondo en toda la baya porque
del pues que monto la punta no perdio el fon
do de cinco seis siete brasas y no mas y es fondo
limpio de arena menuda y el dho nauio dio fondo
en la dha baya y puerto como un quarto de
legua de tierra y en toda la costa por donde
el dho nauio fue costeando desde que se descubrio
la tierra hasta que surgio auia muchos fuegos
cerca de la mar y dentro tierra de mucha arboleda
de pinos por donde se entiende ser y estar poblada
de gente y el dia que el dho nauio dio fondo en la
dha baya que seria como a las quatro de la tarde
parescio mucha gente de yndios en la playa y
luego se embarco un yndio dellos en una en
barcacion pequeña de la que ellos tienen
que es a manera de un cacate que ay en la laguna
de mexico el qual se llego a el nauio donde es
tuuo un buen rrato hablando en su lengua la qual
ninguna persona los entendio lo que dezia
a el qual se le dio algunas cossas de manta y
seda y un bonete colorado y lo rescibio y se fue
a tierra con ello. Luego otro dia siguiente
que fueron siete dias deste dho mes vinieron
de tierra a el dho nauio luego de mañana otros

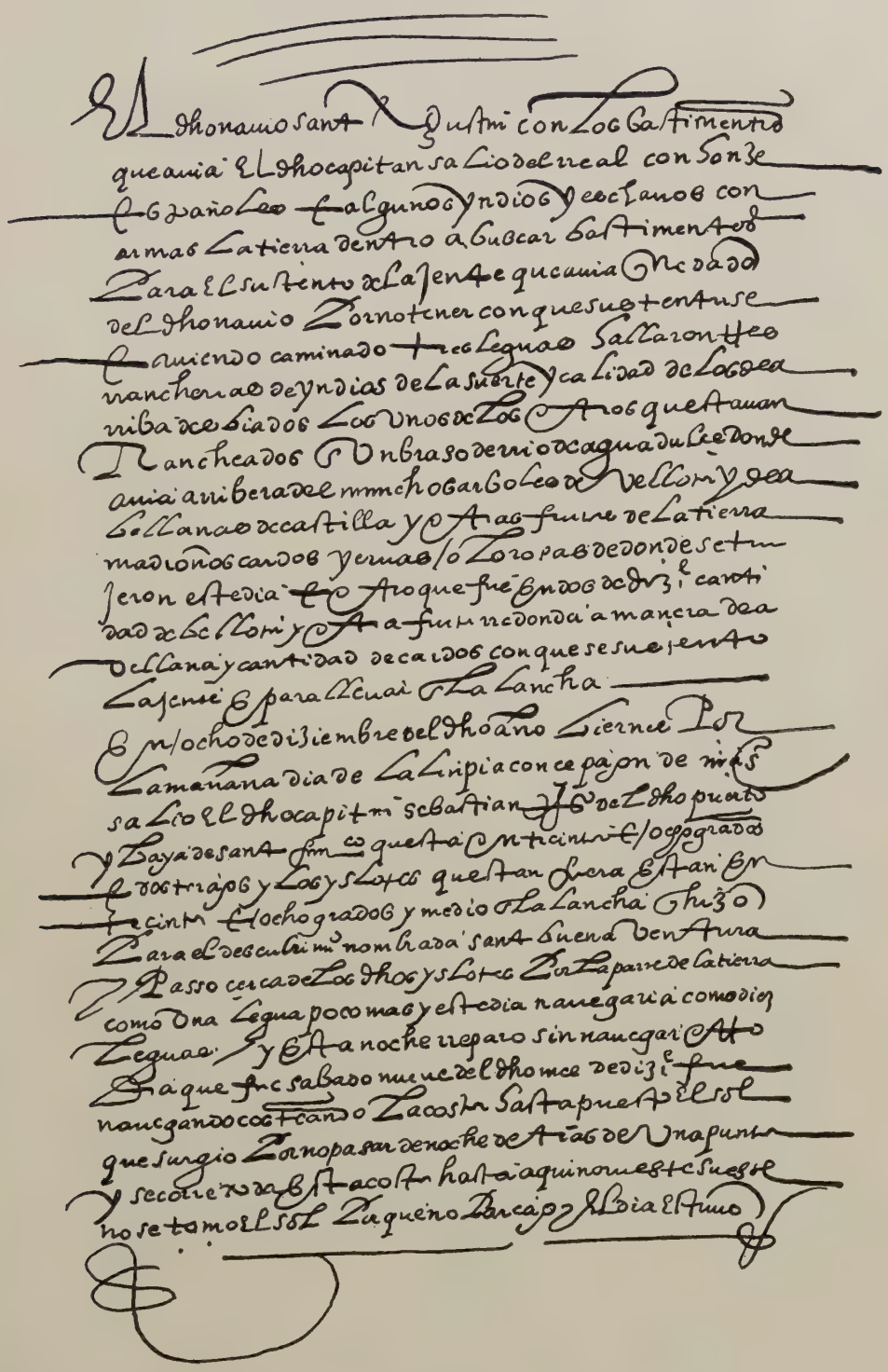


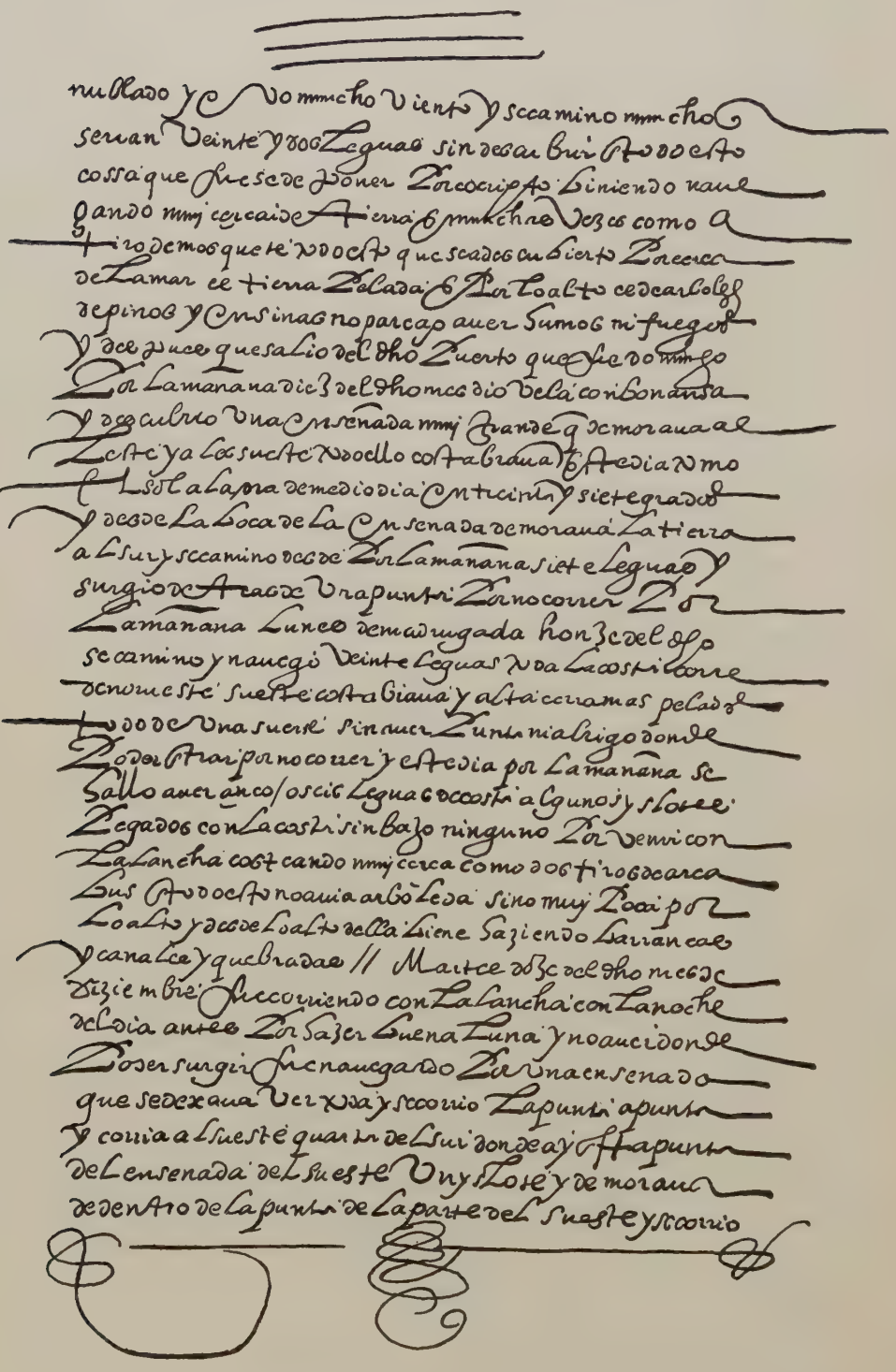
quatro embarcaciones como la de arriua
y en cada vna vn yndio y se llegaron a bordo
donde estuuieron buen rrato hablando en
su lengua y el dho capitan sebastian rrs les
dio a cada vno dellos mantas y tafetanes
y les acarisio y rregalo lo mejor que pudo y se
fueron a tierra e luego el dho capitan sebastian
rrs se embarco en la barca del dho nauio con veinte
e dos hombres los diez e siete arcabuzeros y ar
mados y con el el capitan fran.co de chaues y su alferez
y sarjento y cabo de quadra y tres rrodeleros
los quales fueron a tierra con los dhos yn
dios y se dexo embarcaron en la playa del dho puerto
que hera cerca de vnos ranchos que ellos tienen
en que biben debajo de tierra hechas vnas
cueuas cubiertas de paja a vsso de los yndios
chichimecos de la nueua españa es jente bien
hecha y rebusta y mas corpulentos que los espa
ñoles en general andan desnudos sin ningun
abrigo y descubierta la onestidad y las muge
res cubierta la onestidad con cacate y con pe
llejos de animales tienen armas de arco y flecha
tienen los cauellos de la cabeça largos y sin bar
bas y el que las tiene se las quita son pintados
en los pechos y en alguna parte de los brassos y
no tan guajada la pintura como los chichimecos
y el dho dia que salto el dho capitan con la dha
jente en tierra pidio a todos le fuesen testigos
como en nombre del rrey nro señor tomaua posesion
de la tierra e puerto al qual le pusso por nombre
la baya de san fran.co que la bautizo el rrdo

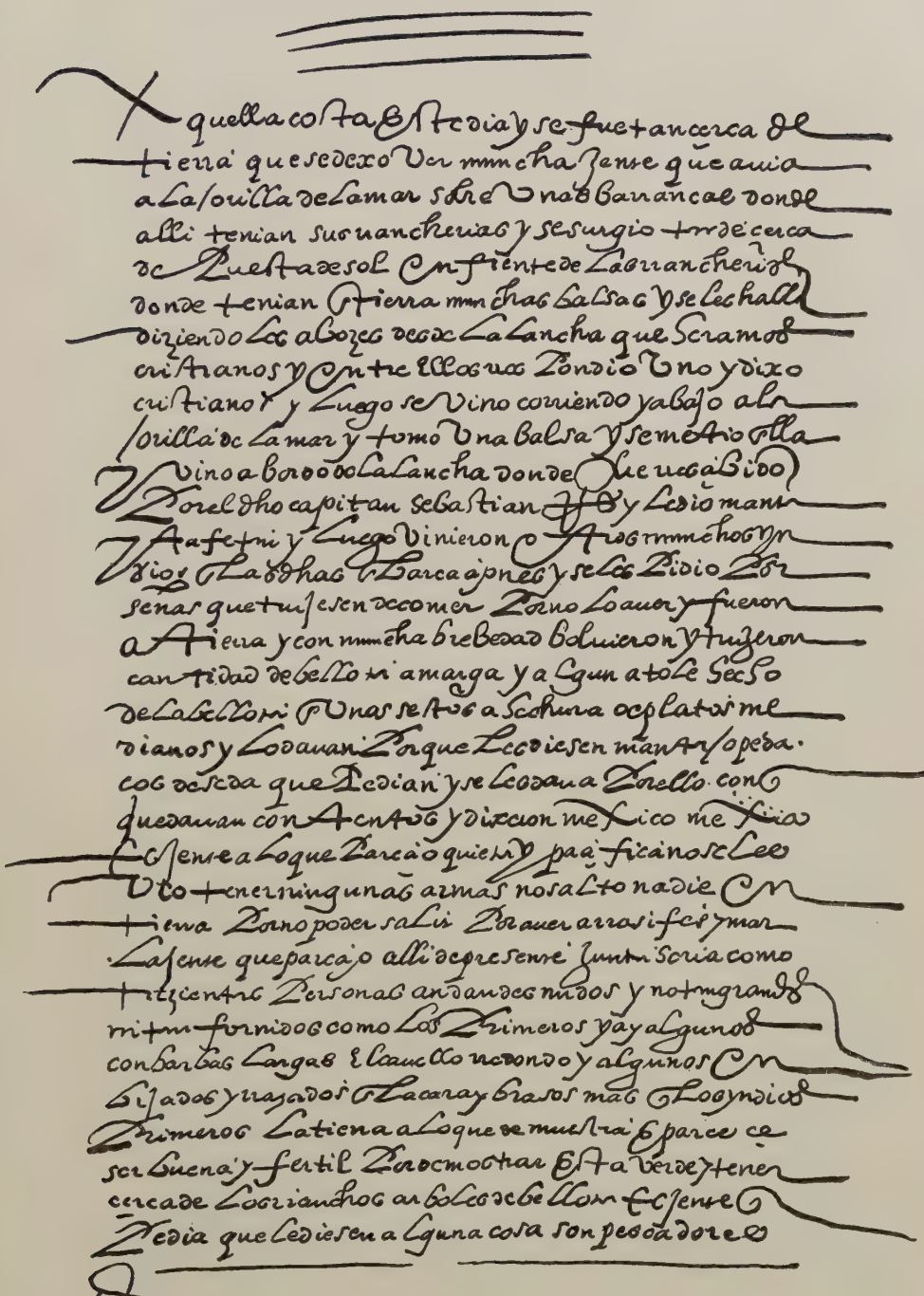




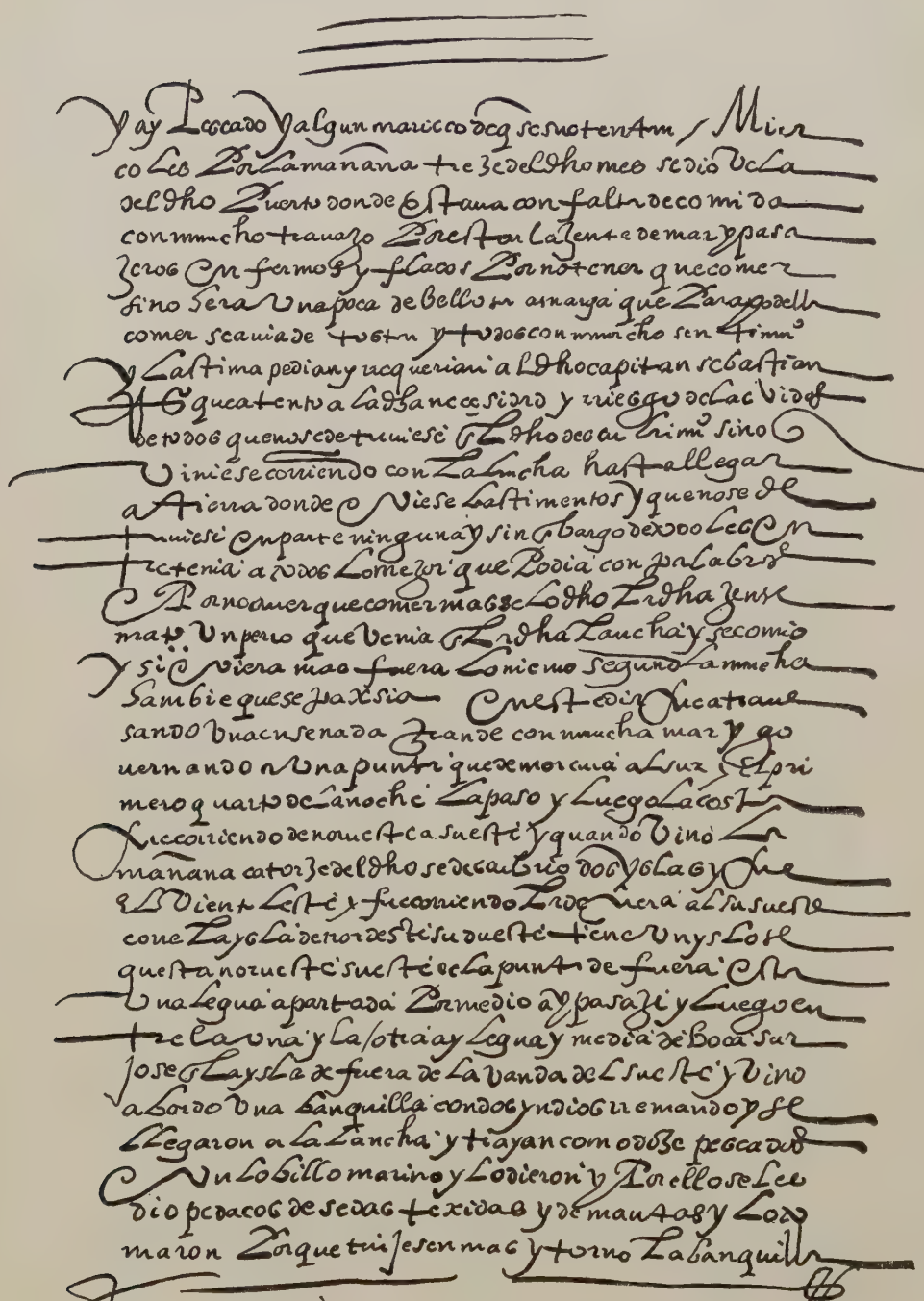


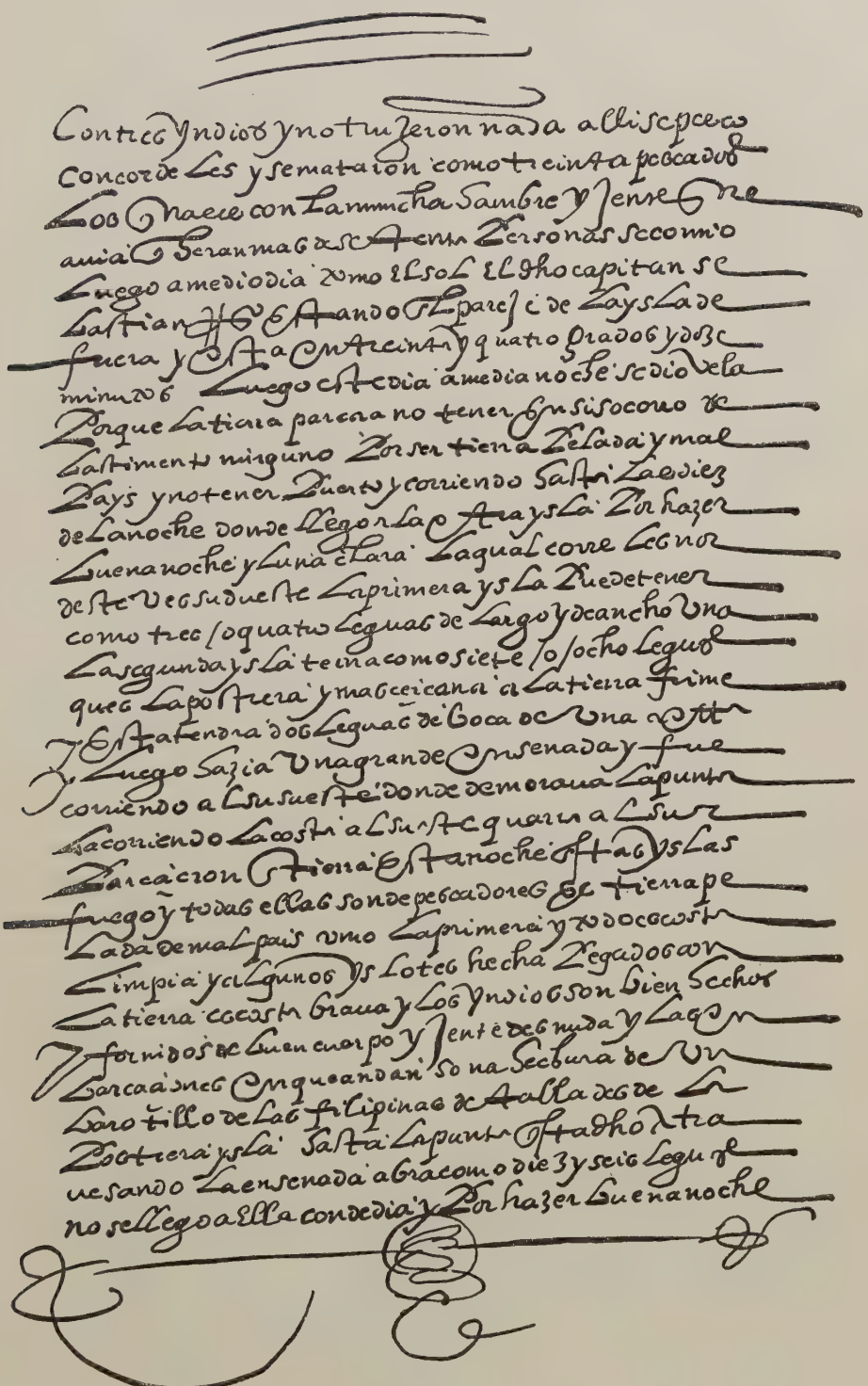


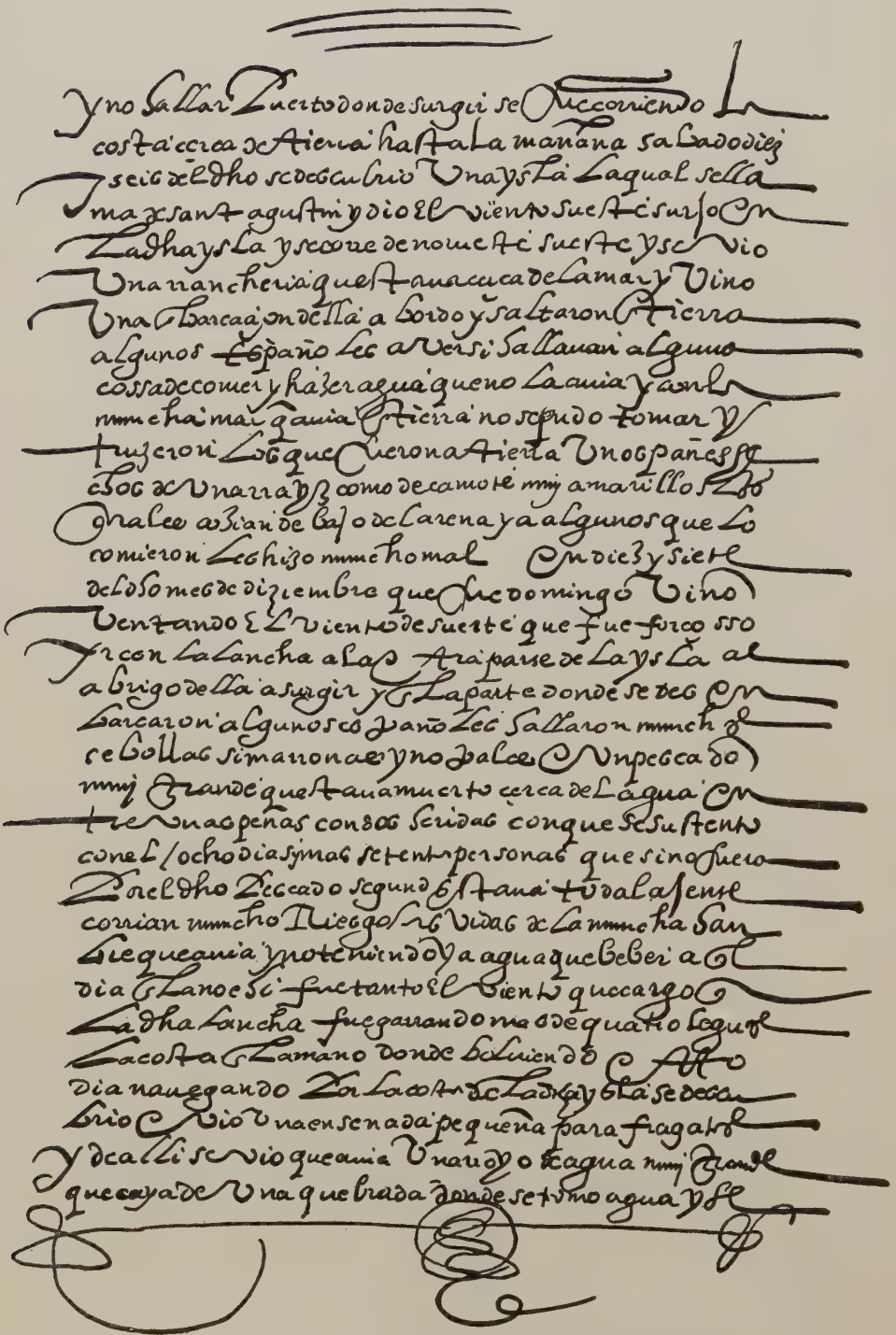




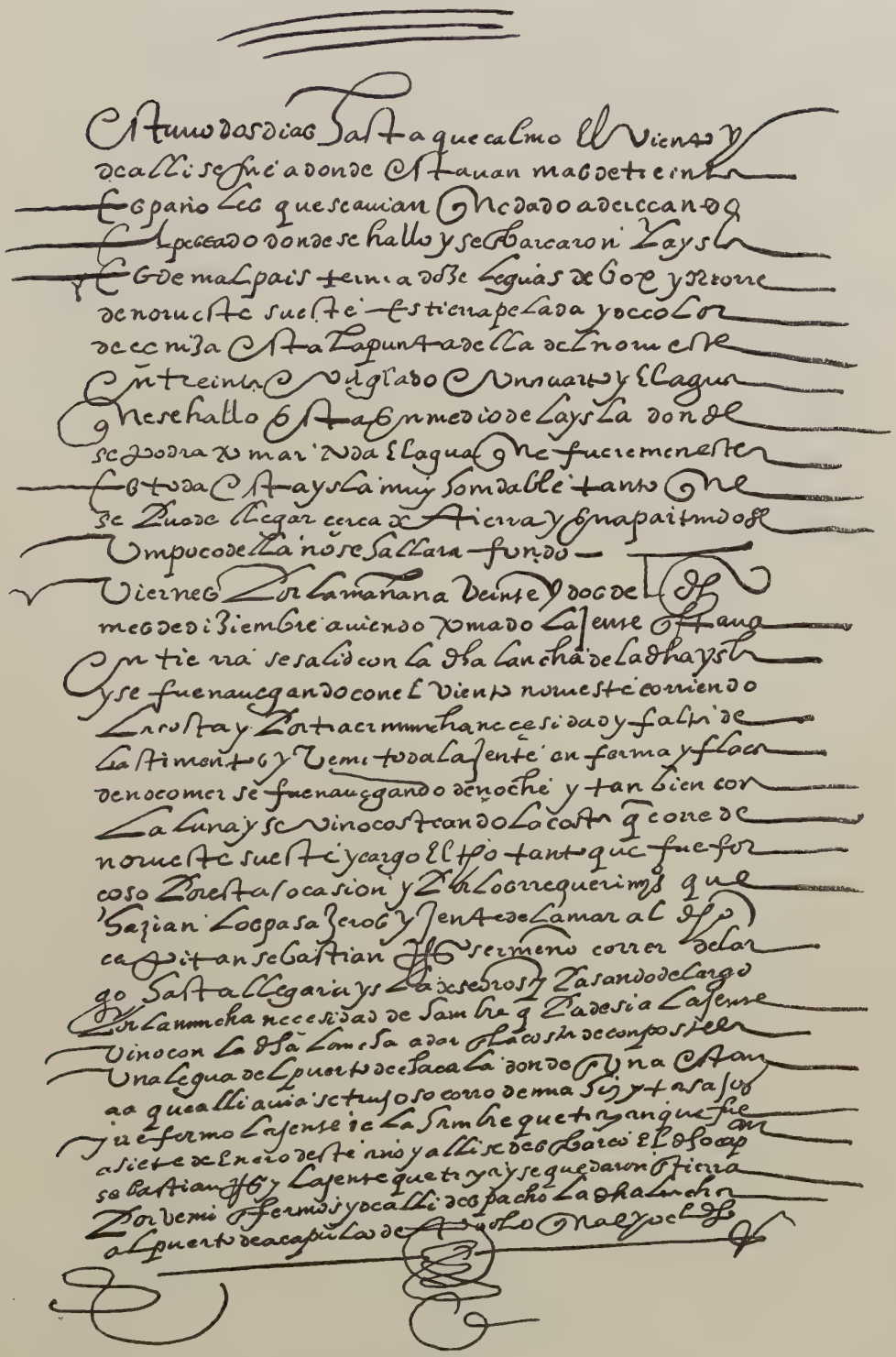
Aquella costa este dia y se fue tan cerca de
tierra que se dexo ver muncha gente que auia
a la orilla de la mar sobre unas barrancas donde
alli tenian sus rancherias y se surgio tarde cerca
de puesta de sol enfrente de las rancherias
donde tenian en tierra munchas balsas y se les halla
diziendo los abozes desde la lancha que seramos
cristianos y entre ellos rres pondio uno y dixo
cristianos y luego se vino corriendo y abajo a la
orilla de la mar y tomo una balsa y se metio en ella
y vino a bordo de la lancha donde fue rres cibido
por el dho capitan sebastian ffs y le dio manta
ta fetni y luego vinieron otros munchos yn
dios en las dhas barcas a pnes y se les pidio por
señas que truxesen de comer porno lo auer y fueron
a tierra y con muncha brebedad boluieron y truxeron
cantidad de bellotti amarga y algun atole hecho
de la bellotti en unos sestos a hechura de platos me
dianos y lo dauan porque les diesen manta o peda
cos de seda que pedian y se les daua por ello con
que dauan contentos y dixeron mexico mexico
esgente a lo que parcio quietti y pacifica no se les
vio tener ningunas armas no salto nadie en
tierra porno poder salir por auer arrasifes y mar
la gente que parcio alli de presente juntti seria como
trezientas personas andan desnudos y no tan grandes
ni tan fornidos como los primeros y ay algunos
con barbas largas el cauello redondo y algunos en
bijados y rrazados en la cara y brasos mas en los yndios
primeros la tiena a lo que se muestra es parece ce
ser buena y fertil por demostrar esta verde y tener
cerca de los rranchos arboles de bellotti esgente
pedia que le diesen alguna cosa son pescadores



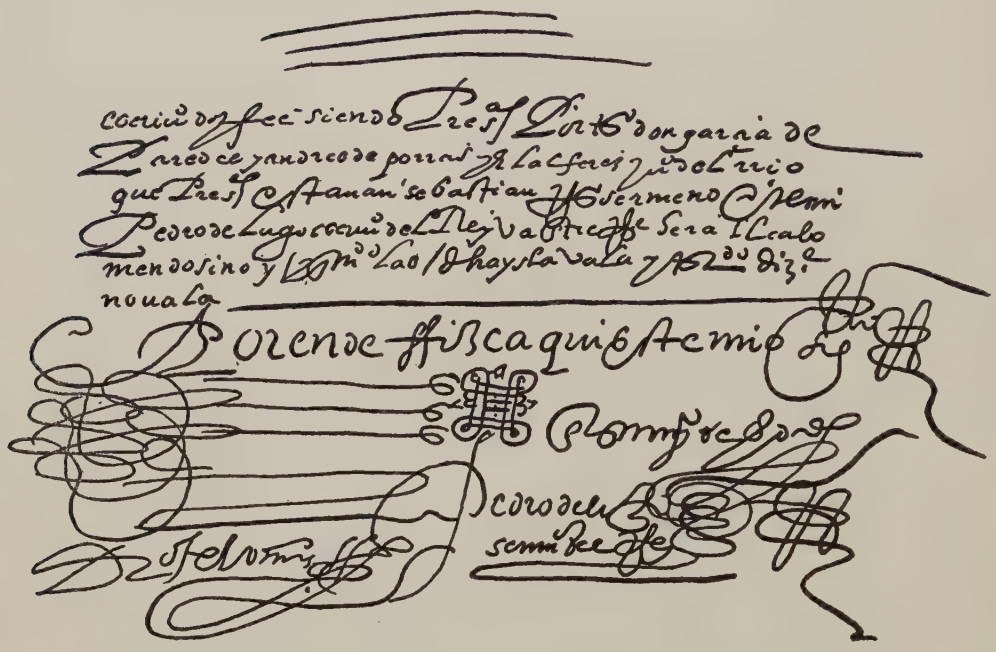


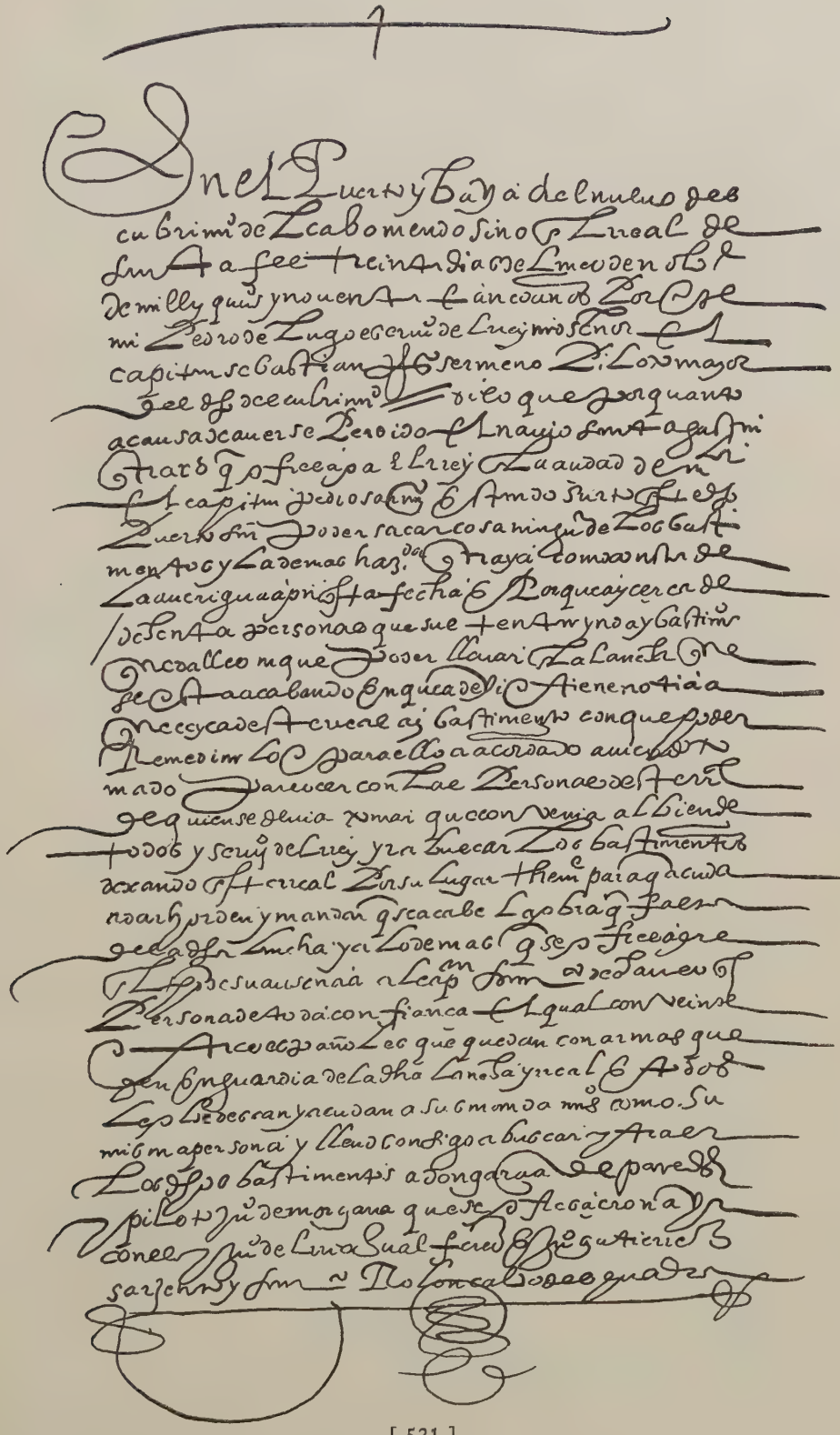


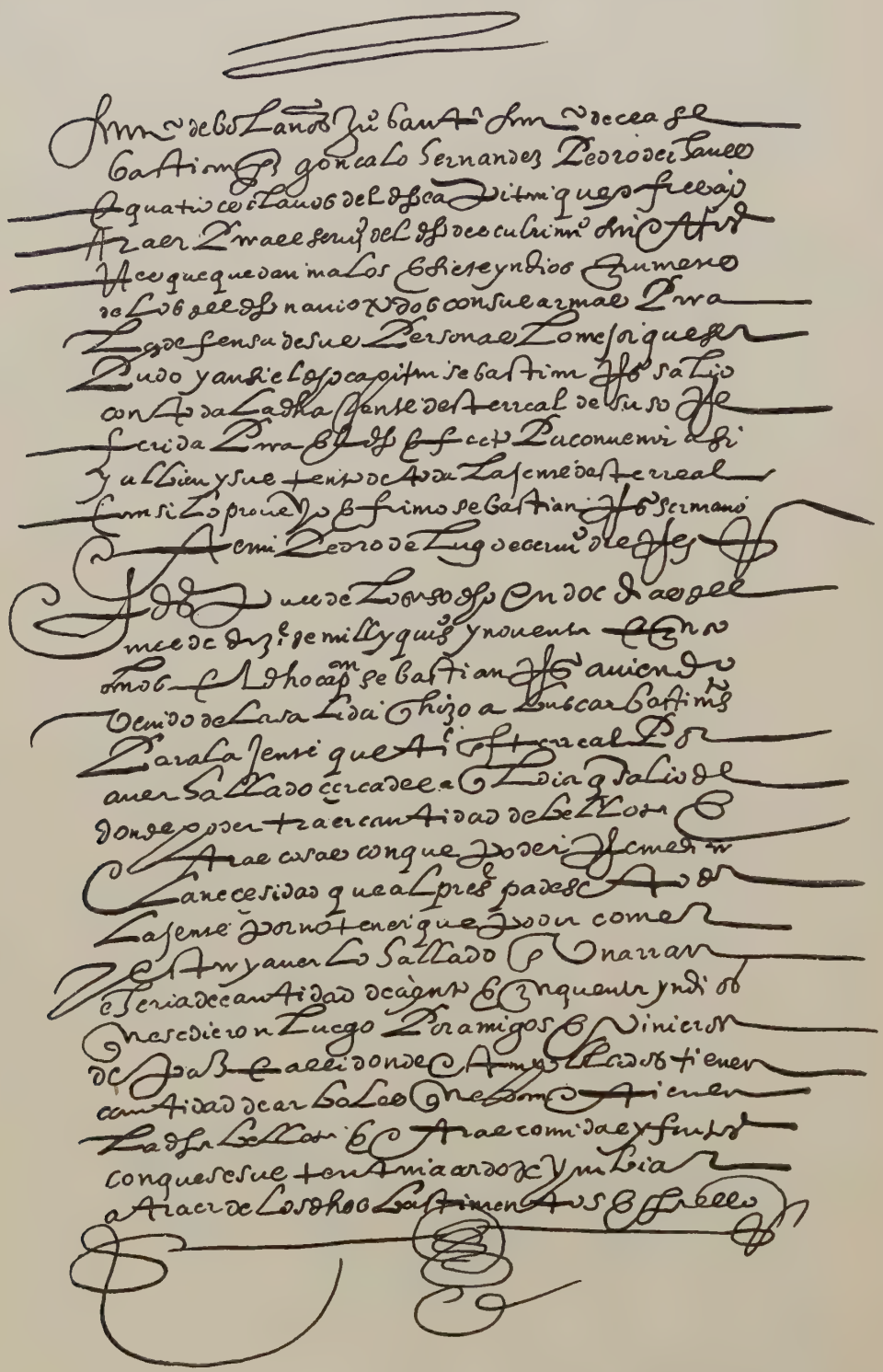
y no hallar puerto donde surgir se fue corriendo la
costa cerca de tierra hasta la mañana sabado diez
y seis del dho se descubrio una ysla la qual se lla
ma de sant agustin y dio el viento sueste surjo en
la dha ysla y se corre de noruete sueste y se vio
una rancheria que estaua cerca de la mar y vino
una barca a ponderla a bordo y saltaron en tierra
algunos españoles a ver si hallauan alguna
cossa de comer y hazer agua que no la auia y con la
mucha mar que auia en tierra no se pudo tomar y
truxeron los que fueron a tierra unos pañes he
chos de una rayz como de camote muy amarillos los
quales cozian debajo de la arena y a algunos que lo
comieron les hizo mucho mal en diez y siete
del dho mes de diziembre que fue domingo vino
ventando el viento de suerte que fue forçosso
yr con la lancha a la otra parte de la ysla al
abrigo della a surgir y en la parte donde se des
barcaron algunos españoles hallaron mucha de
cebollas simarronas y no pales e un pescado
muy grande que estaua muerto cerca del agua en
tre unas peñas con dos heridas con que se sustento
con el / ocho dias y mas setenta personas que sino fuera
por el dho pescado segun estaua toda la gente
corrian mucho riesgo las vidas de la mucha han
bre que auia y no teniendo ya agua que beber a el
dia en la noche si fue tanto el viento que cargo en
la dha lancha fue garrando mas de quatro leguas
la costa en la mano donde boluiendo a otro
dia nauegando por la costa de la dha ysla se descu
brio e vio una ensenada pequeña para fragatas
y de alli se vio que auia un arroyo de agua muy grande
que caya de una quebrada donde se tomo agua y se

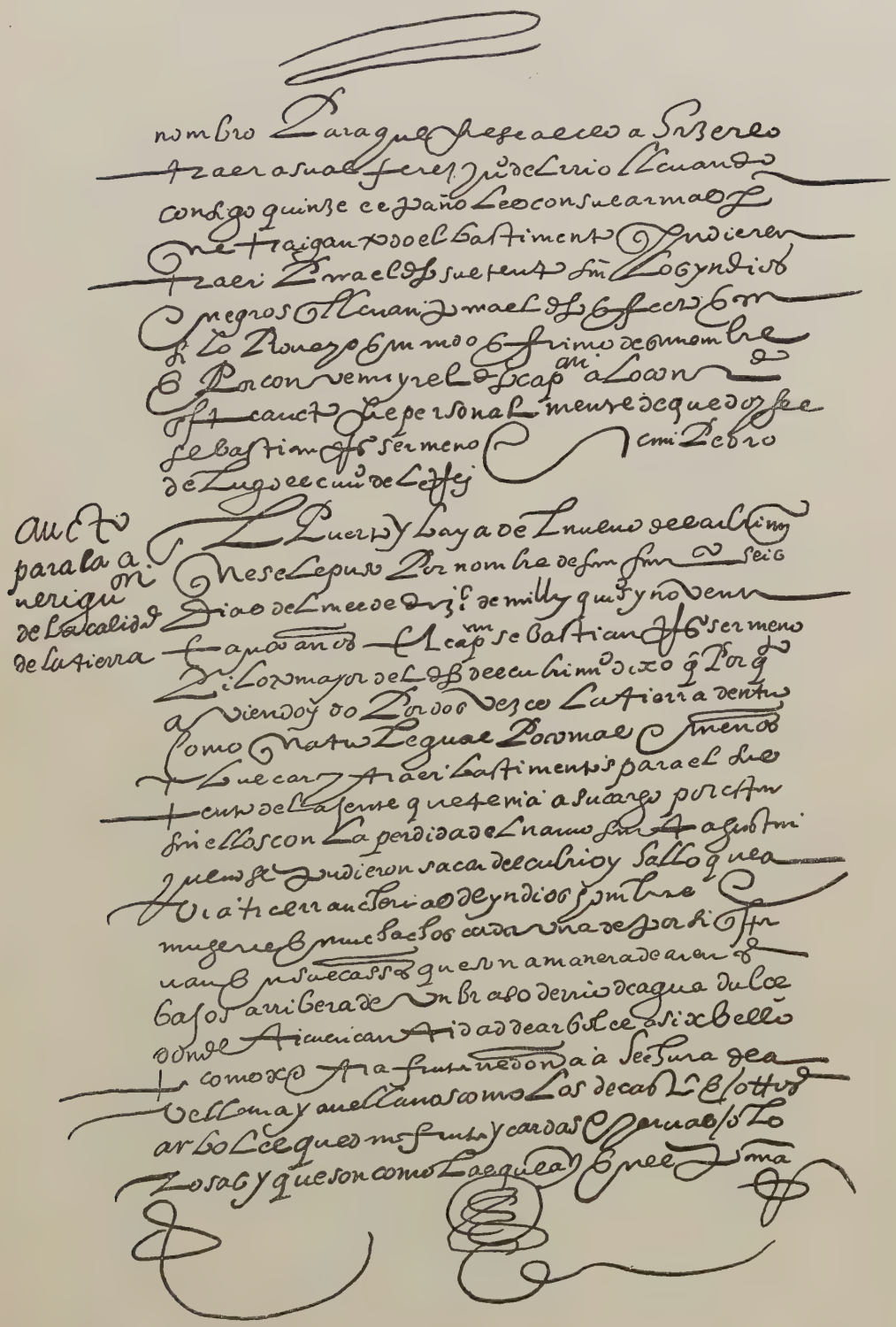


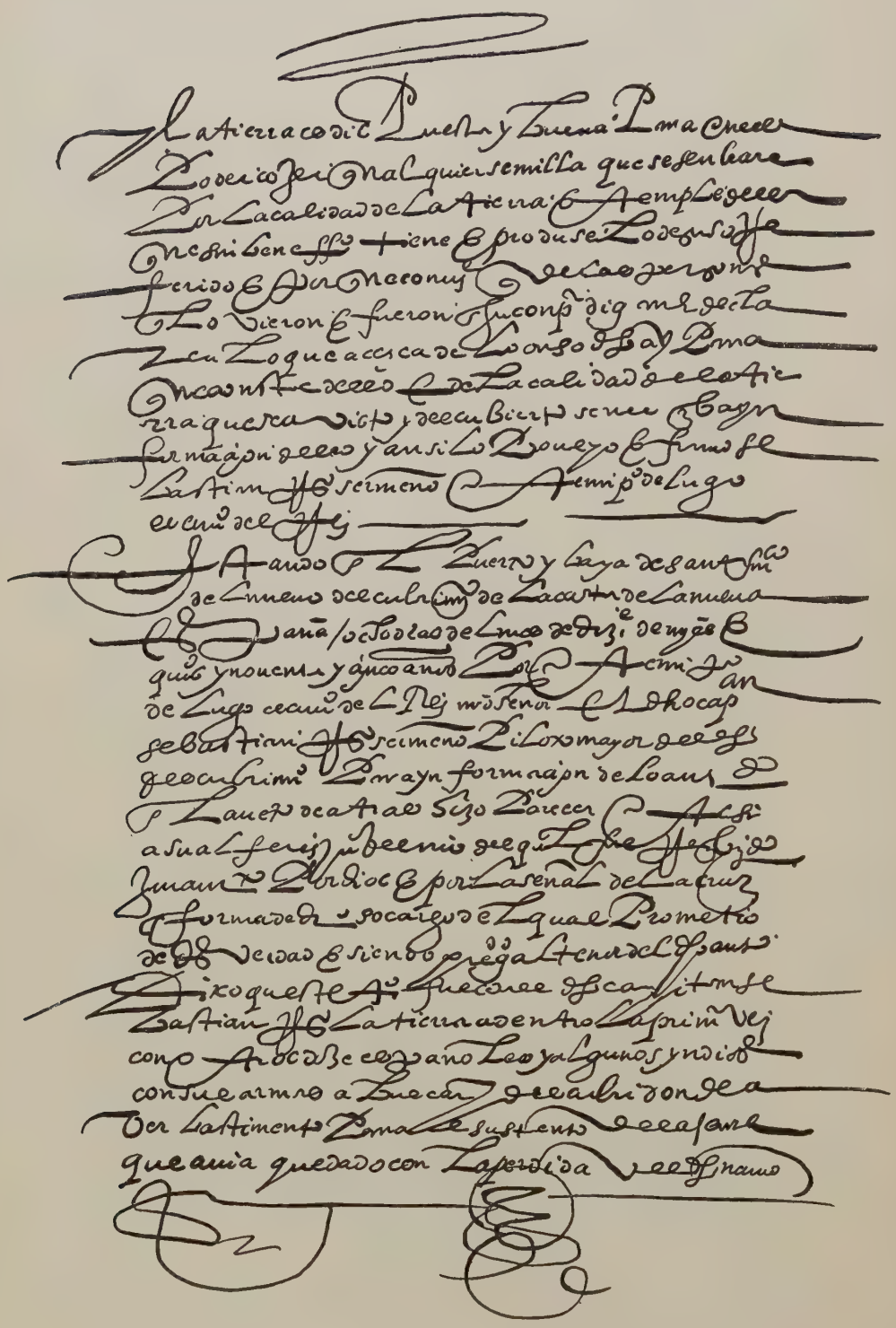
Estuvo dos dias hasta que calmo el viento y
de alli se fue adonde estavan mas de treinta
españoles que se avian quedado adereçando
el pescado donde se hallo y se embarcaron la ysla
es de mal pais tierra doze leguas de boz y corre
de norueste sueste es tierra pelada y de color
de ceniza esta la punta della del norueste
en treinta e un grado e un quarto y el agua
que se hallo esta en medio de la ysla donde
se podra tomar toda el agua que fuere menester
es toda esta ysla muy sondable tanto que
se puede llegar cerca de tierra y en apartandose
un poco della no se hallara fondo
Viernes por la mañana veinte y dos del dho
mes de diziembre aviendo tomado la gente estava
en tierra se salio con la dha lancha de la dha ysla
y se fue navegando con el viento norueste corriendo
la costa y por traer mucha necesidad y falta de
bastimentos y vemos toda la gente enferma y flaca
de no comer se fue navegando de noche y tan bien con
la luna y se vino costeando la costa que corre de
norueste sueste y cargo el tpo tanto que fue for
coso por esta ocasion y por los requerimientos que
hazian los pasajeros y gente de la mar al dho
capitan sebastian fernandez sermeño correr de lar
go hasta llegar a ysla de sedros y pasando de largo
por la mucha necesidad de hambre que padesia la gente
vino con la dha lancha a dar en la costa de conpostela
una legua del puerto de chacala donde en una estan
ça que alli avia se truxo socorro de mas hijos y tasajos
y refermo la gente de la hambre que traian que fue
a siete de enero deste año y alli se desembarco el dho capitan
sebastian fernandez y la gente que traia y se quedaron en tierra
por vemos enfermos y de alli despacho la dha lancha
al puerto de acapulco de [illegible] que al yo el dho

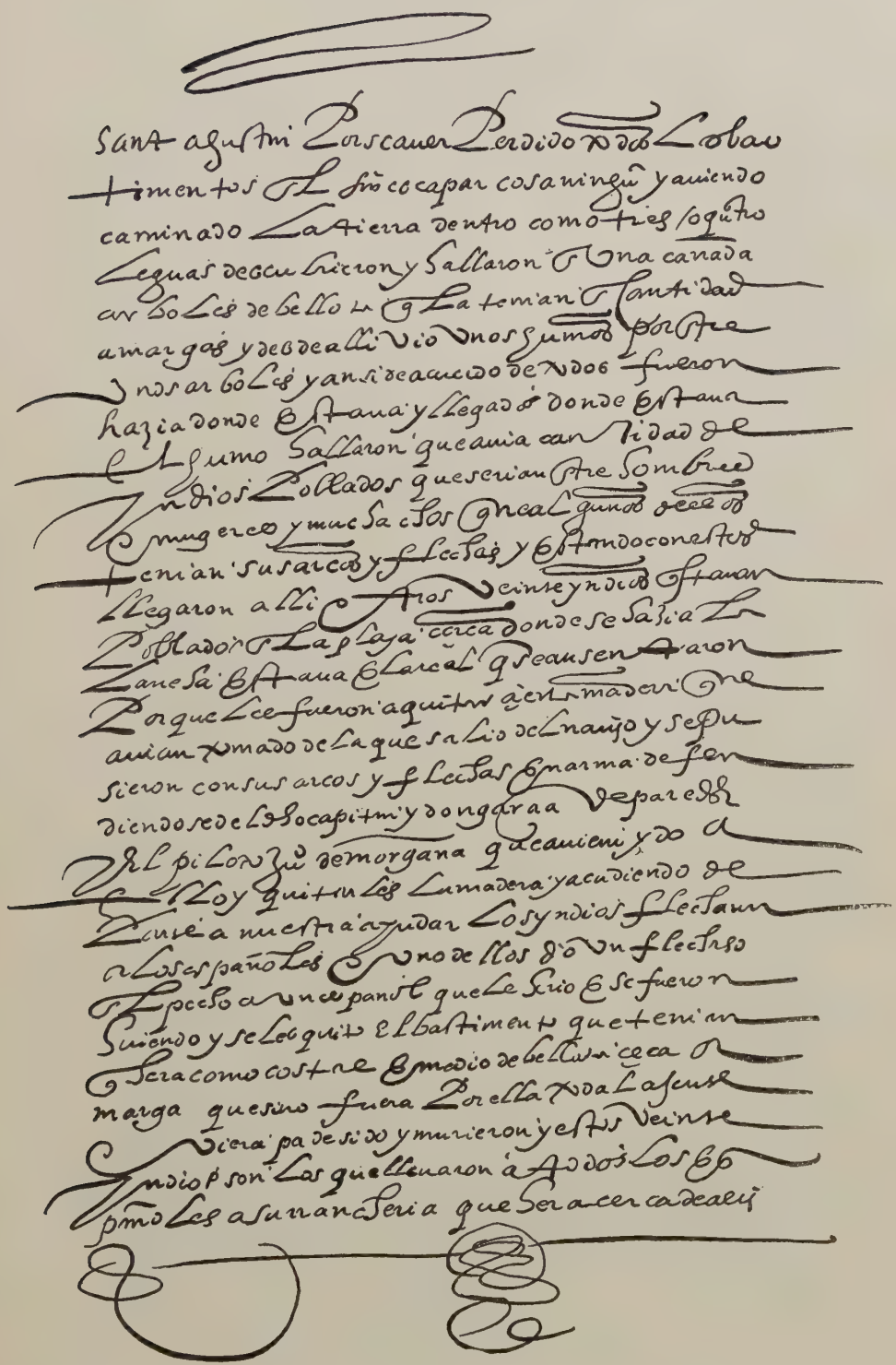


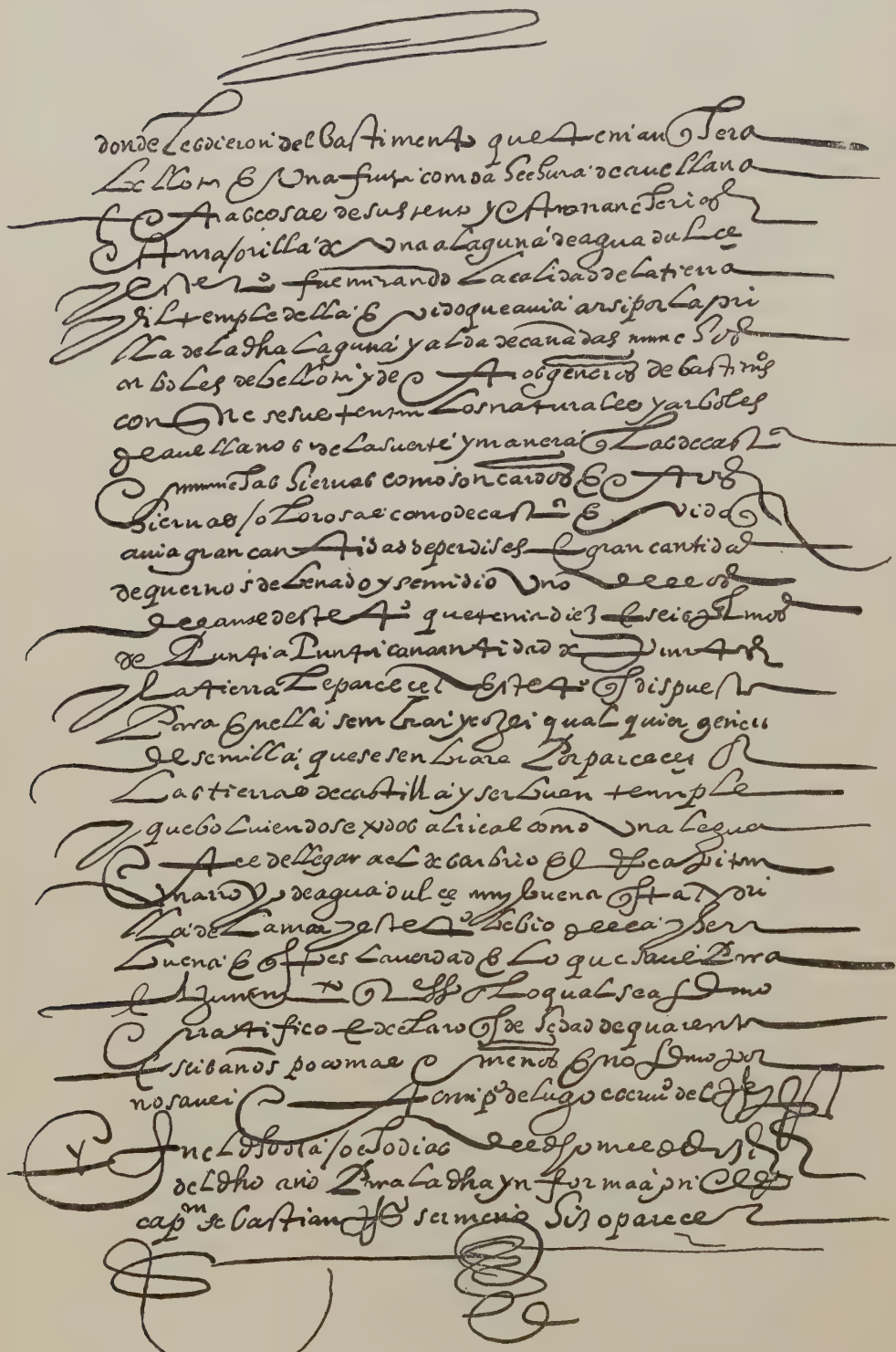


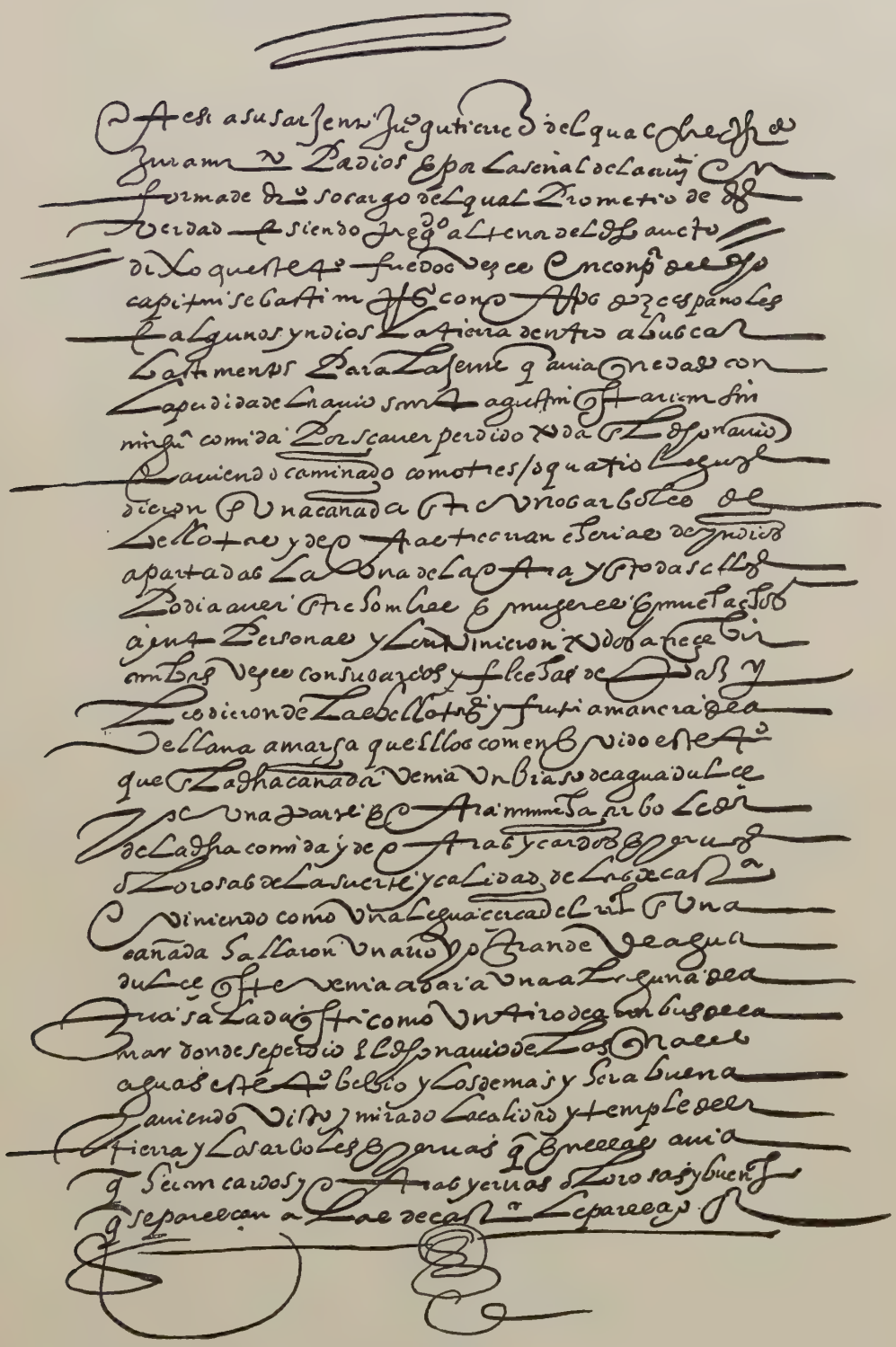


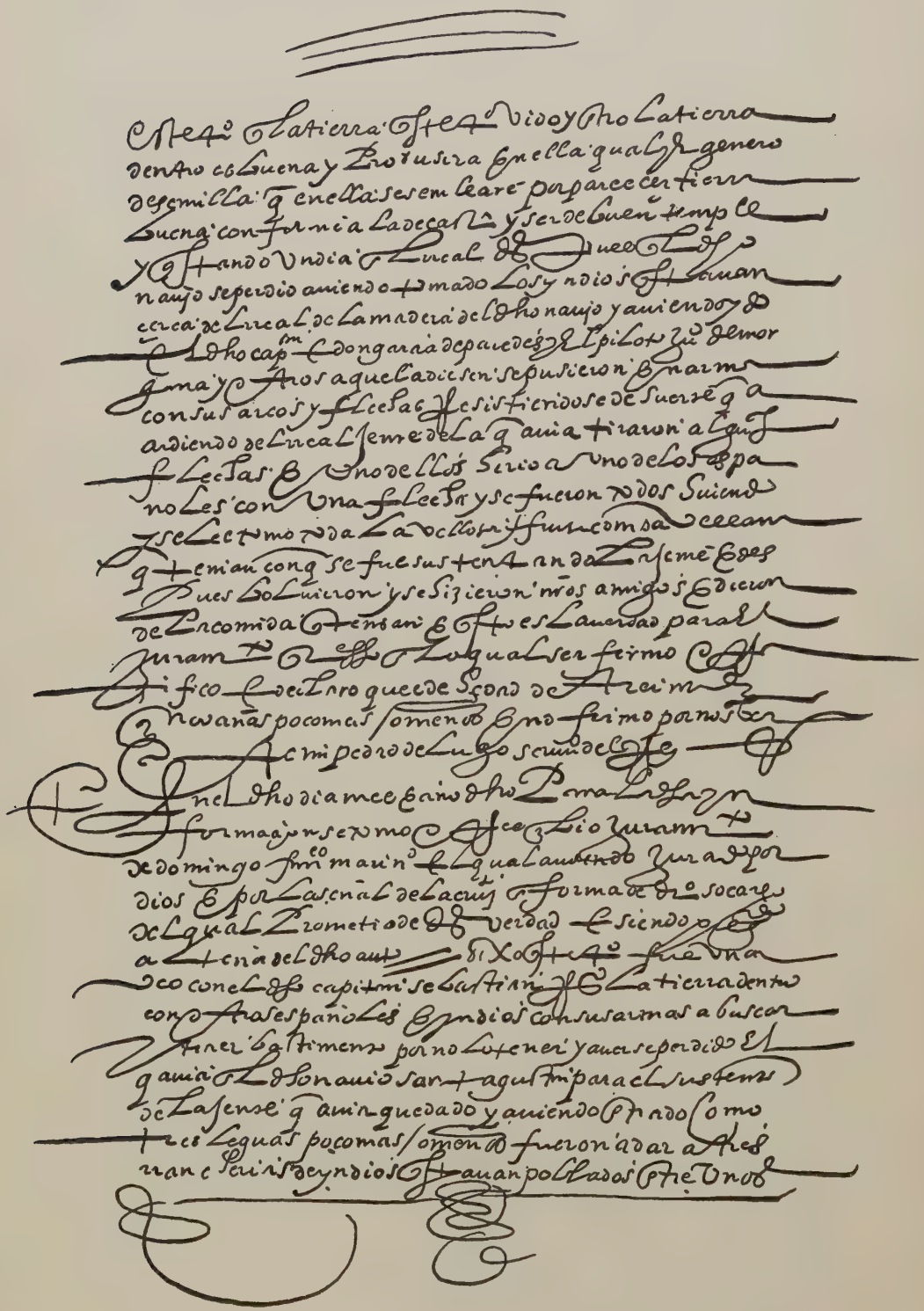


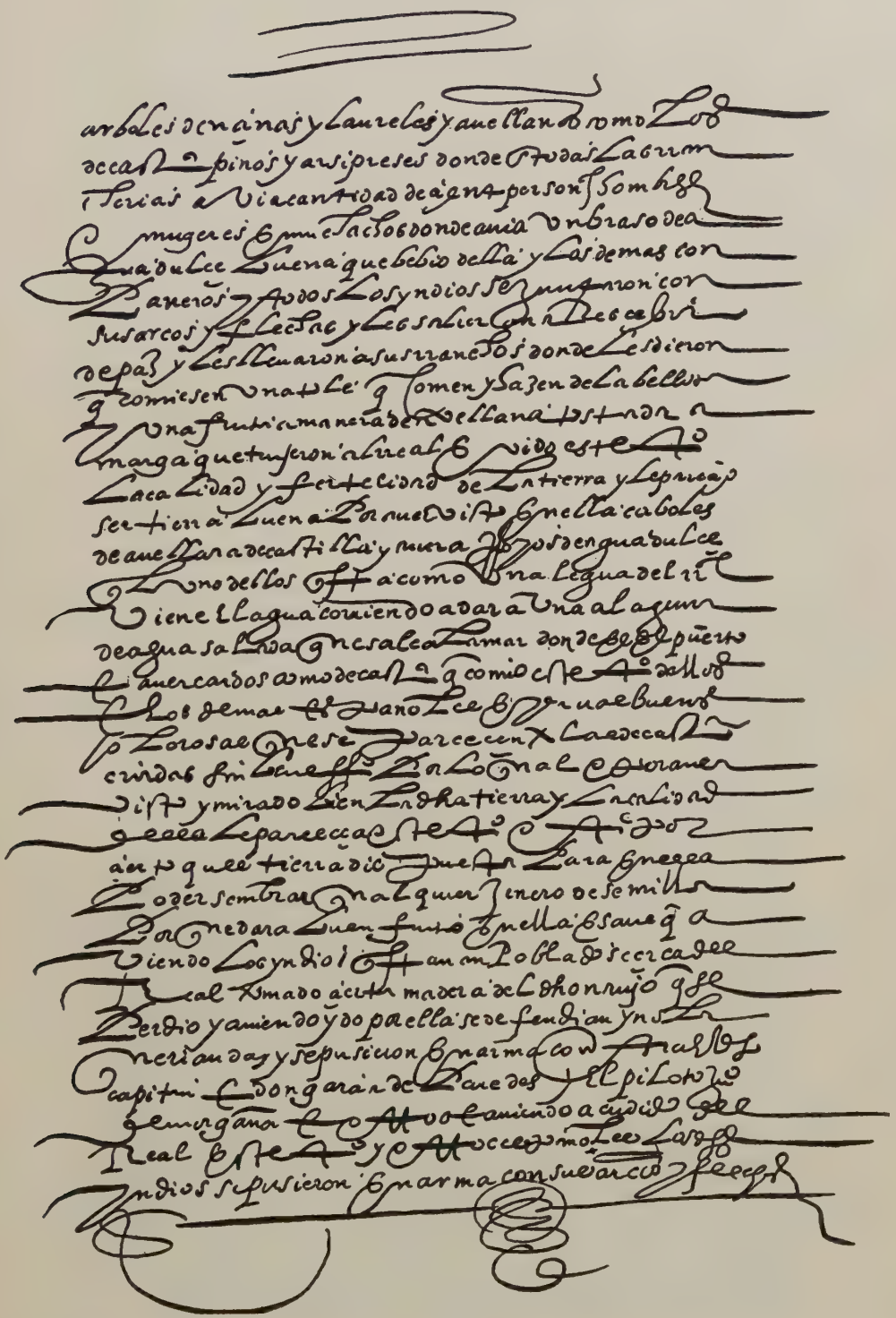


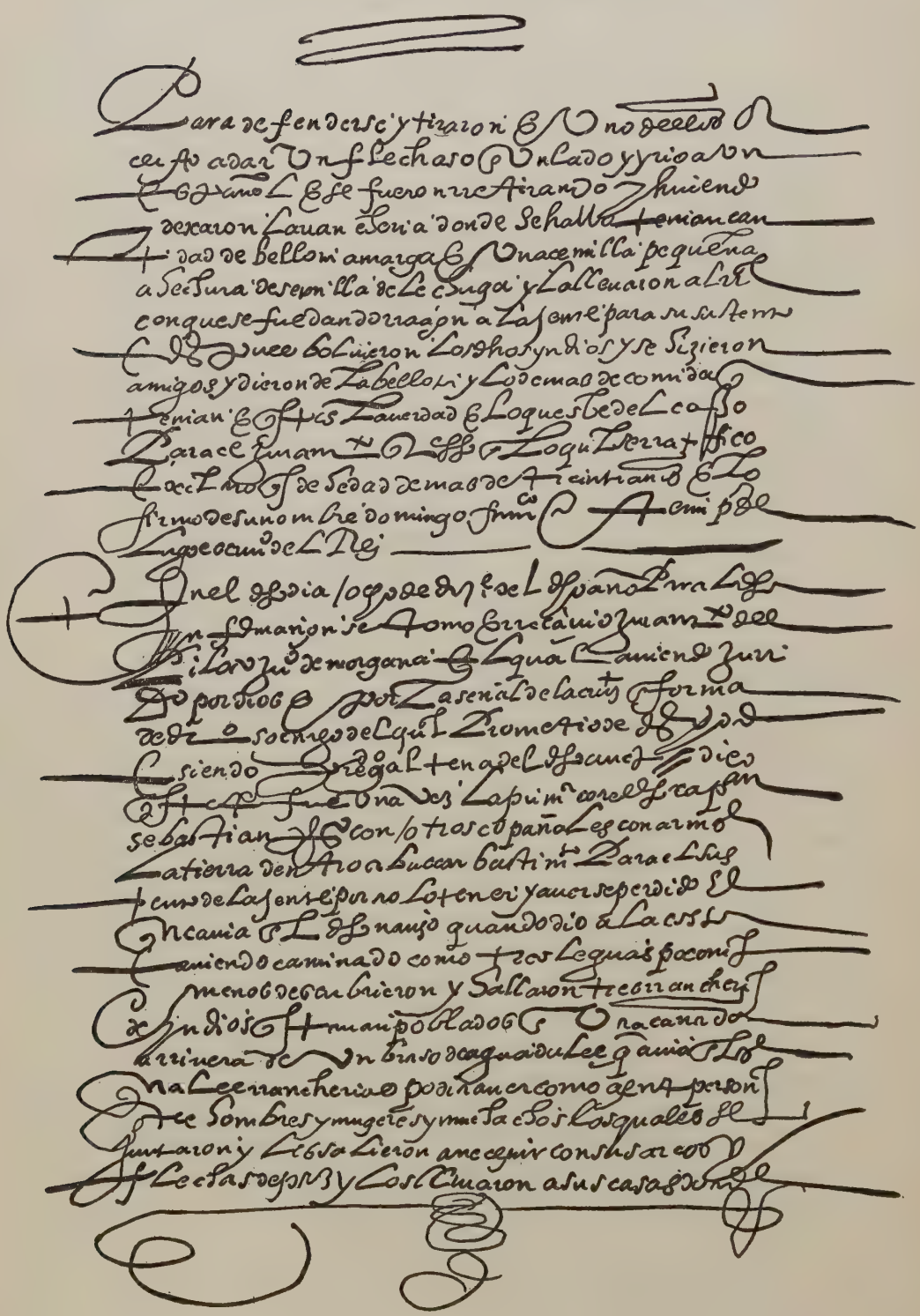


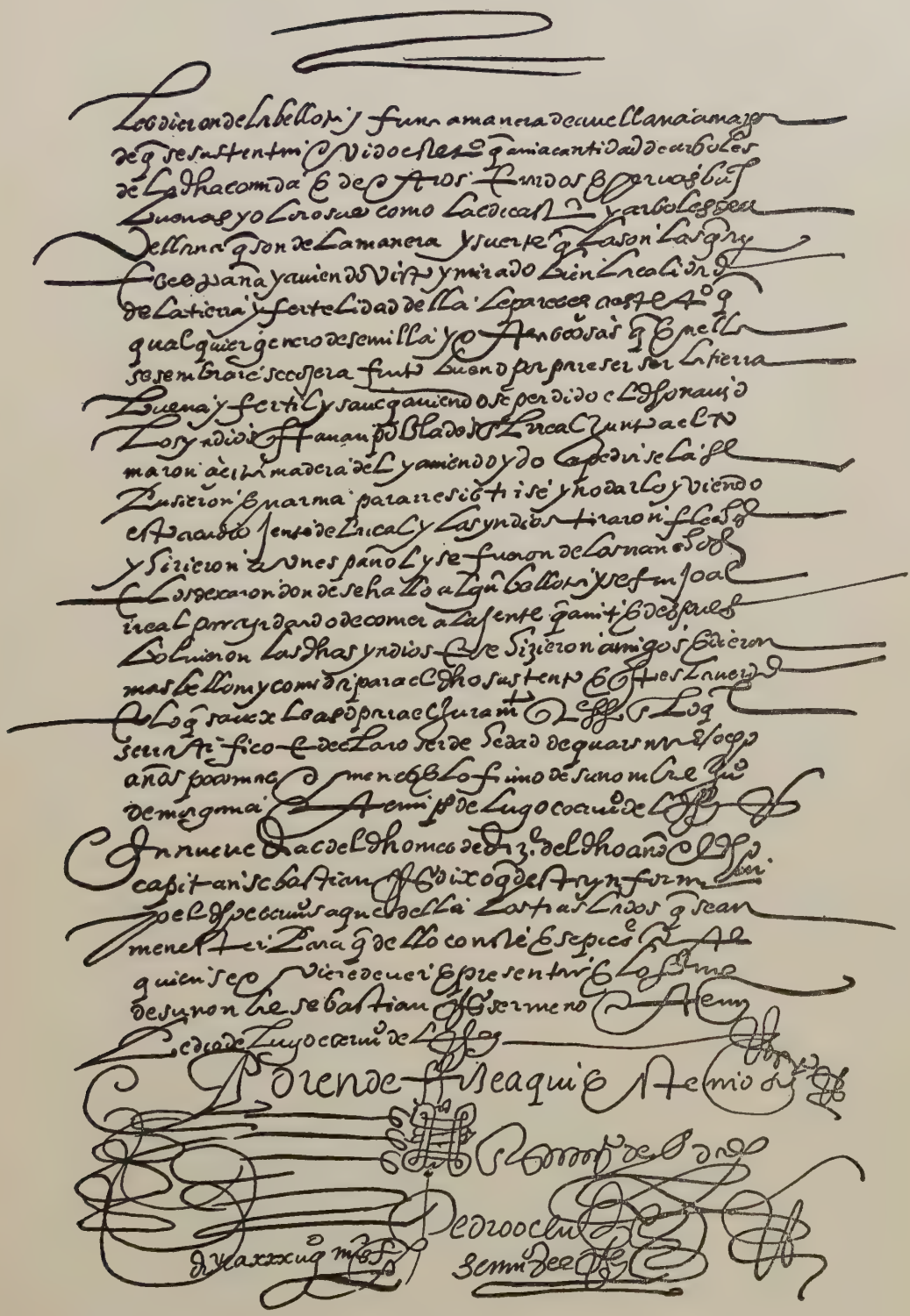












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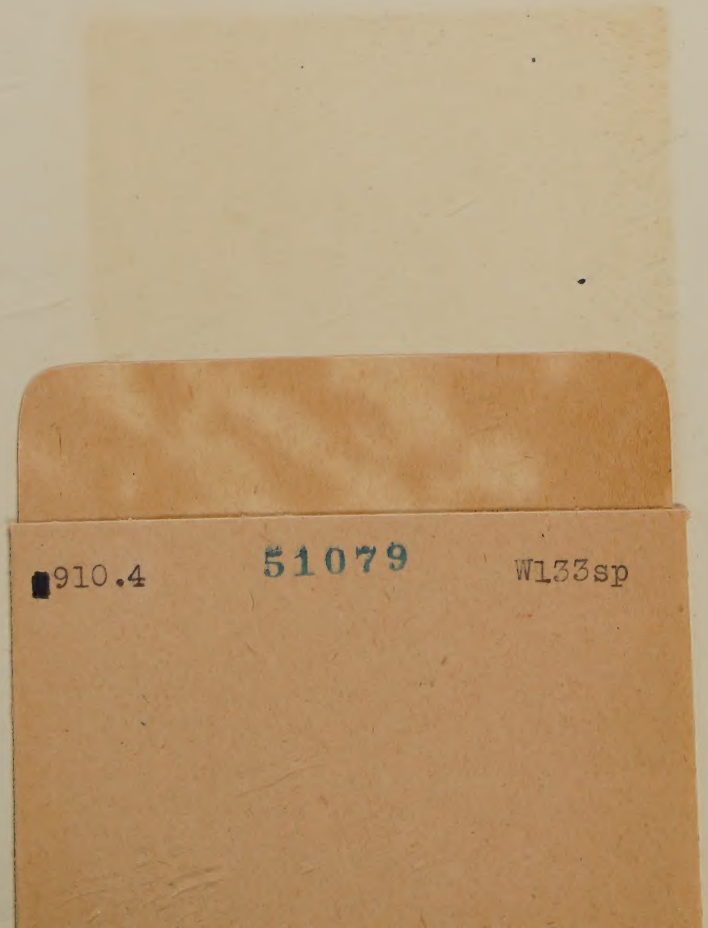
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